

ARCHÆOLOGIA GRÆCA:
OR, THE
ANTIQUITIES
OF
GREECE.

The FIFTH EDITION.

By JOHN POTTER, D. D.
now Lord Bishop of OXFORD.

VOLUME the SECOND.

CONTAINING,

- I. The Military Affairs } II. Some of their Mis-
of the GRECIANS. } cellany Customs.
-

— *Simili frondescit virga metallo,* Virgil.

*Quis reprehendet nostrum otium, qui in eo non modo nosmetipsos
bebecere & languere nolumus, sed etiam, ut plurimis profimus,
nitimur?* Cicero.

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ALPHABETICALLY OF THE ANTIQUITIES OF GREECE

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By JOHN E. POTT, D.D.
now Lord Bishop of Oxford.

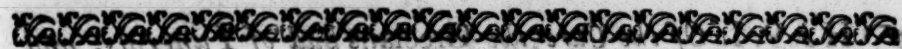
CONTAINING
I. The Military Affairs, II. Some of the Manners
of the Greeks, III. of the Romans, &c.

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THE
CONTENTS.



ODI

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BOOK III.

CHAP. I. Of the Wars, Valour, Military Glory, &c. of the ancient Grecians	Page 1
Chap. II. Of their Levies, Pay, &c. of Soldiers	6
Chap. III. Of the different sorts of Soldiers	9
Chap. IV. Of the Grecian Arms and Weapons, with their Military Apparel	10
Chap. V. Of the Officers in the Athenian and Lacedæmonian Armies	15
Chap. VI. Of the several Divisions and Forms of the Grecian Army, and other Military Terms	56
Chap. VII. Of their Manner of making Peace, and declaring War, their Ambassadors, &c.	64
Chap. VIII. Of their Camps, Guards, Watches, and Military Course of Life	70
Chap. IX. Of their Battels, their Generals Harangues, the Sacrifices, Musick, Signals, Ensigns, the Word, and way of ending Wars by single Combat, &c.	74
Chap. X. Of their Sieges, with the most remarkable of their Inventions and Engines used therein	89
Chap. XI. Of the Slain and their Funerals	97
Chap. XII. Of their Booty taken in War, their Gratitude to the Gods after Victory, their Trophies, &c.	106
Chap. XIII. Of their Military Punishments and Rewards, with the manner of conveying Intelligence	114
Chap. XIV. Of the Invention and different sorts of Ships	120
Chap. XV. Of the Parts, Ornaments, &c. of Ships.	125
Chap. XVI. Of the Tackling and Instruments required in Navigation	131
Chap. XVII. Of the Instruments of War in Ships	135
Chap. XVIII. Of the Mariners and Soldiers	138
Chap. XIX. Of Naval Officers	143
Chap. XX. Of their Voyages, Harbours, &c.	148
Chap. XXI. Of their Engagements, &c. by Sea	154
Chap.	

The CONTENTS.

Chap. XXII. *Of the Spoils, Military Rewards and Punishments, &c.* 158

BOOK IV.

CHAP. I. <i>Of the Care the Grecians had of Funerals, and of Persons destitute thereof</i>	160
Chap. II. <i>Of the Ceremonies in Sickness and Death</i>	172
Chap. III. <i>Of the Ceremonies before the Funeral</i>	178
Chap. IV. <i>Of their Funeral Processions</i>	189
Chap. V. <i>Of their Mourning for the Dead</i>	194
Chap. VI. <i>Of their Manner of interring and burning the Dead</i>	207
Chap. VII. <i>Of their Sepulchres, Monuments, Cenotaphia, &c.</i>	218
Chap. VIII. <i>Of their Funeral Orations, Games, Lustrations, Entertainments, Consecrations, and other Honours of the Dead, &c.</i>	227
Chap. IX. <i>Of their Love of Boys</i>	241
Chap. X. <i>Of their Customs in expressing their Love, their Love-Potions, Incantations, &c.</i>	245
Chap. XI. <i>Of their Marriages</i>	263
Chap. XII. <i>Of their Divorces, Adulteries, Concubines, and Harlots</i>	296
Chap. XIII. <i>Of the Confinement and Employments of their Women</i>	310
Chap. XIV. <i>Of their Customs in Child-bearing, and managing Infants</i>	328
Chap. XV. <i>Of their different sorts of Children, Wills, Inheritances, the Duties of Children to their Parents, &c.</i>	335
Chap. XVI. <i>Of their Times of Eating</i>	352
Chap. XVII. <i>Of the several sorts of Entertainments</i>	354
Chap. XVIII. <i>Of the Materials whereof the Entertainments consisted</i>	357
Chap. XIX. <i>Of the Customs before Entertainments</i>	365
Chap. XX. <i>Of the Ceremonies at Entertainments</i>	375
Chap. XXI. <i>Of the Manner of entertaining Strangers.</i>	411

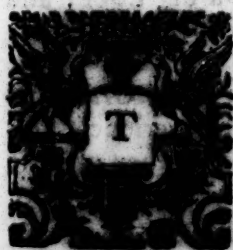


Archæologia Græca:
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GREECE.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

*Of the Wars, Valour, Military Glory, &c. of
the ancient Grecians.*



THE ancient *Grecians* were a rude and unpolish'd sort of Mortals, wholly unacquainted with the modern, and more refin'd Arts of War and Peace. Persons of the highest Birth and Quality, and whom they fancy'd to be descended from the Race of the immortal Gods, had little other Business to employ their Hours, beside tilling the Earth, or feeding their Flocks and Herds; and the rapine of these, or some other petty Concerns, which was look'd on as a generous and heroical Exploit, occasion'd most of the Wars, so famous in their Story. *Achilles* in *Homer* tells *Agamemnon*, that 'twas purely to oblige him, he had engag'd himself in so long and dangerous

2 Of the Military Affairs of Greece.

a War against the *Trojans*, from whom he had never receiv'd any just cause of Quarrel, having never been despoil'd of his Oxen or Horses, or had the Fruits of his Ground destroy'd by them. (a)

Οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ Τρώων ἔνεκ' ἦλυθον αἰχμητῶν
 Δεῦρο μαχητῶν· ἐπεὶ ἔτι μοι αἰτιοὶ εἰσιν.
 Οὐ γὰρ πάπο' ἐμὰς βῆς ἤλασαν, ἐδὲ μὴ ἵππες,
 Οὐδέ ποτ' ἐν Φθίῃ εἰς ὠάκι βοττανεῖρη
 Καρπὸν ἐδηλήσαντ'· ἐπεὶ μάλα πολλὰ μεταξὺ
 Οὔρεά τε σκίοεντα, θάλασσά τε ἡχίεσα.
 Ἀλλὰ σοι, ὦ μέγ' ἀναιδὲς, ἄμ' ἐσόμεθ', ὅφρα σὺ χαίρης.

For tho' I here with warlike *Trojans* fight,
 'Tis not to vindicate my private Right;
 Since they by impious Theft have ne'er detain'd
 My Oxen, Horses, or on *Phthia's* Land
 Destroy'd my Fruits; secur'd by craggy Ways,
 O'er pathless Mountains, and tempestuous Seas,
 I fear not what Invasions they can make:
 But 'tis, ungrateful Man, 'tis for thy sake,
 T' advance thy Triumphs that I hither come,
 That thou with greater State may'st reign at home.

Mr. *Hutchins*.

And the simplicity of their Conduct may be sufficiently evinced, as from several other Instances, so by those especially, where *Achilles*, *Hector*, or *Ajax* are introduc'd opposing themselves to vast Numbers, and by the force of their own Valour putting to flight whole Squadrons of their Enemies. Nor is the Poet to be thought Blame-worthy, or to have transgress'd the Rules of Probability in such Relations; which, tho' perhaps strange and incredible in our Days, were no doubt accommodated to the manners of the Times, of which he wrote. For even in the sacred Story we find it recorded, that a single *Goliath* defy'd all the Armies of *Israel* (b), and with a big Look, and a few arrogant Words, struck so great Terror into them, that they fled before him.

Notwithstanding this, in the Revolution of a few Ages, *Greece* became the celebrated Mother of the bravest, and most experienc'd Soldiers in the World: For being canton'd into a great Number of little independent States, all which, tho' bordering upon one another, were govern'd by different Laws, and prosecuted contrary Interests, it became the Seat of continual Wars; every Hamlet being ambitious of enlarging its Territory, by encroaching upon its Neighbour-Village,

(a) *Iliad*, *lib*. 7, 152, (b) *1 Sam*, XVII. 11, 24,

and



Of the Military Affairs of Greece. 3

and contending for the addition of a few Lands, with no less Heat and Fury than if whole Kingdoms had been the Prize: The Consequence whereof was, that the *Grecians*, being from their Childhood inured to martial Affairs, and having to their native Bravery added long and constant Experience, were render'd as well in good Order and Discipline, as true Courage and Valour, superiour to most other Nations. They became a Terrour to all the Countries round about them, and with small Numbers often put to flight vast multitudes of the *Barbarians*: The *Persians* frequently experienc'd the sad effects of it in the loss of numerous Armies, and at length of the greatest Empire in the World. And (to enumerate no more Instances in a thing so well known) the *Carthaginians*, tho' Men of great Courage, and excellently skill'd in the Art of War, being worsted in *Sicily* by *Timoleon* the *Corinthian*, in several Encounters, and by unequal numbers of Men, were driven into an Admiration of the *Grecian* Valour; and forc'd to confess, that they were the most pugnacious and insupportable of Mankind; and forthwith made it their Business to entertain as many of them as they could procure, in their Service. (a)

But tho' almost all the *Grecians* had their share in Military Glory, yet were the rest far inferior to the *Lacedemonians*, who by the Laws of their Country were under an Obligation to make War their Profession; they never apply'd themselves to any Art or Employment, or the exercise of Trades, which they accounted unworthy of generous and free-born Souls; but committing all such Cares to the *Helots*, who were a genteeler sort of Slaves, spent their Time in manly Exercises, to render their Bodies strong and active. They were also accusom'd by hard Diet, by Stripes, and other Severities, patiently to undergo Hardships, to endure Wounds, to encounter Dangers, and if the Honour of their Country so required, to throw themselves into the Arms of Death without Fear or Regret. Yet were they not so imprudent or fool-hardy, as to court Dangers, or Death; but were taught from their Childhood to be always prepar'd either to live or die, and equally willing to do either; as appears from those Verses, cited by *Plutarch* (b) to this purpose;

Οἷός τε θάνατος, εἰ ζῆν θεμιτόν καλόν, εἰ δὲ τὸ θνήσκειν.

Ἀλλὰ τὸ ταῦτα καλῶς ἀμφοτέρ' ἐκτελέσαι.

They dy'd, but not as lavish of their Blood,
Or thinking Death it self was simply good,
Or Life; both these the strictest Virtue try'd,
And as that call'd, they gladly liv'd or dy'd.

Nor was this Indifferency to Life or Death only discours'd of amongst them, as a point of meer Speculation; but carefully and seriously instill'd in their tender Years, and always embrac'd as one of the first

(a) *Plutarchus Timoleonte.*

(b) *Pelopida.*

Principles of their Actions; which begot in them such an undaunted Courage, and so firm and unmoveable a Resolution, that scarce any other Nation was able to stand before them. This extraordinary and unparallel'd Bravery, being adorned and strengthen'd with the wisest Conduct, and the most perfect Skill in all the Stratagems of War those Times were capable of, has render'd them famous in Story, and Examples of Military Virtue to all succeeding Ages: "For (these are *Plutarch's* (a) Words) the *Lacedemonians* were most expert and cunning in the Art of War; being train'd up and accusom'd to nothing more than to keep themselves from Confusion, when their Order should be broken; to follow any Leader or Right-hand-man, so rallying themselves into Order; and to fight on what part soever Dangers press.

It is therefore by no means to be wonder'd at, that foreign and vastly remote Nations should be desirous to entertain the *Lacedemonians* in their Service; that *Cyrus* the Younger should think it the readiest and most effectual Method to advance himself to the Empire of *Persia*: That *Croesus*, the wealthy King of *Lydia*, and several of the *Egyptian* Monarchs, tho' surrounded with numerous Forces of their own, should never esteem themselves secure without Assistance from *Sparta*; or that the *Sicilians*, *Thracians*, *Carthaginians*, with the *Cyreneans*, and many others, were beholden to it for Protection, and Deliverance from powerful Enemies. And for the *Grecians* themselves, whenever any of their little States were in danger of being swallowed up by their more powerful Neighbours, we find them having Recourse for Aid to the *Spartans*, who were a common Refuge to the oppressed, and restrain'd the ambitious Invaders of other Men's Rights.

Hence likewise it came to pass, that in all Confederacies they were look'd on as the principal Associates; and in all Wars carry'd on by public Contributions, they challeng'd the chief Command as their right and peculiar. Nor could any Exigency prevail with them to depart from that Claim, or resign it to the greatest of Princes: *Gelon*, King of *Sicily*, tho' promising to furnish them with large Supplies against the *Barbarians*, on Condition he might be declar'd Captain-general of the *Grecian* Forces, was rejected (b). Yet we find, that after the Victory over *Mardonius* at *Platea*, *Pausanias* the *Lacedemonian* General, having by his excessive Severity, and tyrannical Behaviour to the rest of the Soldiers, render'd the *Spartans* very odious, in the end they revolted to the *Athenians*, the gentle and courteous Carriage of whose Commanders, *Aristides* and *Cimon*, had endear'd them to all the rest of the *Grecians*: And here the Magnanimity of the *Lacedemonians* was wonderful; for when they perceiv'd that their Generals were corrupted, and their Minds too much elevated and puffed up by the greatness of their Authority, they left off sending any more of them to the Wars, chusing rather to have Citizens of Moderation, and that persever'd in their ancient Manners and Customs, than to be honour'd with the Superiority of all *Greece* (c). But this Misfortune did not put an end to the *La-*

(a) *Pelopida*,(b) *Herodotus* lib, VII,(c) *Plutarchus Aristide*.

Lacedemonian Greatness; for we find them in a little time reassuming their ancient Spirits, and disdaining even *Alexander* himself (tho' submitted to by the rest of the *Grecians*, and declar'd their General against *Persia*) for their Superiour. Which is the reason, that in the Monuments erected after the *Persian* Victories, and bearing the Names of *Alexander* and the *Grecians*, the *Lacedemonians* were excepted by Name, as having no share in that Honour. (a)

The *Athenians* alone were able to dispute this Prerogative with the *Lacedemonians*; some few Junctures excepted, when some unusual Success rais'd any of the other States beyond their ordinary Grandeur; as it happen'd to the *Thebans*, who, from a mean and despicable People, were by the Conduct of *Epaminondas* and *Pelopidas* advanc'd to an Equality, if not a Superiority over the most flourishing Cities of Greece,

Notwithstanding these, and some other Obstacles, the *Lacedemonians* for the most part made good their Pretensions, and, in most Wars carry'd on by a Confederacy, were Generals of all the Land-Forces; but were at length constrain'd to leave the Dominion of the Seas to the *Athenians*; who having laid out their whole Strength in fitting out a Navy against *Xerxes*, for a long Time reign'd sole Lords of the liquid Element: During which Season we find a Decree put forth by their Senate, wherein it was order'd, That the Command of all the Naval Forces of Greece should belong to Athens, but the Land-Armies should obey a General from Sparta (b). But the Rival Cities could not be long content with this equal Distribution of Power, each being jealous of the other's Greatness, and thinking her self best able to govern the whole Jurisdiction; till at length the *Athenians*, having their whole Fleet, except twelve Trireme Gallies, destroy'd at once by *Lysander* the Spartan Admiral, in the famous Battel at *Egos-potamus*, were constrain'd to own the *Lacedemonians* for Sovereigns both by Sea and Land. (c)

But the *Lacedemonians* were not long able to maintain this Command; for the *Athenians*, having recruited their Naval Forces, and engag'd *Evagoras* the King of Cyprus, and *Pharnabazus* the Persian Emperor's Lieutenant to their Interest; by their Assistance, and the singular Conduct of their own Admiral *Conon*, gave them so great an Overthrow at *Cnidus* (d) that they never after pretended to contest the Sovereignty of the Seas, but contented themselves with the chief Command at Land, which the *Athenians* suffer'd them to enjoy, without farther Molestation; both Cities being weary of the Contention, and convinc'd at length of the Truth of what had been commonly observ'd, That Fortune was most favourable to the *Lacedemonians* by Land, but in Sea Engagements sided with the *Athenians* (e). This seems not to have been without Reason, the *Athenians* thro' the Commodiouness of their Situation being dispos'd, and, as it were, invited by Nature to apply themselves to Naval Affairs; whereas the *Lacedemonians* were plac'd

(a) *Plutarchus Alexandro*, *Arrianus* De gestis *Alexandri* lib. I. (b) *Xenophon* *Ελληνικῶν* lib. VII. (c) *Xenophon* *περὶ Κύπρου ἐναγίας*. lib. VI. *Plutarchus* *Lysandro*. (d) *Isocrates* pro *Evagora*, in *Philippum*, *Panathenaica*, *Xenophon* *Ελληνικῶν*, lib. VI. *Plutarchus* *Artaxerxes*. (e) *Xenophon* *Ελληνικῶν*. lib. VII.

8 *Of the Military Affairs of Greece.*

at a greater Distance from the Sea, and more inclin'd to Land-Ser-vice, (to which they were inur'd from their tender Years) than to venture themselves on the Ocean, to which they had never been accusom'd; for *Lycurgus* their Law-giver, expressly forbad them (a) to visit foreign Countries, out of a well-grounded Fear, lest his Ci-izens should be corrupted by the Conversation of Strangers, and forsake that excellent Platform of Government he contriv'd for them. And it happen'd to them as he had wisely foreseen; for no sooner had *Lyfander* render'd them Sovereigns of the Seas, but they began by Degrees to leave their ancient Customs, and to degenerate from the Virtue and Glory of their Ancestors (b).

CHAP. II.

Of their Levies, Pay, &c. of Soldiers.

THE Grecian Armies consisted for the most Part of free Deni-zons, whom the Laws of their Country oblig'd, when arriv'd at a certain Age, to appear in Arms, upon the Summons of the Magistrate, or Commission'd Officer. In some Places they were more early admitted to the Wars, in others later.

The *Athenians* when arriv'd at Eighteen Years of Age, were ap-pointed to guard the City with the Forts belonging to it; from their going about to visit which, they were called *περιπολοι* (c): But were not sent to foreign Wars 'till Twenty; the *Spartans* seldom 'till Thirty. The younger Men in both Cities, with those who by reason of their Age were discharg'd from Military Service, were left at Home to defend their Habitations.

Some Persons were excus'd by reason of their Age; for having spent their Youth and Strength in serving their Country, it was but reason-able to discharge them from farther Service, that they might end their Days in Peace. After Threescore Years it seems to have been usual in most Places to allow them Liberty of retiring. At *Athens* no Man a-bove Forty was press'd to serve in the Wars, except in times of ex-tream Danger (d). Others were exempt on account of their Function; such were at *Athens* *οι τελαι προδρομοι*, the Farmers of the publick Customs (e), whose Prefence was requir'd in the City, during the whole Time of their Employment, and several of the Holy Orders, as also the Persons appointed to dance at *Bacchus's* Festival (f).

Others were excluded from serving in the Wars; such were the Slaves, and such others as liv'd amongst them, but were not honour'd with the Freedom of their Cities. These were never admitted, except

(a) *Plutarchus Institut. Laconicis.* (b) *Demosthenes Orat. in Philip. III.* (c) *Ulpianus in Olynthiac. III.* (d) *Ulpianus in Olynthiac. III.* (e) *Demosthenes in Neeram.* (f) *Idem Midiana.*

Of the Military Affairs of Greece.

7

in Cases of extream Danger, when there remain'd no other Means of preserving the Common-wealth. Of this Custom I have already given a large Account in one of the foregoing Books (a).

All that serv'd were enter'd into a publick Roll: Whence the Levy was call'd *καταγραφὴ, κατάλογος, στρατολογία*; and to make a Levy, *κατάλογον, or κατάγραφῶν ποιεῖν*. Amongst the Primitive Greeks it seems to have been frequently made by Lots, every Family being obliged to furnish out a certain Number, and filling up their Proportion by the Chance of Lots: Whence Mercury in Homer (b) pretending to be one of the Sons of Polyctor the Myrmidon, adds, that he was appointed by Lot to follow Achilles to the Trojan War.

Τῶν μεταπαλλόμενῳ, κλήρω λάχον ἐνθάδ' ἔπειδ'.

'Twas I, who when the Lots were drawn,
Was doom'd to follow Peleus's mighty Son.

For the Appointment of all Persons of a certain Age to be ready to serve in the Wars, seems only to be an Institution of later Ages; whereas all such-like things were formerly manag'd at the Pleasure of the Supream Magistrate.

The Soldiers were all maintain'd at their own Expences; no Name was more opprobrious than that of a *Mercenary*, it being look'd upon as a Disgrace for any Person of Ingenuous Birth and Education to serve for Wages. For all this, it was not permitted any Person to absent himself, except upon Reasons allow'd by the Law; and whoever was found thus to have transgress'd, was at Athens depriv'd of his Voice in all publick Business, and in a manner of all other Rights of Citizens, and was forbidden to enter into any of the publick Temples (c). And lest any of the Persons appointed to serve should make their Escape, we find they were branded with certain Marks, call'd *στίγματα*. These are mentioned by Vegetius (d), who speaking of the Military Oath, and the Muster-roll, wherein the Soldiers Names were register'd, mentions also, that they were *victuris in cute punctis scripti*, branded with lasting Marks in their Flesh. These Marks commonly contain'd the Name or proper Ensign of their General. To distinguish Soldiers from Slaves, who were commonly mark'd in the Fore-head, as has been elsewhere observ'd, they had *στίγματα ἐν τῇ χειρὶ*, their Characters impress'd upon their Hands, as we are inform'd by Alian. By the same Ceremony it was customary for Men to dedicate themselves to certain Deities: Whence is that Question mention'd in Zechariah (e), where he speaks of the Prophets and Votaries of the Pagan Gods, *And one shall say unto him, What are these Wounds in thy Hands?* And the Beast, who requires all Men to worship him in the Book of Revelation (f) is there said to cause all both Small and Great, Rich and Poor, Free and Bond, to receive a Mark in their Right-hand, or in their

(a) Lib. I. Cap. X. (b) *Iliad.* ω. (c) *Æschines Ctesiphantea*, *Demosthenes Timocratea.* (d) *De re militari* lib. II. cap. V. (e) XIII. 6. (f) Cap. XIII. ver. 16.

Fore-heads (a). And so the same Custom St. Paul is thought to allude in his Epistle to the *Galatians* (b); where speaking of the Wounds he had receiv'd in his Christian Warfare, he tells us, that he bore in his Body the *signs*, or Marks, of the Lord JESUS.

The *Carians* were the first that serv'd in Greece for Pay (c), and have thereby render'd their Names infamous to Posterity; being represented by all the Writers of those Times, as a base and servile Nation; insomuch that *καριοὶ* and *καριώτης* are Proverbial Epithets for Persons of abject and pusillanimous Tempers, or servile Condition (d); and *κάρες* is a synonymous Term for Slaves; as in that Proclamation at the end of the *Athenian* Festival *Anthesteria*, whereby the Slaves were commanded to be gone out of Doors;

Ὀυεζέτε, Κάρες, ἐκ τῆς Ἀνθεστιάς.

Be gone, ye Slaves, the *Anthesteria* are ended.

Thus the *Carians* were reproach'd for introducing a Custom, which in a few Ages after was so far from being look'd upon as unworthy their Birth or Education, that we find it practis'd by the whole Nation of the *Greeks*, who not only receiv'd Pay for serving their own Common-wealth, but lifted themselves under foreign Kings, and fought their Battles for Hire; their chief Magistrates not disdain to accompany them in such Expeditions. Several Instances of this sort might be produc'd, were not that famous one of the Great *Agésilas's* condescending to serve *Ptolemy* King of *Egypt*, instead of many others.

The first that introduc'd the Custom of paying Soldiers at *Athens*, was *Pericles*, who, to ingratiate himself with the Commonalty, represented how unreasonable it was, that Men of small Estates, and scarce able to provide for their Families, should be oblig'd to neglect their Business, and spend what their Industry had laid up, in the publick Service; and thereupon preferr'd a Decree that all of them should have Subsistence-Money out of the Exchequer (e); which seems to have been receiv'd with general Applause. What Sum they daily receiv'd, cannot easily be determin'd, it being encreas'd, or diminish'd, as Occasion requir'd. At first we find the Foot-Soldiers had two *Oboli* a Day, which in a Month amounted to Ten *Drachms* (f). What we read in *Thucydides* (g) of the Soldiers that garrison'd *Potidaa*, to every one of which was allotted a *Drachm* a Day, with another to a Servant for attending upon him, must not be understood, as if their ordinary Pay was of that Value, that being only to the Common Sea-men of *Athens* Three *Oboli*, to those that mann'd the Sacred Vessel call'd *Πάραλτος*, and the Foot-Soldiers, Four; whence *τετρακόβλιον* is a Proverbial Expression for a Soldier's Life (h); and *τετρακόβλιον* for serving in

(a) Conf. *Archæologia* hujus lib. I. cap. de servis. (b) Cap. VI. ver. 17. (c) *Strabo*, *Hesychius*, *Etymologici* Auctor. (d) *Hesychius*. (e) *Ulpianus* in *Orat. de Syntaxi*. (f) *Demosthenes* *Philipp.* I. (g) Lib. III. (h) *Eustath.* *Odyss.* d.

Of the Military Affairs of Greece. 9

the War. The Horsemen's Pay was for the most part Thirty *Drachms* a Month, that is a *Drachm* a Day; this we find to have been term'd *κατάσδοσις* (a).

The ordinary Method of raising this Money was by imposing a Tax on the whole Common-wealth, whereby all Persons were oblig'd to contribute according to the value of their Estates. But this was done only when the publick Treasury was exhausted, and the constant Revenues from tributary Cities, publick Lands, Woods, Mines, or from Fines and Amercements, were not sufficient to defray the Charges of the War. In cases of greater Necessity, the richer Citizens at *Athens* were oblig'd to extraordinary Contributions; and there appears to have been a generous and laudable Emulation amongst the Men of Quality in that City, who voluntarily offer'd more than was requir'd of them, and contended which of them should most largely contribute towards the Honour and Preservation of their Native Country.

Confederate Wars were maintain'd at the common Charge of all the Allies, every one being oblig'd to send a Proportion of Men; as we find practis'd in the *Trojan War*, which was the first, wherein the whole Country of *Greece* united against a foreign Enemy. Sometimes they were carry'd on by publick Contributions of Money, levy'd by Persons delegated by the common Consent of the Confederates, which was only the Practice of later Ages; the primitive Wars, wherein the Soldiers serv'd at their own Expence, and supply'd their Necessities out of the Spoils of their Enemies, being manag'd with less Charge to the Publick. The first Tax, or Tribute of this Nature that we find paid by the *Grecians*, was after the Expulsion of *Xerxes* out of *Greece*, when they agreed to make an Invasion upon their common Enemy, under the Conduct of the *Athenians*: For then *Aristides* the *Athenian*, at the general Desire of the *Greeks*, survey'd the whole Country and Revenue, and assess'd all particular Persons Town by Town, according to every Man's Ability; Thus he tax'd them Four Hundred Talents, to which *Pericles* added about a Third Part more; for we find in *Thucydides*, that in the Beginning of the *Peloponnesian War* the *Athenians* had coming in from their Confederates Six Hundred Talents. After *Pericles's* Death, being encreas'd by little and little, it was at length rais'd to the Sum of Thirteen Hundred Talents (b); all which was manag'd at the Discretion of the *Athenians*.

C H A P. III.

Of the different sorts of Soldiers.

THE Armies were compos'd of various sorts of Soldiers: their Gross or Main Body usually consisted of Foot-men, the rest rode some in Chariots, some on Horse-back, others upon Elephants.

(a) *Suidas V.* (b) *Plutarchus Aristide.*

Of the Military Affairs of Greece.

The Foot Soldiers we find distinguish'd into Three Sorts; the First and Principal of which were term'd *ὀπλίται* (a), being such as bore heavy Armour, engaging with broad Shields and long Spears.

2. *Ψιλοί* were Light-arm'd Men, who fought with Arrows and Darts, or Stones and Slings, annoying their Enemies at a Distance, but were unfit for close Fight. They were in Honour and Dignity inferior to the Heavy-arm'd Soldiers, and therefore, when *Teucer* in *Sophocles* Quarrels with *Menelaus*, he is scoffingly reprov'd by him in this manner,

Ο τοξότης ἔοικεν ἐ σμικρὰ φρονεῖν (b).

This Archer seems to think himself to be some-body.

It seems to have been frequent for them, having shot their Arrows, to retire behind the Shields of the Heavy-arm'd for Protection; for so we find the same *Teucer* doing in *Homer* (c),

Τεῦκρ' δ' εἶνατ' ἦλθε, παλίνιστον τόξα τιτάνων,

Στῆ δ' ἄρ' ὑπ' Αἴανθ' σάκει Τελαμωνιάδαο.

Ἐνθ' Αἴας μὲν ὀπεξέφερεν σάκ' αὐτὰρ ὄγ' ἦρος

Πατρίνας, ἐπεὶ ἄρ' τιν' αἰσείσας ἐν οἴκῳ

Βεβλήκει, ὃ μὲν αὖθι πεσὼν ὑπὸ θυμὸν βλάσεν;

Αὐτὰρ ὃ αὖτις ἰὼν, πᾶσι δὲ ὑπὸ μητέρεα, δύσκειν

Εἰς Αἴανθ'· ὃ δ' ἐμιν σάκει κρύπτοσκε φαινῶ.

Teucer, the Ninth from these, at length appear'd,

And all his Bows for certain Deaths prepar'd;

Behind the Shield of *Ajax* close he stood,

Which whensoever the Warlike Chief remov'd,

Around on all he casts his angry Eyes,

Threatning Destruction to his Enemies;

Whom when his Arrows wounded had, or slain,

Back he betook him to his Shield again.

So tim'rous Boys, approaching Ills to shun,

With eager haste to careful Mothers run.

H. H.

3. *Πελταῖαι* (d), tho' frequently comprehended under the *Ψιλοί*, as oppos'd to the *ὀπλίται*, were a middle sort between both, being arm'd with Shields and Spears, but far inferior in Bigness to those of the Heavy-arm'd Men. The Name is taken from their narrow Shields, call'd *πέλται*.

(a) *Smidius* v. *ὀπλίται*. (b) *Sophocles*, *Ajax*, v. 1141. (c) *Iliad*, 8, v. 266.
 (d) *Smidius* loc. cit. *Alianus*.

Of the Military Affairs of Greece. 11

The Horsemen amongst the ancient Grecians were not very numerous, being only such as were possess'd of Estates, and able to furnish out Horses at their own Charge. Hence both at *Athens* and *Sparta* we find ἵππεις, or Horsemen, to have compos'd the second Order in the Common-wealth, being plac'd above the Commonalty, and next to those of the highest Quality and Fortune: The same is Recorded of the *Roman Equites*, and (to mention no more) we are told by *Herodotus* (a), that among the *Calcedonians* none but rich Men were admitted into that Order. Afterwards, when Men of Estates began to court Ease and Pleasure, and thought it more advisable to furnish out a Horseman, and maintain him at their proper Expences, than to venture their own Persons; they retained indeed their former Name, but the Honour of serving on Horse-back was lost (b).

Who it was that first instructed Mankind in the Art of Horsemanship, is not agreed by the ancient Writers of Fables; some attribute it to the *Amazons* (c), others to the *Centaur*s (d), others to *Mellerophon* (e), others, lastly (to trouble you with no more) ascribe the Honour of it to *Neptune* (f), the first Creator of this Animal; for which Reason we find the various Epithets, ἵππιος (g), ἵππαρχος (h), ἵππνύτης (i), ἵπποκλεις, &c. conferr'd upon him by the Poets and Mythologists.

Whoever oblig'd Mankind with the first Invention of this Art, seems to have left it very Imperfect; for in those early Ages 'tis probable they understood not the Method of governing Horses with Reins and Bits, but manag'd them only with a Rope, or Switch, and the Accent of their Voice; this we find to have been a Practice of several other Nations, as the *Numidians* (k), *Getulians* (l), *Libyans* (m), and *Massylians*, of whom *Lucan* speaks thus (n),

*Et gens qua nudo residens Massylia dorso
Ora levi flectit frenorum nescia virgâ.*

Without a Saddle the *Massylians* ride,
And with a bending Switch their Horses guide.

Afterwards Bridles came into Fashion, of which the most remarkable were those call'd *Lupata*, having Bits of Iron, not unlike *Wolves Teeth*, and therefore call'd in *Greek* Λύπται, in *Latin* *Lupi*; whence *Horace* (o),

—— Gallica nec lupatis
Temperet ora franis.

Nor with the sharper Bits
Manage th' unruly Horse.

(a) Lib. V. (b) *Xenophon* Ἑλληνικῶν lib. VI. (c) *Lyfias* Orator. (d) *Palephatus* lib. I. (e) *Plinius* lib. VII. cap. LVI. (f) *Homerus* in Hymn. *Sophocles* *Oedipo*. (g) *Pausanias* *Achaicis*. (h) *Pindarus* *Pyth.* (i) *Lycophron*. *Cassandr.* (k) *Silius* lib. I. (l) *Id.* lib. II. (m) *Strabo* lib. XVII. (n) *Lucan*. l. IV. (o) Lib. I. Od. VIII.

The first Invention of them is by Statius attributed to Neptune,

*Neptunus equo, si corpus priorum
Fama valeat, primus teneris lasse lupanis
Ora, & littoreo domuisse in pulvere fertur.*

Neptune, if we may Credit give to Fame,

First taught with Bits the gen'rous Horse to tame.

By others to the Lapithæ, or Centaurs, who inhabited a Town in Thessaly, call'd Pelethronium: This Virgil (a),

Frena Pelethronii Lapithæ, gyrosque dederat

Impoſuit dorſo

The Lapithæ of Pelethronium rode

With Bridles first, and what their Use was shew'd.

Tho' some are of Opinion that the Poet speaks of Bridles, as invented not by the Lapithæ, but a Man of that Nation, whose Name was Pelethronius, to whom we find Pliny also attributing the Invention of Bridles, and Harness (b). The last of these the Greeks term *σπάματα*, and *ἐπίπνια*, which were made of divers sorts of Stuffs, as Leather, Cloth, or the Skin of wild Beasts. Parthenopaus's Horse is cover'd with the Skin of a Lynx, in Statius, Æneas's in Virgil with a Lyon's (c),

quem fulva leonis

Pellis obit

Cover'd with Lyon's Skin.

Sometimes we find them adorn'd with rich and costly Cloathing; as in the same Poet (d),

Omnibus extemplo Teucris jubat ordine duci

Inſtratos oſtro alipedes pictiſque tapetis,

Aurea pectoribus demissa monilia pendent.

For ev'ry Trojan straight it is decreed,

That sprightly Coursers be in Order led,

Adorn'd with costly Trappings, to whose Breasts

The Golden Poitrels hang.

Of the Saddles in use amongst us we find no mention in any ancient Writers; as neither of the *Stapia*, or more properly *Subex pedaneus*, or Stirrop, which does not appear to have been us'd till these latter Ages;

(a) Georgic. III. 115. (b) Lib. VII. cap. LVI. (c) Æn. VIII. (d) Æn. VII. there

there being no Notice taken of any such thing in any Author, that I know of, before *Eustathius*, who flourisht Five Hundred Years ago, and in his Commentaries upon *Homer* hath mentioned an Instrument of this sort. In former Ages they supplied the Want of such Helps by their Art, or Agility of Body; being able to leap on Horseback, as the Heroes in *Virgil* (a),

*Corpora saltu
Subjiciunt in equos*

And by a Leap, bestride their Horses.

Or for their greater Convenience, the Horses were taught submissively to bow their Bodies to the Ground, and receive their Riders upon their Backs (b), as we find practis'd as well in Greece, as by the ancient Spaniards (c), and other Nations. Hence *Silius* speaks of the Horse of *Cladius*, a Roman Knight, in this manner (d),

Inde inclinatus collum, submissus & armos

De more, inflexis praebebat scandere terga

Cruribus

Downwards the Horse his Head and Shoulders bent,

To give his Rider a more free Ascent.

Sometimes we find them leaping up by the Help of their Spears, or other Things. Several other Methods were us'd by Men of weak and unactive Bodies: Some getting up on the Backs of their Slaves (e), others by the help of short Ladders; both which Supports were term'd *ἀναβολαίς*. Lastly, we find the High-ways fill'd with Stones erected for this Purpose; which is said to have been done in Italy by *Gracchus* (f), and in Greece was always one part of the Business of the Overseers of the Roads (g).

Let us now return to their Military Affairs, where we shall find it disputed, whether the Warriours of Primitive Ages were carried to the Field in Chariots, or on Horseback. *Lucretius* indeed tells us, that the first Heroes were mounted upon Horses, whereas Chariots were only a later Invention (h),

Et prius est repperitum in equi conscendere costas,

Et moderatier hunc franis dextraque vigere,

Quam bijugo curru belli tentare pericla.

Mounted on well-rein'd Steeds in ancient Time,

Before the use of Chariots was brought in,

The first Brave Heroes fought.

(a) *Æn. XII.* (b) *Pallux lib. I. cap. XI.* (c) *Strabo lib. III.* (d) *Lib. X.*
(e) *Volaterranus Epit. Xenophon.* (f) *Plutarchus Gracchis.* (g) *Xenophon.*
Hipparcho. (h) *Lib. V.*

14 Of the Military Affairs of Greece.

But we are inform'd by *Palephatus*, that Chariots were first in use; the *Lapithæ*, who flourish'd about *Hercules's* Time, being the First that attempted to ride upon Horses, a Thing strange and unheard of by the *Greeks* in those Days, who view'd them not without Amazement, imagining them to be Monsters compounded of the different Shapes of Men and Horses, or Bulls, which they frequently back'd instead of Horses; whence we have the Fables of the *Centaur*s and *Hippocentaur*s. And 'tis more than probable, that at the Time of the *Trojan War* the Custom of riding and fighting upon Horses was not commonly receiv'd by the *Greeks*; since the Heroes of *Homer*, whose Authority must in such Cases ever be held Sacred, are always introduc'd into the Battle in Chariots, never on Horse-back.

The Chariots of Princes and Heroes were not only contriv'd for Service, but Ornament, being richly emboss'd with Gold and other Metals; as we read of *Orsines* the *Persian* in *Curtius* (a), and several of *Homer's*, as that of *Rhesus* (b),

Ἄρμα δ' οἱ χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἀργύρῳ εὖ ἥσκηται,

Silver and Gold his Chariot did adorn.

And another of *Diomedes* (c),

Ἄρματα τε χρυσῷ πεπυκασμένα, κασιτέρφτε.

Chariots richly adorn'd with Gold and Tin.

They were likewise adorn'd with curious Hangings; whence we read of *Lycaon's* Chariot (d),

ἀμφὶ δ' ἑπταπλοῖ

Πτεπταλαι.

Like Wings its Hangings are expanded wide.

And the Poet calls that of *Achilles* Ἄρματα εὖ πεπυκασμένα (e).

The Chariots in *Homer* are drawn for the most part by Two Horses coupled together; that of *Achilles* had no more, the Names of his Horses being only *Xanthus* and *Balius*. So *Lycaon's* (f),

Ἄρμα δὲ σφιν ἐκαστῷ δίζυγες ἵπποι

Ἔσασαν

Two well-pair'd Steeds to ev'ry Chariot stand.

And *Aeneas's* in *Virgil* (g),

Absenti *Aeneæ currum*, *geminosque jugales*.

(a) Lib. X. (b) *Iliad*. x. (c) *Iliad*. v. (d) *Iliad*. o. (e) *Iliad*. x. (f) *Iliad*. e. (g) *Aeneid*. VII. v. 280.

Of the Military Affairs of Greece. 15

A Chariot and Two sprightly Steeds are sent

To absent *Aeneas*—

To these Two they sometimes added a Third, which was not coupled with the other Two, but govern'd with Reins, and therefore call'd *σπῆλαιος*, *σπυροειδής*, *μαχηταίος*, &c. but in *Homer* usually *πρῆστος*, and the Rein wherewith he was held in *μαρμαίον*. The same Custom was practis'd by the Romans, till the time of *Dionysius the Halicarnassian* (a), tho' left off in *Greece* long before. In the Eighth *Iliad*, *Hector's* Chariot seems to be drawn by Four Horses, for there the Hero thus bespeaks 'em,

Ξάνθε τε, καὶ αὐτὸς Πόδας γέ, καὶ Αἶδον, Δάμω τε δῖε.

And however some Ancient Criticks will have the Two former to be no more than Epithets of the latter, because *Hector* afterwards speaks to them in the Dual Number,

Νῦν μοι τὼ καμίσδ' ἐν σποτίνετον—

yet it is evident from other Places, that even in *Homer's* Time it was customary to have Chariots drawn by Four Horses; as when he tells us, the *Phæacian* Ship shap'd her Course,

—ὡς ἐν πρὸς τὴν τετραόρεσ ἵπποις (b).

Every Chariot carry'd Two Men, whence it was term'd *δίφωρος*, q. *δίφωρος* (c); tho' that Word does not in its strict and proper Acceptation denote the whole Chariot, but only that part wherein the Men were placed. One of these was call'd *ἡνίοχος*, because he govern'd the Reins, which in those Days was not a servile or ignoble Office, but frequently undertaken by Men of Quality; for we find *Nestor* (d), *Hector* (e), and several others of Note employ'd in it; and that not on extraordinary Occasions, but frequently, some of them making it their Profession. Yet the Charioteer was inferior, if not always in Dignity, at least in Strength and Valour to the Warriour, who was call'd *παρὰ-εὐρυν*, and had Command of the other, and directed him which Way to drive, as *Eustathius* observes (f). When he came to encounter in close Fight, he alighted out of the Chariot, as we find every where in *Homer*, and the rest of the Poets. So *Hercules* and *Cycnus* about to engage,

—εὐπλεχέων δίφωρον δόξαν αἶψ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν (g).

Leapt from their Chariots on the Ground.

And *Turnus* in *Virgil* (h),

(a) Antiquit. Rom. lib. VII. (b) *Odys.* v. (c) *Eustathius*. (d) *Iliad.* 8. (e) *Iliad.* 8. (f) *Iliad.* 8. (g) *Hesiodus.* Scuto. (h) *Aeneid.* X.

————— *Desluit bijugis, pedes apparet ire:*
Dismounts his Horse, and fits himself to walk.

When they were weary, which often happen'd by reason of their Armour, being heavier than any other, they retir'd into their Chariots, and thence annoy'd their Enemies with Darts and missive Weapons.

Beside these, we find frequent mention in Historians of Chariots, call'd *Currus falcati*, and *σπαρανοθήες*, because arm'd with Hooks or Scythes, with which whole Ranks of Soldiers were cut off together. But afterwards it being consider'd they were never of any use but in plain open Ground, and were frequently turn'd back by affrighted and ungovernable Horses upon their own Party, to its Confusion and Ruin, several Methods also being contriv'd to defeat or elude their Force, these and all other Chariots were wholly lay'd aside. Accordingly when Military Discipline was carry'd to its Height, tho' sometimes they were brought into Battles by Barbarians, as may be observ'd of the *Persians* in *Curtius*, yet we never find the *Grecians* making any use of them, or much damag'd by them; but contemning that old and unskilful Method of fighting, they chose rather to ride on Horseback, which Custom seems to have been received in a short time after the Heroick Wars.

Of all the *Grecians* the *Thessalians* have the greatest Name for Horsemanship, and in all Wars we find their Cavalry most esteem'd. The *Colophonians* had once, by many remarkable Actions, arriv'd to such a pitch of Glory, as to be esteem'd invincible: In all long and tedious Wars their Assistance was courted, and the Party that obtained Supplies from them, was certain of Success and Victory; insomuch that *Κολοφῶνα τίσιναι*, and in *Latin*, *Colophonem imponere*, was us'd Proverbially for putting a Conclusion to any Affair (a). The *Lacedemonians* were but meanly furnished with Cavalry, and till the *Messenian Wars* it does not appear that either they, or the rest of the *Peloponnesians*, employ'd themselves in Horsemanship, but repos'd their chief Confidence in Foot (b); *Peloponnesus* being a Mountainous and Craggy Country, and therefore unfit for Horsemen (c), who in such Places become almost useless in Fight. But the *Messenians* being subdu'd, the *Spartans* carrying their Arms into other Countries, soon found the great Occasion they had of Horses to support and cover their Foot; and in a short Time supply'd that Defect, by instructing their Youth in Horsemanship; to which end we find they had Masters in that Art, call'd *ἵπποχαιῖται* (d). But the greatest part of their Cavalry was furnish'd from *Sciros* (e), a Town not far distant from *Sparta*, the Inhabitants of which claim'd as their proper Post the left Wing in the *Lacedemonian Armies* (f). *Attica* was likewise a Hilly Country, and therefore not design'd by Nature for breeding Horses: We find accordingly the *Athenian Cavalry* to have been exceeding few in Number, consisting only of Ninety-six Horsemen: For the whole *Athenian Nation* being anciently

(a) *Strabo*, lib. XIV. (b) *Pausanias*, lib. IV. (c) *Plato*. (d) *Hesychius*.
(e) *Xenophon*, *Κύρουαιδ.* lib. IV. (f) *Thucydides* lib. V.

divided into Forty-eight *Naucratis*, we are told by *Pollux*, that the Number of Horses each of these were obliged to furnish to the War, was no more than two. And therefore 'tis no Wonder if the *Medes* thought them deprived of Reason, when at the Battel of *Marathon* they had Courage to encounter a strong and numerous Army with so small, and appearingly contemptible a Force (a). Having afterwards expell'd the *Medes* and *Persians* out of *Greece*, and rais'd themselves to a flourishing Condition, they increas'd the Number of their Cavalry to three hundred; and not long after, having once more restor'd Peace to their City, and establish'd it in greater Power and Splendour than before, they augmented them to twelve hundred, and arm'd at the same time an equal Number of Men with Bows and Arrows (b), of which they had before no greater Plenty than of Horses; for both then and afterwards the Strength of most of the *Grecian* Armies consisted in their heavy-arm'd Foot.

The *Athenians* admitted none to serve on Horseback, 'till they had undergone a strict Probation; and if any Person was found to have fraudulently insinuated himself into the Roll, upon Conviction he was declared ἀτιμῶς, and disfranchis'd (c). This consisted, with respect to the Men, in a Search after their Estates, and Observation of their Strength and Vigour of Body: For no Persons were enter'd into the Roll, but such as had plentiful Possessions, and were in good plight of Body. This Probation was performed by the ἵππαρχος, General of the Horse; who, if Occasion required, was assisted by the *Phylarchi*, and Senate of Five hundred (d). In Horses they observ'd their Obedience to their Riders; and such as they found ungovernable or fearful were rejected. This was examin'd τὴν κώδωνος ἰσοφίᾳ, by the Sound of a Bell, or some other Instrument of that Nature: Whence κώδωνίζειν is expounded πειράζειν, to try, or prove; and ἀκώδωνισον is the same with ἀπείρασον, unprov'd (e). Such Horses likewise as were beaten out with long Service, they branded upon the Jaw with a Mark, frequently term'd τροχὸς (f), being the Figure of a Wheel, or Circle; and sometimes τρυσίππιον, whereby the Beast was releas'd from farther Service. Hence ἐπιβάλλειν τρυσίππιον is to excuse. Thus is the following Verse of *Eupolis*,

Εἶθ' ὥσπερ ἵππῳ μοι ἐπιβαλεῖς τρυσίππιον.

Which was thus express'd by *Crates* in his Comedy intitled *The Samians*:

Ἴππῳ γηρόσκονί τὰ μείονα κύκλ' ἐπίβαλλε.

We meet with several Titles and Appellations of Horsemen, most of which were deriv'd from the Variety of their Armour, or different Manner of fighting, as that of ἀκροβολισαῖ, who annoy'd their Ene-

(a) *Herodotus*. (b) *Æschines* Orat. de falsa Legatione, *Andocides* Orat. de Pace. (c) *Lysias* Orat. de Ordine deserto. (d) *Aristophanis* Scholiastes in *Ranais*. *Xenophon* *Hippiarchico*, *Hesychius* v. *Τρυσίππιον*, (e) *Hesychius*. (f) *Conf. Zenobius* Cent. IV. Prov. XLI.

mies with missive Weapons at some Distance, *δοξατοφόροι, ξυστοφόροι, ὑπακοήται, ἵπποτοξοίται, κοτοφόροι, θυρεοφόροι*, with others, the Distinction of all which is sufficiently intimated in their Names.

Ἀμοιπτοί sometimes by Mistake, or Corruption, called *ἄνιπτοι* (a), were such as for Conveniency had two Horses, on which they rode by turns. They were sometimes term'd *ἵππαγωγοί* διὰ τὸ ἄγειν ἵππους, because they led one of their Horses; which was not a late Contrivance, but practised soon after the Heroical Times, as appears from *Homer's* (b) mentioning it

————— ὃ δ' ἔμπεδον ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ
Θρώσκων ἄλλοτ' ἐπ' ἄλλον ἀμέεζε, οἱ δ' πέτον;

Nor does he ever fall, tho' at full Speed
He leap from one upon the other Steed.

Διμάχαι, first instituted by *Alexander* the Great, were a sort of Dragoons, and accommodated with Armour something heavier than that of ordinary Horsemen, but not quite so weighty as that of the Foot Soldiers, to the end they might be ready to serve either on Horseback or on Foot; for which reason they had Servants attending to take their Horses whenever the General commanded them to alight (c).

They were also distinguish'd into *κατάφρακτοι* and *καταρρακτοί*, i. e. heavy and light arm'd, after the same manner with the Footmen. The *κατάφρακτοι*, or Cuirassiers, were not only fortified with Armour themselves, but had their Horses guarded with solid Plates of Brass, or other Metals; which from the Members defended by them received different Names, being called *πρωμετωπίδια, παρώτια, παρήτια, προσερνίδια, παραπλευρίδια, παραμυρίδια, παρακνηρίδια*, &c. (d): Sometimes they were composed of Skins, fortified with Plates of Metal curiously wrought into Plumes, or other Forms. Thus we find one of *Virgil's* Heroes arm'd his Steed (e);

*Spumantemque agitabat equum, quem pellis ahenis
In plumam squamis auro conferta tegebat.*

He spurr'd his gen'rous Horse, whose Cloathing was
A Skin beset with Plates of Gold and Brass,
Made in the Fash'on of a costly Plume.

They were likewise bedeck'd with various Ornaments, viz. with Bells, as we find *Rhesus's* Horses in *Euripides*; with Cloathing of Tapestry, Embroidery, and other curious Work; with rich Collars and Trappings, or what the *Latins* call *Phalera*, the *Greeks* *Φαλέραι*, which some will have to be an Ornament for the Forehead, others for the Jaws; nor are there wanting, who think them to signify all the Ornaments belonging to Horses.

(a) *Suidas*, *Pollux*, lib. I. cap. X. n. V. (b) *Iliad*, 6, v. 684. (c) *Pollux*, loc. cit. (d) *Idem* eodem cap. (e) *Æn*, XI, v. 770.

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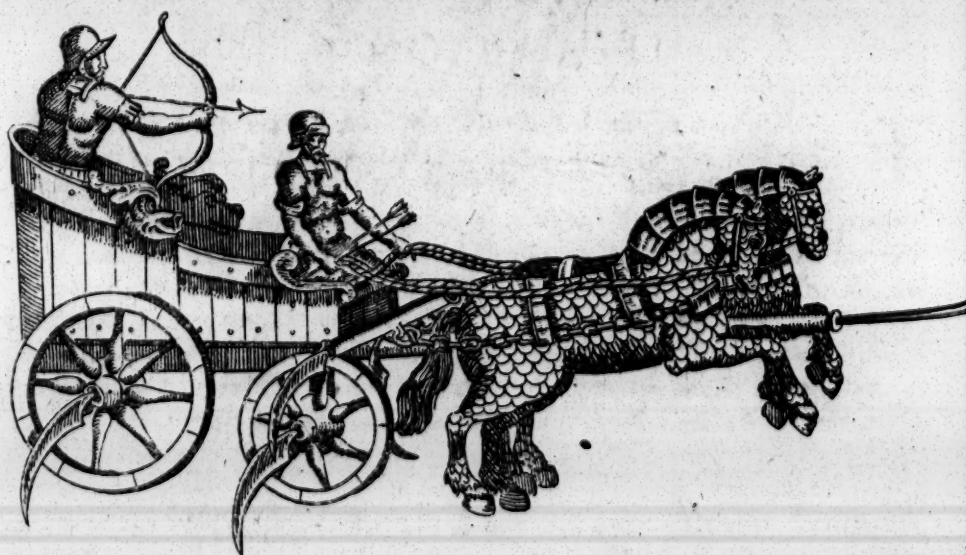
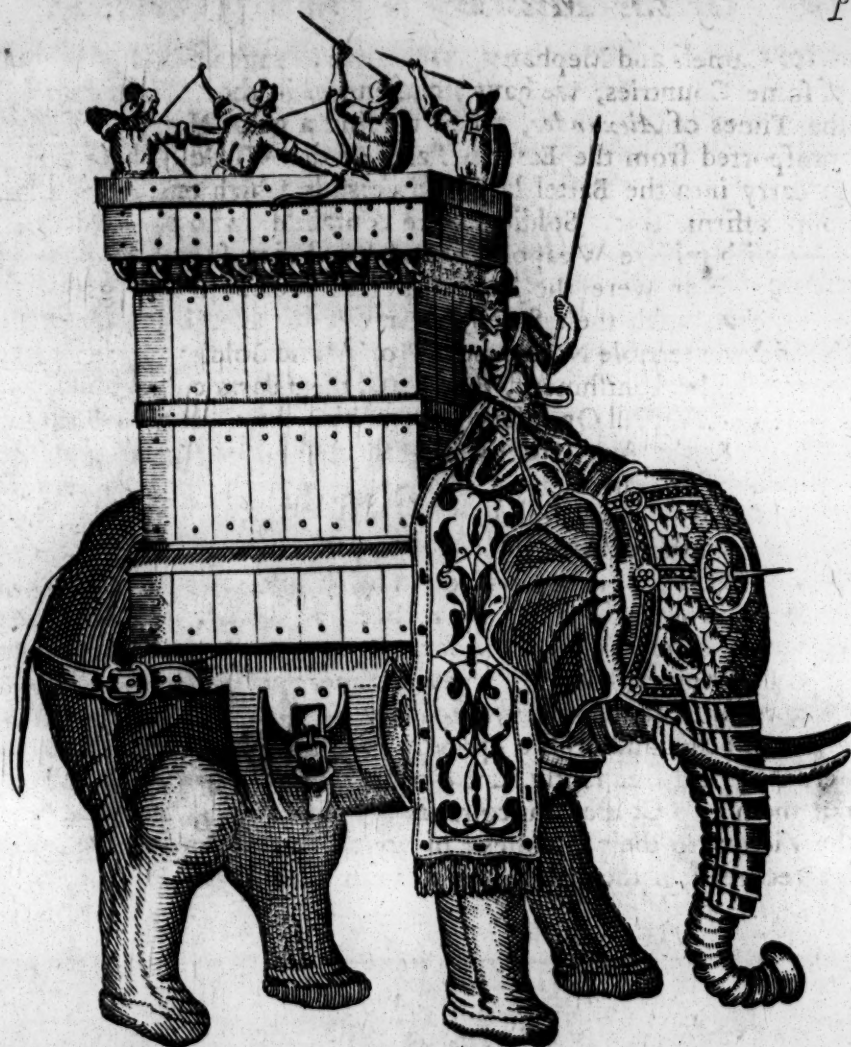
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Of Camels and Elephants, which are so much talk'd of in the Wars of some Countries, we have no mention in the *Grecian* Story before the Times of *Alexander*, when we find a great Number of Elephants transported from the Eastern Parts of the World. These were wont to carry into the Battel large Towers, in which ten, fifteen, and, as some affirm, thirty Soldiers were contain'd, who annoy'd their Enemies with missive Weapons, themselves being secure, and out of danger (a). Nor were the Beasts idle, or useless in Engagements; for beside that, with their Smell, their vast and amazing Bulk, and their strange and terrible Noise, both Horses and Soldiers were struck with Terror and Astonishment, they acted their Parts courageously, trampling under Feet all Opposers, or catching them in their Trunks, and tossing into the Air, or delivering them to their Riders (b). Nor was it unusual for them to engage with one another with great Fury, which they always doubled after they had receiv'd Wounds, tearing their Adversaries in pieces with their Teeth (c). But in a short time they were wholly laid aside, their Service not being able to compensate the great Mischiefs frequently done by them: For though they were endued with great Sagacity, and approach'd nearer to Humane Reason than any other Animal, whereby they became more tractable to their Governors, and capable to pay obedience to their Instructions; yet being fore wounded, and press'd upon by their Enemies, they became ungovernable, and frequently turn'd all their Rage upon their own Party, put them into Confusion, committed terrible Slaughters, and deliver'd the Victory to their Enemies; of which several remarkable Instances are recorded in the Historians of both Languages.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Grecian Arms and Weapons, with their Military Apparel.

THE Authors of Fables tell us, the first Person that put on Armour was *Mars*, who perhaps for no other Reason was honour'd with the Title of God of War; it being very frequent with the ancient Heathens gratefully to acknowledge their Obligations to the first Contrivers of any profitable Invention, by inserting them into the Number of their Deities, and decreeing to them the perpetual Care and Sovereignty of those useful and ingenious Arts or Contrivances, whereof they were the first Authors. The Workman employ'd by *Mars* was *Vulcan*, at that Time a Master Smith in the Isle of *Lemnos*, and so eminent in his Profession, that Posterity advanc'd him among the Gods,

(a) *Philostrotus Vita Apollonii*, lib. I. cap. VI. (b) *Curtius*, lib. VIII.
(c) *Polybius*, lib. V.

20 *Of the Military Affairs of Greece.*

and honour'd him with the Superintendency and Protection of his own Trade : But his Countrymen the *Lemnians* were not so fortunate; for they stand represented to all Ages as common Enemies of Mankind, and branded with Characters of Infamy for that execrable and pernicious Device. Whence the Poets have fix'd upon them the Name of Σίνιες, to continue the Memory of the Harm they did to Mankind. Thus *Homer* (a),

Ἐνθά μὲ Σίνιες ἄνδρες ἄφαρ κομίσαντο πρὸν ἴα.

Turn'd out of Heav'n, the *Lemnians* me receiv'd.

Their Country likewise was called Σινίη, as we find in *Apollonius* (b),

Εἰσεῖν κραναῶ Σινίηδα Λήμνον ἱκόντα.

To *Lemnos*, otherwise *Sinteis* call'd,
They sail'd.

From the same Original are deriv'd these common Proverbs, Ἀήμνια κακὰ, great and intolerable Evils; Λημνία χεὶρ, a fatal or mischievous Hand; and Λήμνιον βλέπειν, to have a cruel and bloody Look (c). Though some will by no means allow this Character to have been given to the *Lemnians* for their Invention of Arms, but rather for the frequent Piracies and Outrages committed by them upon Foreigners, or for other Reasons : Whereas they tell us, that *Liber*, or *Bacchus*, was the first that introduced into the World the Use of Weapons (d).

The Arms of all the primitive Heroes were compos'd of Brasses, as appears from *Homer*, who is herein follow'd as well by the ancient Poets, both *Greek* and *Latin*, as all other Writers that give Account of those Times. *Pausanias* hath endeavour'd to prove this by a great number of Instances (e): 'Tis reported in *Plutarch* (f), that when *Cimon*, the Son of *Miltiades*, convey'd the Bones of *Theseus* from the Isle of *Scyros* to *Athens*, he found interr'd with him a Sword of Brass, and a Spear with an Head of the same Metal. More Examples would be superfluous, since we are expressly told by *Hesiod*, that there was no such thing as Iron in those Ages; but their Arms, all sorts of Instruments, and their very Houses were made of Brasses (g);

Τοῖς δ' ὡ χαλκεα μὲν τέχνη, χαλκοὶ δέ τε οἶκοι
Χαλκῷ δ' εἰργάζοντο, μέλας δ' ἐκ ἔσκε σίδηρος.

Nor yet to Men Iron discover'd was;
But Arms, Tools, Houses were compos'd of Brasses.

(a) *Iliad.* d. prope finem. (b) *Argon.* II. (c) *Eustathius, Iliad.* d. p. 119. Edit. *Basil.* (d) *Isidorus*, Orig. lib. IX. cap. III. (e) *Laconicis.* (f) *Theseo.* (g) *Oper.* & *Dieb.*

And in later Ages, when the World was acquainted with the Use of Iron, the Artificers and their Occupation still retain'd their old Names. Thus we are told by *Aristotle* (a), that χαλκεύς denotes an Iron Smith: And (to trouble you with no more Instances in a Thing so commonly known) *Plutarch* (b) applies the Word ἐχαλκίσατο to the making of Iron Helmets.

Some of their Arms were compos'd of Tin, especially their Boots, as we read of *Achilles's* in the eighteenth *Iliad*. This Metal was likewise frequently us'd in other Parts of their Armour, as appears from *Agamemnon's* Breast-plate (c), and *Æneas's* Shield (d).

Several other Metals were made use of; Gold and Silver were in great Esteem among them, yet the most Illustrious Heroes us'd them only as graceful Ornaments: They, whose whole Armour was compos'd of them, are usually represented as more addicted to effeminate and delicate Arts, than manly Courage and Bravery. *Glaucus's* Arms were indeed made of Gold, but the great *Diomedes* was content with Brass. *Amphimachus*, who enter'd into the War with Golden Weapons, is compar'd by *Homer* to a trim Virgin (e),

Νάσσης, Αμφίμαχος τε, Νομίονος ἀγλαὰ τέκνα,
Ὅς κ' χρυσὸν ἔχων πόλεμόνδ' ἔειν, ἥντε κέρη,
Νήπιος· ἐδ' εἰ τί οἱ τόγ' ἐπήκεσε λυγρὸν ὄλεθρον.
Ἀλλ' ἐδάμνη ὑπὸ χερσὶ ποδωκέος Αἰακίδαο
Ἐν ποταμῷ· χρυσὸν δ' Ἀχιλλεύς ἐκόμιε δαΐφρων.

Trick'd up in Arms of Gold for horrid War,
Like some trim Girl, does *Nomion's* Son prepare,
The vain *Amphimachus*; but not that Show,
Nor Pomp could ward off the unerring Blow;
But by *Æacides* depriv'd of Life,
His Arms were seiz'd by the more skilful Chief!

H. H.

In like manner the *Persians*, having given themselves over to Softness and Pleasure, engag'd with the rough *Grecians*, richly adorn'd with Gold and Jewels, and became an easy Prey to them. The *Grecian* Heroes, though not so unpolish'd, as to debar themselves the Use of these Ornaments, yet were not so excessively profuse of them, nor applied them to the same Ends and Purposes: *Achilles's* Shield, so curiously engrav'd by *Vulcan*, is a Lecture of Philosophy, and contains a Description of almost all the Works of Nature. The Arms of other valiant Princes are frequently adorn'd with Representations of their noble Exploits, the History of the Actions of their Ancestors, or Blessings receiv'd from the Gods; or fill'd with terrible Images of Lions, or

(a) Poeticâ. (b) Camillo, ἐχαλκεύσατο κράνη τοῖς πλείστοις ὁλοσίδηρα.

(c) *Iliad*. λ'. (d) *Iliad*. υ'. (e) *Iliad*. β'. prope finem.

22 *Of the Military Affairs of Greece.*

Dragons, and render'd bright and shining to strike Terror and Amazement into their Enemies, according to that of *Homier* (a);

——— ὄρε δ' ἀμείδεν
 Αὐγὴ χαλκείη. ———

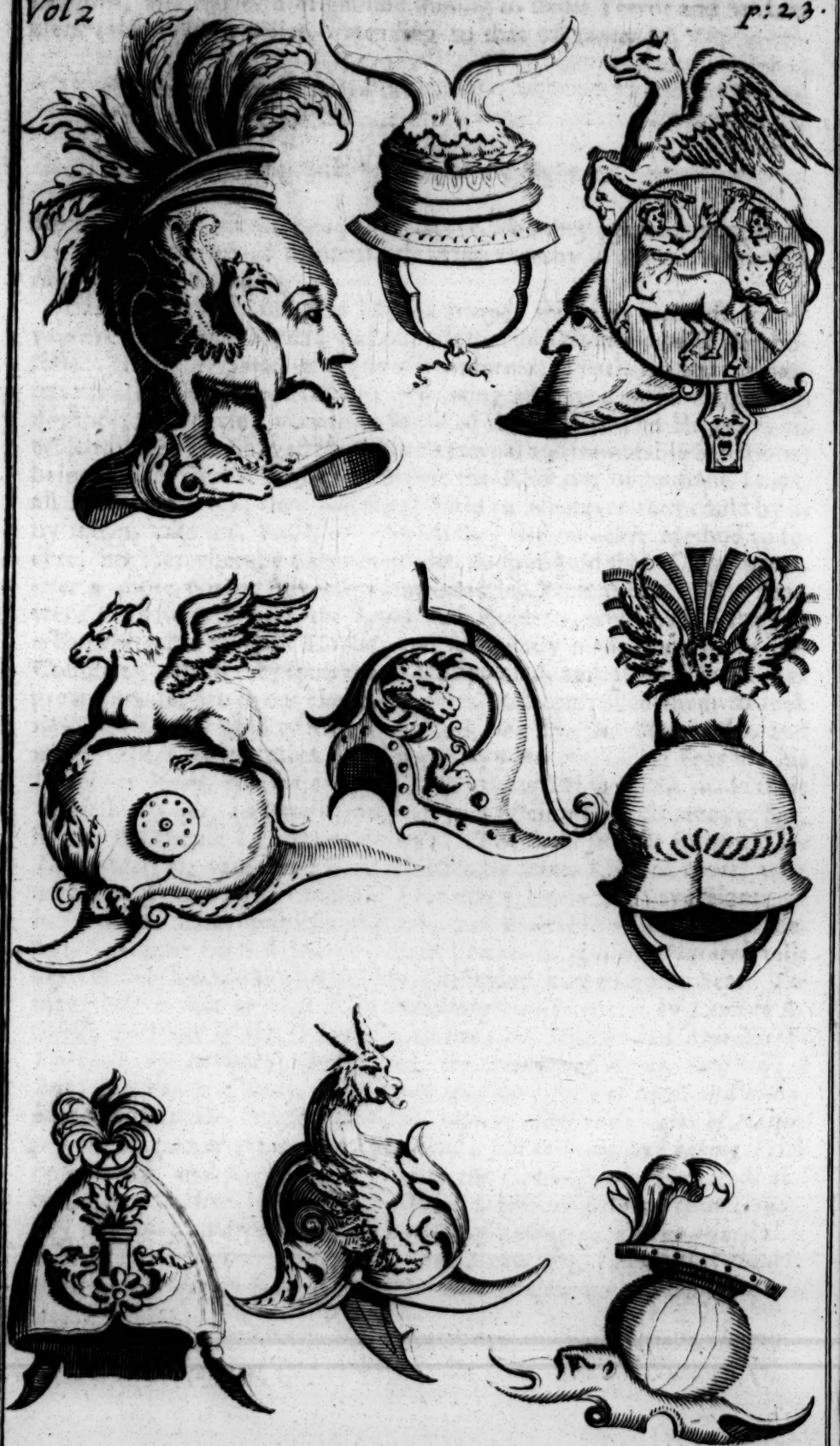
Th' amazing Lustre terrify'd the Sight.

So 'tis reported of our *British* Ancestors, that they painted themselves with divers Forms of Animals, thinking thereby to appear more terrible to their Enemies.

The ancient *Grecians* were always armed, thinking it unsafe to adventure themselves abroad without a sufficient Defence against Aggressors. Hence *Aristotle* hath rationally inferred, That they were a barbarous and uncivilized Nation : For being educated in the deepest Ignorance, and having very little Sense of that Justice and Honesty, to which all Men are obliged by Nature's eternal and immutable Sanctions, being also in a great measure without the Restraint of humane Laws, all Persons thought they had a just Title to whatever they could by any means take into Possession, which they had no other Method to secure, but that whereby they obtain'd it, and resign'd their Claim whenever a more potent Adversary exhibited his Pretensions. The Seas were filled with Pirates, the Land with Robbers, who made a Prey of whatever came to their Hands, and frequently made Incursions into Countries, which they spoil'd and depopulated, and, if their Force was great enough, drove out the Inhabitants, and compelled them to seek new Seats. By Men of this Profession, *Io*, *Europa*, *Ganymedes*, and many others, were stolen; which put *Tyndarus* in such a Fear for his Daughter *Helen*, that he caused all the young Princes that made their Addresses to her, to bind themselves by a solemn Oath to recover her, if ever she should be convey'd away. The Sea, we are inform'd by *Thucydides* (b), was freed from Piracies by *Minos* King of *Crete*, who with a powerful Navy maintain'd for many Years the Sovereignty of it. But the Land was still infested; and therefore when *Theseus* design'd to make his first Journey from *Træzen* to *Athens*, *Plutarch* tells us, that his Relations would have persuaded him to go by Sea. For (says he) it was at that Time very dangerous to travel by Land to *Athens*, no Place of the Country being free from Thieves and Murderers : For that Age produced a sort of men, for Strength of Arms, Swiftnes of Feet, and Vigour of Body, excelling the ordinary Rate of Men, and in Labours and Exercises indefatigable; yet making use of these Gifts of Nature to nothing good or profitable to Mankind; but rejoicing and taking Pride in Insolence, and pleasing themselves in the Commission of barbarous and inhumane Cruelties, in seizing by Force whatever fell into their Hands, and practising upon Strangers all manner of Outrages; who imagined that Civility, and Justice, and Equity, and Humanity, (which they thought were commended by many, either for want of Courage to commit Injuries

(a) *Iliad*. I. (b) *Lib*. I.





or Fear of receiving them) nothing at all to concern those who were most daring and strong (a). Of these indeed *Hercules* and *Theseus*, and other generous and publick-spirited Princes, in a great measure freed the Country: But before that, 'twas not to be wonder'd if the *Grecians* always wore Arms, standing upon their Guard, especially since in those Days few of them were united into large Towns, but lived retiredly in Country Seats, or at the best in small and defenceless Hamlets. This Custom was first laid aside at *Athens*, the Occasion and Necessity thereof being first removed in that City (b): For Historians generally agree, that the *Athenians* entertained the decent Rules of Civility and Humanity, were modelled into a regular Form of Government, and enjoyed the Happiness of wholesome and useful Laws before the rest of the *Grecians*. Afterwards a Penalty was laid by *Solon* upon those who wore Arms in the City without Necessity (c); that having in former Times been the Occasion of frequent Murders, Robberies, and Duels. On the same Account was made the following Law of *Zaleucus*, Μηδὲνα φορεῖν ὄπλα ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ, That no Person should bear Arms in the Senate.

Let us now return to the Description of the *Grecian* Arms, which are distinguished into two Sorts, some of them being contrived for their own Defence, others to annoy their Enemies. The Primitive *Grecians*, we are told (d), were better furnished with the former, whereas the Barbarians were more industrious in providing the latter; the Generals of these being most concern'd how to destroy their Enemies, whilst the *Grecians* thought it more agreeable to the Dictates of humane Nature, to study how to preserve their Friends: For which Reason *Homer* always takes care to introduce his brave and valiant Heroes well armed into the Battel, and the *Grecian* Lawgivers decreed Punishments for those that threw away their Shields, but excused those that lost their Swords or Spears; intimating hereby, that their Soldiers ought to be more careful to defend themselves, than to offend their Enemies (e).

First let us take Account of their *Defensive* Arms, as fitted to the several Members of the Body, beginning at the Head, which was guarded with an Helmet, called in Greek *ἡ κεφαλαια. κράνη, κρύς*, &c. This was sometimes composed of Brass or other Metals, as *Mene-laüs's* in *Homer*,

— αὐτὰρ ἐπὶ σφάνῳ κεφαλῇσιν ἀείρας
Θήκατο χαλκείῳ. —

He put his Headpiece on, compos'd of Brass.

And very frequently of the Skins of Beasts, which give Occasion to those different Appellations, derived from the Names of Animals, whereby it is signified in *Homer*, as *ἰκιδέη, ταυρεῖν, ἀλώπεκην*,

(a) *Plutarchus Theseo.* (b) *Thucydides*, lib. I. (c) *Lucianus Anacharside.*
(d) *Enripidis Scholiastes.* (e) *Plutarchus Pelopida.*

24 *Of the Military Affairs of Greece.*

λεονίην, αἰγείην, and others, of which none is more common than κυνέην, which was compos'd of a Dog's Skin: *Eustathius* tells us 'twas ποτάμιον κυνών a Water-Dog, and was so frequently used by the Ancients, that we find it sometimes taken for the Name of an Helmet, though consisting of another sort of Matter. Thus *Homer* (a),

—— ἀμφὶ δέ οἱ κυνέῳ κεφαλῆφιν ἔθηκε

Ταυρέῳ——

He put on's Helmet of a Bull's Hide made.

These Skins were always worn with their Hair on; and to render them more terrible and frightful, the Teeth were frequently placed grinning on their Enemies. Thus the Soldier in *Virgil* (b),

*Ipse pedes tegmen torquens immane leonis,
Terribili impexum seta cum dentibus albis,
Indutus capiti, sic regia testā subibat.*

He shakes his Lion's Skin, whose grisly Hair
And dreadful Teeth create in all a Fear:
Thus having fortify'd his Martial Head,
The Royal Roof he enters.

Homer likewise arms *Ulysses* in the same manner (c);

—— ἀμφὶ δέ οἱ κυνέῳ κεφαλῆφιν ἔθηκε,

Ῥινῶ πηκτὴν πολέσιν δ' ἐνλοθεῖν ἱμάσιν
'Ενέτατο σερεῶς ἐκλοθεῖν ἃ λαοὶ ὀδύνης
'Αργιόδοντον ὅς θ' ἀμέεες ἔχον ἐνθα καὶ ἐνθα,
Εὖ καὶ ἐπισαμύως μέσση δ' ἐνὶ πῖλῳ ἀρήρει.

His Leathern Helmet on his Head he plac'd,
Whose Inside with the strongest Thongs was lac'd;
But all the outward Parts were fortify'd
With the white Teeth of Boars.

The fore part of the Helmet was open, for the Heroes all enter'd into the Battel with Faces uncover'd; to the Side was fix'd a String, whereby it was ty'd to the Warrior's Neck. This was term'd ὀχλῶς whence *Homer* speaks of *Paris* thus (d);

Ἄλχε δέ μιν πολύκεσσι ἱμάς ἀπαλὴν ὑπὸ δερμῶν,

Ὅς οἱ ὑπ' ἀνδρεῶν ὀχλῶς τέτατο τρυφαλῆης.

The well-wrought String, which ty'd his Helmet on
Under his Chin, now choak'd the Champion.

(a) *Iliad*. κ'. (b) *Æneid*. VII. v. 666. (c) *Iliad*. κ'. v. 261. (d) *Iliad*. γ'. v. 371.
Some

Some of its Parts receiv'd their Names from the Members guarded by them, as ὀφρύες, that Part which cover'd the Eyebrows, and the rest in like manner. The little Lappet erected over the Brow was by a Metaphorical Term call'd γείσων, the Pent-house. But the most remarkable of all the Parts in the Helmet was its Crest, term'd φάλαγξ, and λόφος (a), which was first us'd by the Carians (b), and thence call'd by Alcaeus Καεικὸς λόφος;

Λόφον τε σείων Καεικὸν.
Shaking his Carian Crest.

For the Carians were once famous for Military Exploits, and oblig'd the World with this, and several other Inventions: Hence we are told by Thucydides (c), that it was customary for them to repose a little Shield and an Helmet in the Graves of their Dead. Some will have φάλαγξ to be distinguish'd from λόφος, that signifying the Conus, this the Plume fix'd to it (d); but others allow no Difference between them. The former of these was compos'd of various Materials, most of which were rich and chargeable, being design'd as an Ornament to the Helmet. The other likewise was adorn'd with divers sorts of Paint, whence Pollux gives it the Epithets of εὐανθής, ὑακινθινοβαφής (e). Homer has enrich'd it with Gold (f);

Τεῦξε δέ οἱ κόρυθα βειαρῶ, κροτάφοις ἀραρυῖαν,
Καλῶ, δαιδαλέῳ ἐπὶ ᾧ χρύσειον λόφον ἦκε.

A strong and trusty Helmet next he made,
Which when he'd rightly seated on his Head,
The curious particolour'd Golden Crest
In beauteous Form he o'er the Helmet plac'd.

One of Virgil's Heroes has his whole Helmet of Gold, and his Crest painted with red (g),

———— maculis quem Thracius albis
Portat equus, cristaque tegit galea aurea rubra.

Streak'd with large Spots of white the Thracian Steed
Carry'd the Hero, who had arm'd his Head
With Golden Helmet, and Crest painted red. }

The Crest was for the most part of Feathers, or the Hair of Horses Tails, or Manes; whence we read of λόφος ἵπποχαίτης, κόρυς ἵπποδάμεια, ἵππευς. Thus Homer (h);

(a) Hesychius, &c. (b) Herodotus Clis, Strabo lib. XIV. (c) Lib. I. (d) Suidas, &c. (e) Lib. I. Cap. X. (f) Iliad. ε'. 610. (g) Aeneid. IX. 49. (h) Iliad. τ'. v. 332.

26 Of the Military Affairs of Greece.

——— ἥδ' ἀστὴρ ὥς ἀπέλαμπεν

Ἰπταίς τρυφάλεια, πειραιέοντο δ' ἔθαιραι

Χρυσέαι, αἷς Ἡφαίστου ἱεὶ λόφον ἀμφὶ θαμνιάς.

Like some bright Star the crested Helmet shone;
The gilded Hairs, which *Vulcan* round the Cone
Had plac'd, were all in sportful Order mov'd.

The common Soldiers had only small Crests; the great Officers, and all Persons of Quality, were distinguish'd by Plumes of a larger size, and frequently took a Pride in wearing two, three, or four together. *Suidas* will have *Geryon* to have been famous in Poetry for three Heads, on no other account, but because his Helmet was adorn'd with three Crests. *Virgil* describes *Turnus's* Head-piece after the same manner (a), adding also to it the Figure of a *Chimera*,

Cui triplici crinita juba galea alta Chimaram

Sustinet ———

Whose triple-crested Helmet did sustain

A terrible *Chimera*.

This Helmet was call'd τρυφάλεια, when it was surrounded with Plumes, ἀμφίφαλος; and when adorn'd with four, τετεράφαλος. Thus *Apollonius* (b),

Τετεράφαλος φοίνικι λόφῳ ἐπελάμπετο πύληξ.

A four-fold Plume with dazling Lustre shone,

Whose nodding Top o'erlook'd the dreadful Cone.

The Design of these was to strike Terrour into the Enemies; whence that of *Homer* (c),

——— δεινὸν γὰρ λόφος κατ' ὑπερθεὶν ἔνδεν.

For the same Reason *Pyrrhus*, King of *Epirus*, beside a lofty Crest, wore Goat's Horns upon his Helmet (d). We are told indeed by *Suidas*, that the τείχῳσις, or Crest itself, was sometimes term'd *τέρας*. Nevertheless some of the ancient Helmets had no Crest or Cone at all. This sort was call'd καταῖτις, as we learn from *Homer* (e),

——— ἀμφὶ δὲ οἱ κωέλω κεφαλῆσιν ἔθηκε

Ταυρεῖω, ἀφ' αὐτὸν τε, καὶ ἀλοφον, ἣ τε καταῖτις

Κέκληται ———

His Bull-skin Helmet on his Head he plac'd,

Καταῖτις call'd, 'cause without Cone or Crest.

Other sorts of Ornaments were us'd in Helmets, as in that call'd

(a) *Aeneid*. VII. v. 785. (b) *Lib*. III. (c) *Iliad*. III. (d) *Plutarchus Pyrrho*.
(e) *Iliad*. x'.

Of the Military Affairs of Greece. 27

σεφάνη, which Name signifies the Ridge of a Mountain, and on that account is apply'd to Helmets having several ἐξοχαί, Eminences, or Parts jutting out (a). Homer has taken notice of this sort also (b).

— ἔδ' ἐ σεφάνη δόρυ οἱ χέδε χαλκοβάρεια.

Nor could his Helmet made of solid Brass

Ward off the Blow ———

Of all the Grecian Helmets the *Bæotian* is said to have been the best (c). The *Macedonians* had a peculiar one term'd *καυσίη*, which was compos'd of Hides, and serv'd instead of a Cap to defend them from the Cold, according to the Epigram in *Suidas*,

Καυσίη, ἢ τοπαδριθε Μακεδόσιν εὐκολον ὄπλον,

Καὶ σκέπας ἐν νιφετῷ, καὶ κόρυς ἐν πολέμῳ.

Were I to chuse what Armour I wou'd have,

No Helmet forg'd in brawny *Vulcan's* Cave,

Nor Bear's or Lion's grisly Skin I'd crave;

But an old broad-brim'd *Macedonian* Cap,

Whose spacious Sides shou'd round my Shoulders wrap.

Thus all Attacks with greatest Ease I'd bear,

As well the Storms of Weather, as of War.

H. H.

Pliny attributes the first Invention of Helmets to the *Lacedæmonians* (d), as likewise of the Sword, and Spear: But this must be understood only of the peculiar sorts of those Weapons us'd at *Sparta*; other kinds of them being known before the first Foundation of the *Spartan* Government, or Nation.

The Heroes prided themselves in wearing for their Defence the Skins of wild Beasts, which they esteem'd Badges of their Prowess. Instances of this kind are every where to be met with in the Poets. Hence *Theocritus* (e):

Αὐτὰρ ὤψ' νώτοιο καὶ ἀνχέν' ἠωρεῖτο

Ἀκρῶν δέρμα λέοντος ἀρημυρόν ἐκ ποδῶνων.

Over his Neck and Back a Lion's Skin was thrown,

Held up by 'ts Feet ———

Hercules's Lion's Skin is very famous in Story, and *Homer's* great Princes are frequently introduced in the same Habit; in Imitation of whom the other Greek and *Latin* Poets have arm'd their Heroes. Thus *Acestes* in *Virgil* (f).

(a) *Hesychius*. (b) *Iliad*, λ'. v. 96. (c) *Pollux*, lib. I. cap. X. (d) *Lib. VII.* cap. LVI. (e) *Διοσκώρις*. (f) *Æneid*, V. v. 36.

28 *Of the Military Affairs of Greece.*

——— *occurrit Acestes*

Horridus in jaculis, & pelle Libyftidos urfa.

Acestes dreadful for his horrid Darts,

And for the *Libyan* Bear-skin that he wears,

Met them ———

But we find they were not ashamed of using better and stronger Armour for their Defence, the ordinary sorts of which were these that follow :

Μίτρη, made of Brass, but lin'd with Wool, and worn next to the Skin, underneath the Coat of Mail. This we learn from *Homer* speaking of a Dart that pierc'd thro' the rest of the Hero's Armour, but was so blunted by the *μίτρη* (a), that it only ras'd his Skin;

Αὐτὴ δ' αὖτ' ἴθωεν, ὅθι ζῶσῃες ὀχῆες
Χρύσειοι σῶεχον, καὶ διπλὸς ἦν ἔτο θῶρηξ,
Ἐν δ' ἔπεσε ζῶσῃι ἀρηρέτι πικρὸς οἷσός.
Διὰ μὲν ἄρ' ἑσθῆρ' ἐλήλατο δαιδαλέοιο,
Καὶ διὰ θῶρηκ' πολυδαίδαλα ἠρήρετο,
Μίτρης θ', ὡς ἐφόρει, ἔρυμα χροῶς, ἔρκ' ἀκόντων;
Ἥ οἱ πλείστον ἔρυτο———

She to that Part the deadly Shaft convey'd,
Where meeting Clasp'd a double Breast-plate made;
Straight on his Belt it fell, nor there could stay,
But thro' both Belt and Breast-plate forc'd its way;
And now his last best Hopes, the well-lin'd Brass,
Which against Darts his surest Refuge was,
It ras'd, but cou'd not thro' it make a perfect Pass.

H. H.

Ζῶμα, or *ζῶσῃρ*, reach'd from the Knees to the Belly, where it was join'd to the Brigandine (b). But the latter of these Names is more frequently taken for the Belt surrounding the rest of the Armour. Thus *Homer* (c);

Λῦσε δ' οἱ ζῶσῃα παναίολον, ἥδ' ὑπ' ἐνερθε
Ζῶμά τε, καὶ μίτρῳ, τὴν χαλκῆς κάμον ἄνδρες.
His rich embroider'd Belt he then unbrac'd,
And all his Armour underneath it plac'd,

Which by the hands of skilful Smiths were made,

This was so essential to a Warriour, that *ζώννυσθαι* came to be a general Name for putting on Armour (d): Whence *Homer* introduces *Agamemnon* commanding the *Grecians* to arm themselves thus (e);

(a) *Iliad.* δ'. & *Eustathius* *ibid.* p. 345. Edit. *Basil.* (b) *Eustathius* *ibid.*
(c) *Iliad.* δ'. (d) *Pausanias* *Bæoticis.* (e) *Iliad.* α'.

Of the Military Affairs of Greece. 29

Ατρείδης δὲ βόησεν, ἰδὲ ζώννυθαι ἀνωγεν·

Atrides straight commands them all to arm.

The same Poet, when he makes that Hero resemble the God of War in his ζώνη, is supposed (as *Pausanias* (a) tells us) to mean his whole Armour. The Romans had the same Custom, as appears from *Plutarch* (b): And it prevail'd also amongst the *Persians*; whence *Herodotus* relates, how *Xerxes* having reach'd *Abdera*, when he fled from *Athens*, and thinking himself out of danger, did λύειν τὴν ζώνην, or disarm himself (c). But ζώνη is a more general Name than ζώνηρ, and signifies the μίτρη.

Θώραξ consisted of two Parts, one of which was a Defence to the Back, the other to the Belly; the extreme Parts of it were term'd πτέρυγες, the middle γύαλα (d). The Sides were coupled together with a sort of Buttons (e). The same may be observ'd in *Silius* (f) of the Roman *Lorica*, which differ'd not much from the *Grecian Thorax*, whence Θώραξ is by *Hesychius* expounded Λωείκιον.

— qua fibula morsus

Lorica crebro laxata resolverat ictu.

Ἡμιθώρακιον was an *Half-thorax*, or Breast-plate, which *Pollux* tells us was first invented by *Jason*; and we find it very much esteem'd by *Alexander*, who, as *Polyanus* (g) reports, considering that the entire Θώραξ might be a Temptation to his Soldiers to turn their Backs upon their Enemies, those being equally guarded by it with their Breasts, commanded them to lay aside their Back-pieces, and arm themselves with ἡμιθώρακια, Breast-plates; that so whenever they were put to flight, their Backs might be expos'd naked to their Enemies. The *Thoraces* were not all compos'd of the same stuff; some were made of Line, or Hemp twist'd into small Cords, and close set together; whence we read of *Thoraces bilices*, and *trilices*, from the Number of Cords fix'd one upon another. These were frequently us'd in Hunting, because the Teeth of Lions, and other wild Beasts, were unable to pierce thro' them, sticking in the Cords; but not so often carried into Battels, as *Pausanias* observes (h): Yet there are not wanting Instances of this sort, for *Ajax* the Son of *Oileus* has the Epithet of λινωθώρηξ in *Homer* (i);

— ὀλίγον μὲν ἔλω λινωθώρηξ.

Ajax the less a Linen Breast-plate had.

Alexander likewise is reported by *Plutarch* to have worn Θώρακα

(a) Loco citato. (b) *Coriolano*. (c) *Uranis*. cap. CXX. (d) *Pollux*, *Pausanias Atticis*. (e) *Pausanias* ibid. (f) *Lib*, VII. (g) *Strateg*. lib. IV. (h) *Atticis*. (i) *Iliad*. β',

30 Of the Military Affairs of Greece.

λινὸν διπλῶν, or a double-twisted Linnen *Thorax*: And *Iphicrates* caus'd his Soldiers to lay aside their heavy and unwieldy Brigandines of Iron, and go to the Field in Hempen Armour, as *Cornelius Nepos* hath inform'd us in his Life of that Captain. The ordinary Matter the *Thoraces* were made of, was Brass, Iron, or other Metals, which were sometimes so exquisitely harden'd, as to be proof against the greatest Force. *Plutarch* (a) reports, that *Zoilus* an Artificer having made a Present of two Iron Brigandines to *Demetrius Poliocertes*, for an Experiment of their Hardness, caus'd an Arrow to be shot out of an Engine call'd *Catapulta*, plac'd about twenty six Paces off; which was so far from piercing the Iron, that it scarcely ras'd, or made the least Impression on it. This Armour was of two sorts; one of which, because it consisted of one or two continued Pieces of Metal, and was inflexible, and able to stand upright, was term'd *δωρεα* *σάδιον* or *σατος* (b). The other was compos'd of a Beast's Hide, according to the Poet,

—— τῷ δὲ δώρεα σκῦται.

Whence the Latin Word *Lorica* is thought to be deriv'd from *Lorum*. This was set with Plates of Metal in various Forms; sometimes in Hooks or Rings, not unlike a Chain; sometimes resembling Feathers, or the Scales of Serpents, or Fishes; to which Plates or Studs. of Gold were often added: whence we read of *δώρεα* *ἀλυσιδωτοῖ*, *ἀετιδωτοῖ*, *φολιδωτοῖ*, &c. And the Greek and Latin Poets frequently mention them. Thus *Silius* (c), speaking of the Consul *Flaminius*,

Loricam induitur, tortos huic nexilis hamos
Ferro squama rudi, permistoque asperat auro.

Virgil arms his Heroes after the same manner (d),

—— Rutulum thoraca indutus, aenis
Horrebat squamis ——
Dress'd in his glitt'ring Breast-plate, he appear'd
Frightful with Scales of Brass.

The single Plates being sometimes pierc'd thro' by Spears and mis-
sive Weapons, it was customary to strengthen them by setting two,
three, or more, upon one another. Thus *Statius* (e),

—— ter insuto servant ingentia ferro
Pectora ——
With triple Plates of Iron they defend
Their Breasts.

(a) *Demetrio*. (b) *Eusebii*. (c) *Lib. V.* (d) *Aeneid. XI.* (e) *Theb. VII.*

And in another Place (a)

Multiplicem tennes iterant thoraca catena.

The little Chains a mighty Breast-plate join.

Whence in the same manner as from the Number of Cords, they were term'd *bilices* and *trilices*; in Greek *διπλοῖ*, & *τριπλοῖ*. Virgil (a),

Loricam confectam barmis, auroque trilicem.

The three-fold Coat of Mail beset with Hooks and Gold.

Κνημίδες, *Ocreæ*, were Greaves of Brass, Copper or other Metals to defend the Legs. Whence *Hesiod* (c),

————— *κνημίδας ὀρεχάλκοιο φαεινῆς,*

Ἡφαίστου κλυτὰ δῶρα, περὶ κνήμησιν ἔθηκεν.

The Greaves of shining Brass, which *Vulcan* gave,
He round his Ancles plac'd ———

Homer frequently composeth them of Tin (d);

Τεῦξε δὲ οἱ κνημίδας ἐάνε κασιγέροιο,

He made his Greaves of beaten Tin.

The Sides were generally clos'd about the Ancles with Buttons, which were sometimes of solid Gold or Silver, as we have it in the same Poet (e)

Κνημίδας μὲν πρῶτα περὶ κνήμησιν ἔθηκε

Καλὰς, ἀργυρέοισιν ἐπισφουδαῖς ἀετρήας.

The curious Greaves he round his Ancles clos'd
With Silver Buttons.

It is probable, that this piece of Armour was at first either peculiar to the *Grecians*, or at least more generally used by them than other Nations; because we find them so perpetually call'd by the Poet,

————— *εὐκνήμιδες Ἀχαιοί.*

Χεῖρες were Guards for their Hands, which we find also to have been used by some of them, with other Defences for their Arms.

(a) *Theb.* XII. (b) *Æneid.* III. 467. (c) *Scuto.* (d) *Iliad.* σ'. v. 612.
(e) *Iliad.* γ'. v. 330.

32 Of the Military Affairs of Greece.

Ἀσπίς, a Buckler. This was first us'd by *Prætus* and *Acrisius* of *Argos* (a). It was sometimes compos'd of Wickers woven together, according to *Virgil* (b);

———— *flectuntque salignas*

Umbonum crates —————

The Bucklers they of Officers make.

Whence it is term'd *ιτέα* (c). It was likewise made of Wood; and because it was expedient that the Warriors should be able with the greatest ease to wield it, they usually chose the lightest sort of Wood for this use, as the Fig, Willow, Beech, Poplar, Elder-trees, &c. as we are inform'd by *Pliny* (d). But it was commonly made of Hides; whence we find so frequent mention of *ἀσπίδες βόειαι*. These were doubled into several Folds, and fortify'd with Plates of Metal. *Ajax's* Buckler was compos'd of seven Folds of Hide, and cover'd with a single Plate of Brass, as we read in *Homer* (e);

————— σάκε' αἰόλον ἐπ' αἰθέριον

Ταύρων ζατρεφών, ἐπὶ δ' ὄγδοον ἤλασε χαλκόν.

Made of the Hides of seven well-fatted Bulls,

And cover'd with a Plate of Brass.

Achilles's was guarded with three Folds more, as the Poet tells us.

————— & as, & proxima rupit

Terga novena boum, decimo tamen orbe moratum est.

It pierc'd the Brass, and thro' nine Hides it broke;

But could not penetrate the tenth.

But the same Hero's in *Homer* was more strongly fortified by two Plates of Brass, two of Tin, and a Fifth of Gold (f);

————— πέντε πύχας ἤλασε Κυλλοποδίων,

Τὰς δύο χαλκείας, δύο δ' ἐνδοθι κασιτέργιο;

Τὴν δ' ἓ μίαν, χρυσέην —————

For with five Plates *Vulcan* it fortify'd,

With two of Brass, two Tin, and one of Gold.

The principal Parts of the Buckler were these:

Ἄντυξ, ἴτυς, περιφέρεια, or κύκλος, the outmost Round, or Circumference.

(a) *Pausanias Corinthiac.* β'. p. 131. Edit. Hanov. (b) *Aeneid.* VII. 632. (c) *Hesychius.* (d) *Nat. Histor.* Lib. VI. cap. XL. (e) *Iliad.* ἦ. v. 222. (f) *Iliad.* ἦ. v. 270.

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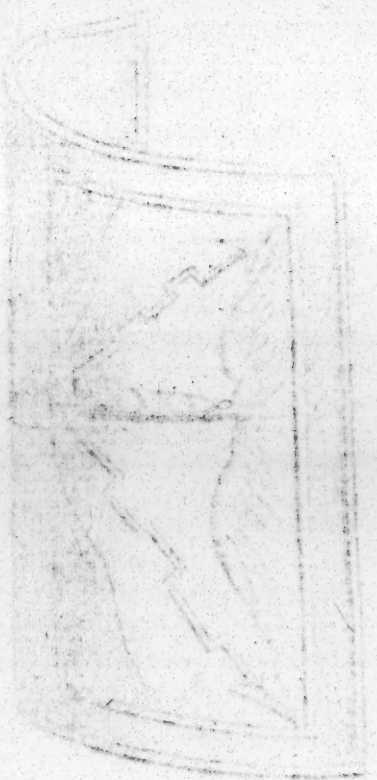
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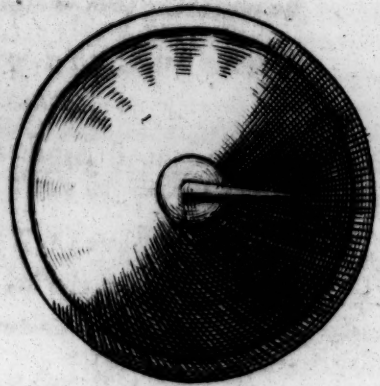
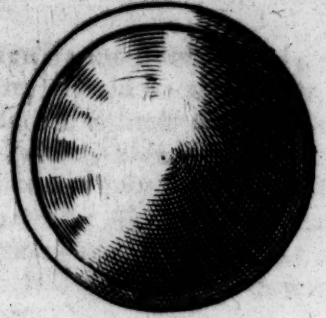
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Of the Military Affairs of Greece. 33

Ομφαλός, and μεσομφάλιον, in Latin *umbo*, a Bos jutting out in the middle of the Buckler, upon which was fix'd another protuberant Part term'd *πομφάλιον*. This was of great Service to them, not only in glancing off, and repelling missive Weapons, but in bearing down their Enemies. Whence *Martial* has this Allusion,

In turbam incideris, cunctos umbone repellet.

Should you be in a Crowd, your Slave
Wou'd with his Bos repell them all.

Τελαμών was a Thong of Leather, and sometimes a Rod of Metal, reaching cross the Buckler, whereby they hung it upon their Shoulders, according to the primitive Fashion (a) : Whence *Homer* (b),

——— αὐτὰρ ἄπ' ὤμων

Ἀπὶς σὺν τελαμῶνι χαμαὶ πέσε τερμύεσσα.

Down from his Shoulders the huge Buckler fell
With its loos'd Thong.

It was sometimes call'd *κανὼν*, except this may be understood of the Rod to which the *τελαμών* was fasten'd, as *Hesychius* expounds it, which seems most probable; and that *κανόνες* were Rods whereby the Bucklers were held (as *Homer's Scholiast* reports) but *τελαμῶνες*, the Thongs affix'd to them, and hung upon the Warriour's Shoulders; tho' *Eustathius* will have them to have been put to the former use, and to be the same with *κανόνες* (c). Sometimes the Bucklers were held by little Rings call'd *πόρπακες*; but at length most of the *Grecians* us'd an Handle call'd *ῥάχανον*, or *ῥάχνη*, which, tho' sometimes spoken of with the former Names, and explain'd by them, was really different from both, being invented by the *Carians* (d), and, as 'tis commonly thought, composed for the most part of small Iron Bars, plac'd cross each other, and resembling the Letter *χ* (e). When the Wars were ended, and the Bucklers (as was customary) hung up in the Temples of the Gods, they took off the Handles, thereby to render them unfit to serve in any sudden Insurrection: Whence *Aristophanes* introduces a Person affrighted, when he saw Bucklers hanging up with Handles,

Οἱ μοι τέλας, ἔχουσι γὰρ πόρπακας.

O sad! The Bucklers Handles have.

Which another had also found fault with a little before;

(a) *Eustathius, Iliad. l'. p. 184. Edit. Basil.* (b) *Iliad. p.* (c) *Loco citato.*
(d) *Etymologici Auctor, Homeri Scholiastes, &c.* (e) *Eustathius, loco citato.*

Οὐδ' ἐχρῶν, εἰ περ οἶκας ἢ ἀνῆλθ', ἐκ πενθοῦ
 Ταύτας εἰσι αὐτοῖς πορπαεῖν ἐκασέδωκε.

Aeschylus speaks of little Bells hung upon Bucklers to strike Terror into the Enemy,

— ἀσπίδα δὲ καὶ
 Χαλκήλατοι πλαζοσι κωδῶνες φόβου.

Most of the Bucklers were curiously adorn'd with all sorts of Figures of Birds and Beasts, especially such as were of generous Natures, as Eagles, Lions, &c. Nor of these only, but of the Gods, of the Celestial Bodies, and all the Works of Nature, which Custom was deriv'd from the Heroick Ages, and continued in later Times, being (as *Herodotus* (a) reports) first introduced by the *Carians*, and from them communicated to the *Grecians*, *Romans*, and *Barbarians*.

The *Grecians* had several sorts of Bucklers, the most remarkable of which seem to have been those of *Argos*, which are thought to be bigger than the rest; whence *Virgil* compares them to *Polypheme's* monstrous Eye, which he tells us was (b).

Argolici clypei, aut Phœbeæ lampadis instar.

Like an *Argolick* Buckler, or the Sun.

Most indeed of the ancient Bucklers seem to have cover'd the whole Body; whence *Virgil* (c),

— αλπεικὸν σὺν ὀρβῇ τεγνύντο.

Under their Bucklers cover'd close they stand.

Tyrtaeus enumerates the Members protected thereby,

Μῆρες τε, κνήμας τε κατὰ, καὶ ἑρῆα, καὶ ὤμους
 Ἀσπίδα δὲ στήθεσσι γαστρί καλυψάμεν.

Thighs, Legs, and Breast, Belly and Shoulders too
 The mighty Buckler cover'd.

This farther appears from the Custom of carrying dead Soldiers out of the Field upon their Bucklers; whence we read of the famous Command of the *Spartan* Mothers to their Sons, Ἡ τὰν, ἢ ἐπὶ τὰν, i. e. Either bring this, (meaning the Buckler) or be brought upon it; meaning, they should either secure their Bucklers, or lose their Lives in defending them (d). And *Homer* for the same reason calls them ἀσπί-

(a) *Lib. I.* (b) *Æneid. III.* (c) *Æneid. II.* (d) *Plutarchus Apophthegm, Læconic.*

ἄσπερες, and ἀσπίδες, which Eustathius interprets ἀνδρὸς μήκει, i. e. of the same Size with a Man (a).

Their Form was usually round, whence Virgil's *clypeus orbis*, and the frequent mention of ὀκλύες, ὀκλύοι, πάντες ἴσοι &c. Hence, the utmost Circumference was call'd κυκλῶ, as hath been already observ'd.

There were likewise Shields of lesser Sizes and other Forms, the use of several of which was later than the Heroick Ages.

Γέρρον, or γέρρα was squar'd, like the Figure *rhombus*, and first us'd by the Persians (b).

Θυρεός was oblong, and usually bending inward: It seems to have been the same which is call'd in Pollux (c) ἀσπίς κοίλη ἐπ' ἐσμήκης.

Λαισίου seems to have been shap'd like the former, and compos'd of Hides with the Hair, whence Grammarians derive it from λάσιος, i. e. hairy. It was very light, whence (as Eustathius (d) observes) Homer gives it the Epithet πτερόν.

— βοείας

Ἀσπίδας ἀκύνκλῃς, λαϊσίου τε πτερόν.

Πέλτη was a small and light Buckler in the Form of an Half-Moon (e), or, according to Xenophon, resembling an Ivy-leaf, and first us'd by the Amazons. But Suidas will have it to be a kind of four-square Buckler, wanting the ἵπυς, or exterior Rising.

This was the chief of all their Arms. The Regard they had of it appears both from what has been already observ'd concerning their Care in adorning and preserving it, and from the common Story of Epaminondas, who having receiv'd a mortal Wound, and lying under the Agonies of Death, with great Concern inquir'd whether his Buckler was safe (f). Chabrias the famous Athenian, when his Ship was sunk, rather chose honourably to resign his Life with his Buckler, than leaving it, to escape to another Vessel (g). Military Glory indeed being esteem'd the greatest that human Nature was capable of, they had a profound Regard for all sorts of Arms, which were the Instruments whereby they attain'd it; whence to leave them to their Enemies, to give them for a Pledge, or dispose of them any dishonourable way, was an indelible Disgrace both in Greece (h) and at Rome, and scarce ever to be atton'd for.

Thus have I endeavour'd to give you a Description of the principal of the Grecian Defensive Arms, which are in general term'd ἀλξήτεια, σκεπασήεια, and περσλήματα.

The only Offensive Arms us'd by the Ancients, were Stones, or Clubs, and such as rude Nature furnish'd them with. They were wholly ignorant of all those Arts and Contrivances to destroy their Enemies, which Necessity and Thirst of Glory afterwards introduc'd into the World. Thus Horace describes the Fights of those wild and uncultivated Ages,

(a) Iliad. ζ'. (b) Strabo, lib. XV. (c) Lib. I. cap. X. (d) Iliad. ε'. p. 433. Edit. Basil. (e) Isidorus Hispal. Origin. lib. XVIII. (f) Ammianus, lib. XXV. (g) Emilius Probus in Chabria. (h) Aristophanes Scholiastes Pluto.

*Unguibus et pugnis, dein fistibus, atque ita porro
Pugnabant armis, quæ post fabricaverat usus.*

Sharp Nails, and Fists, the first Arms only were,

Then Clubs came into use, next Men took care

To make more hurtful Weapons.

Lucretius hath an elegant Passage to the same purpose (a);

Arma antiqua manus, ungues, dentesque fuere;

Et lapides, et item silvarum fragmina, rami,

Et flamma, atque ignes, postquam sunt cognita primum;

Posterior ferri vis est, arisque reperta :

Sed prius artis erat quam ferri cognitus usus.

In the first Ages, Nails, Hands, Teeth would please

A Combatant for Arms, and Boughs of Trees,

Or Stones, or flaming Brands with Anger thrown,

Were then the best, and chiefest Weapons known :

Men afterwards in Mischief wiser far

Us'd Iron and braz'n Arms in ev'ry War.

Of these Brads first began to kill.

E. D.

These Clubs were call'd *φάλαγγες* and *φάλαγγια*; whence Gram-
marians conjecture that Squadrons of Soldiers were term'd *φάλαγγες*

(b), and by the Latins, *Phalanges*, from this primitive way of fighting.

The principal of their Offensive Weapons in later Ages was *ἔγχος*
and *δόρυ*, Spear, or Pike, the Body of which was compos'd of Wood,
in the Heroick Times most commonly of Ash; whence we have so
frequent mention in Homer of *μελίη*, as when he speaks of Achilles's
Spear (c)

Πηλιάδα μελίη, τὴν πατεὶ φίλῳ πόρε Χείρων

Πηλὶς ἐκ κορυφῆς, φόνον ἔμμεναι ἠρώεσιν.

The Ashen Spear for Murder then design'd,

When to his Father with a cruel Mind

Old Chiron gave it.

The Trojans were likewise arm'd from the same Tree (d);

Καὶ Πείαμος, καὶ λαὸς ἑὺρμελής Πείαμος.

The Head, *αἰχμή*, was of Metal. So was also the *σαυρωτήρ*, which
is so call'd either q. *σαυρωτήρ*, from *σαυρός*, a Crook; or from *σαῦρος*,

(a) Lib. V. (b) Eusebius, *Iliad*, 8, p. 357. Edit. Basil. &c. (c) *Iliad*, π'. v. 143.
(d) *Iliad*, 8, v. 57.

a Lizard, which it is said to have resembled, being hollow at one End, where it was fix'd into the Bottom of the Spear; and sharp at the other (a), which being thrust into the Ground upheld the Spear erect, when the Soldiers rested from the Toil of War. Whence Homer, speaking of *Diomedes's* Followers (b);

— ἀπὸ δ' ἐταῖροι
Εὖδον, ὑπὸ κερασίῳ δ' ἔχον ἀπίδας, ἔσχεα δὲ αἶψιν
Ὀρδ' ἐπὶ σφυρῶν τε ἐλάλατο —

Sleeping about him all his Men they found,
Under their Heads were laid along the Ground
Great Shields, their Spears erected upright stood
Upon their brazen Points.

Aristotle observes, that the same Custom was practis'd amongst the *Illyrians* in his Days (c). And it seems to have been common in other Nations, as may appear from the first Book of *Samuel* (d), where *Saul* is said to have slept with his Spear fix'd in the Earth close by his Head. In Times of Peace they rear'd their Spears against Pillars, in a long wooden Case call'd *Δυσεδόκη*, as we have it in *Homer* (e);

Ἐσχ' ὁ μὲν ἔστησε σφῶν πρὸς κίονα μακρῇ
Δυσεδόκης ἐντοδεν εὐχόμενος —

Against his Pillar in a well-made Case
He hung his Spear.

Virgil speaks something to the same purpose (f);

*Exin, quæ in mediis ingenti adnixa columna
Ædibus astat, validam vi corripit hastam.*

Straight he pulls down with all the Force he cou'd
A Spear; that in the middle of the House
Was rear'd against a mighty Pillar.

There were two forts of Spears, as *Strabo* hath well observ'd (g); The former was us'd in close Fight, and call'd *δόρυ ὀρεκτόν*, for the Use and excellent Management of which the *Abantes* are celebrated in *Homer* (h);

Τῷ δ' αὖτ' Ἀβάντες ἔποντο δοοὶ, ὅτιθεν κομόωντες,
Αἰχμηταί, μεμαῶτες ὀρεκτῆσι μελίησι
Θώρηκας ῥήξαν δηίων ἀμφὶ στήθεσι.

(a) *Eusebius*, *Pollux*. lib. I. cap. V. (b) *Iliad*. κ'. v. 151. (c) *De Ant. Poetica*.
(d) Cap. XXVI. v. 7. (e) *Odyss.* α. (f) *Æneid*. XII. v. 92. (g) *Lib. X.*
(h) *Iliad*. β'. v. 543.

Th' *Abantis* follow'd him, whose bulgy Hair
Lies thick behind; *Abantis*, who never fear
Close Fights, but bravely strike the Breast-plates through
With Athen Spears.

Where may be observ'd the Signification of the Word ὀρέξασθαι, which (as the *Scholiast* remarks) is apply'd to Arms us'd in close Fight; whereas πάλλεν belongs rather to missile Weapons, which are called by the general Names of πάλαν, and βέαν, of which kind was the other sort of Spears: Whence we find one making this Boast,

Δεὸ δ' ἀκοντίζω ὅσον ἐκ ἄλλου τις αἶψα.

I strike as far with a Spear, as another with an Arrow.

This was frequently used in the Heroick Duels, where the Combatants first threw their Spears, and then made use of their Swords. Thus *Hector* and *Achilles* (a), *Ménélaus* and *Paris* (b), and the rest of the Heroes attack one another. *Theocritus* hath describ'd the Combat of *Castor* and *Lynceus* after the same manner (c);

Εἰσέσι μὲν πρῶτα τιτυσκόμοι πόνον ἔχον.

Ἀλλάλων ἔπερ' ἔχουσ' ἑκατέρωθεν ἰσθύν.

Ἀλλ' ἦτοι τὰ μὲν ἄκρα, πᾶσι τινὰ δηλώσασθαι,

Δῶρ' ἔα γη, σακέσιν ἐνὶ δεινοῖσι παγνίλῃ.

Τὼ δ' ἄρ' ἐκ κολεοῖν ἐρυαυμῶ, φέρον αὖτις

Τεῦχον ἐπ' ἀλλάλοισι, μάχης δ' ἐγίγνετ' ἐρώη.

First with their Spears began the noble Strife,
Each sought to find an open Pass to Life;
But all in vain, the Shields the Stroaks endur'd,
Their Spears were broken, and the Men secur'd;
Their Swords they drew, the Blades like Lightning shone
Before the Thunderbolt falls swiftly down;
Now rose their Fury.

Mr. Cræch.

The *Macedonians* had a peculiar sort of Spear call'd σάειρα, which was fourteen or sixteen Cubits in length.

Ξίφος, a Sword, which according to ancient Custom was hung in a Belt put round the Shoulders. Whence *Homer* (d);

Ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' ὁμοισιν βάλετο ξίφος ἀργυρεόν.

His Silver-hilted Sword about his Shoulders hung.

(a) *Iliad*, α'. (b) *Iliad*, γ'. (c) *Idyll*, α' v. 137. (d) *Iliad*, β'.

Hesiod, and the rest of the Poets mention the same Custom (a);

Ὅμοισιν δὲ μιν ἀμφὶ μέλαν' ἔσαν ἄορ ἔκειτο
 χαλκῶον ἐκ τελαμώνος

A Brazen Sword

Plac'd in the Belt, down from his Shoulders hung

The Belt reach'd down to their Thighs, Whence Homer's Hero (b);

παράγον ὃξὺ ἐρυαδάμυθ' παρὰ μηρῶ.

Straight from his Thigh his Sword he draws.

And Virgil's Aeneas (c);

ocyns ense
 Eripit à femore.

It may be enquir'd whether the Sword was hung upon the right Side, or the left; to which some reply, that Foot-Soldiers wore it on the left, Horsemen on the right; and Josephus (d) expressly mentions Horsemen with their Swords on their right Sides: But whether this was constantly observ'd, or frequently vary'd, as Lipsius (e) has observ'd of the Roman Sword, cannot easily be determin'd. The Scabbard was call'd *κολεός*; close to it was hung a Dagger, or Ponyard, call'd *τὸ παρὰ μηρὸν, παραμήειον, or παραζώνιον, ξιφίδιον*, according to Eustathius (f), *παραξιφίδιον, or ἐς χειρὶδίων*, and in Homer *μόχμος*. It was seldom us'd in Fight, but on all Occasions supply'd the want of a Knife, as appears from the Poet, out of whom I shall only set down this one Instance (g):

Ἀτρείδης δὲ ἐρυαδάμυθ' χείρῳ μάχαιραν,
 Ἡ οἱ παρ' Ἰφίτος μέγα κελὸν αἰὲν ἄωρτο
 Ἀρνῶν ἐκ κεφαλῶν τάμνε τείχας

Drawing his Dagger, which was always put
 Close by his Sword, Atreides straightway cut
 Some Hairs from the Lambs Heads.

Posidonius in Athenaeus tells us, the same Custom was practis'd by the ancient Gauls (h). Close by this, or rather instead thereof, the Soldiers of lower Ages used a Dagger call'd *ἀκινάκης*, which was borrow'd from the Persians (i). They had sometimes another

(a) Scuto Herculis. (b) Odyss. x'. (c) Aeneid. X. v. 86. (d) Excidii Hierosolym. lib. III. (e) Militia Romana. (f) Iliad. γ'. (g) Iliad. γ'. (h) Δειπν. εἰρ., lib. XIV. (i) Moschoranus in vocibus Atticis, Pollux, &c.

Sword call'd *κοπίς*, which was the same with the Roman *Ensis falcatius*, and our Faulchion, or Schimeter, and was chiefly us'd by the Inhabitants of *Argos*. Not much unlike this were the *Lacedemonian* Swords, call'd, according to *Pollux*, *Σπίον*, but, as *Xenophon*, *Σύληαι*, and, by the *Athenians*, *κνίστες* (a). They were bent Faulchion-like, and in length far less than those commonly us'd in other Parts of Greece: The Reason of which Custom being demanded of *Antalcidas*; 'Tis (said he) because we encounter our Enemies hand to hand (b): And when another Person told *Agésilas* in *Derision*, That a Juggler on a Stage would make nothing of swallowing their Swords, *Well* (reply'd the King) yet with these little Weapons we are able to reach our Enemies (c). The only thing further remarkable in the old Grecian Sword, is the Hilt, which they took a great Pride in adorning, not so much with Silver and Gold, and precious Stones, as with Figures of Lions Heads, &c. to make them appear more terrible to their Enemies.

Αξίνη, a sort of Pole-ax. With this Weapon *Agamemnon* was encounter'd by *Pisander* in *Homer* (d);

ὁ δ' ἄνω ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔλετο καλῶ
Αξίνῃ ἐὺχαλκον, ἐλαίῳ ἀμφὶ πέλεκῳ,
Μακρῷ, ἐὺξέσῳ —

The other from his Buckler straightway drew
 A curious Brazen Ax, whose Handle few
 Could match for length, for Olive, or for Work.

Πέλεκυς, was not much different from the former, and is join'd with it in *Homer* (e);

Ἄλλ' αἱ γ' ἐγγύθεν ἰσάμενοι ἑνα θαμνὸν ἔχοντες,
 Ὀρεοὶ δ' ἢ πελέκεσσι, ἢ ἀξίνῃσι μάχονται.

Both Parties fighting close together stood,
 And unconcern'd alike for Loss of Blood,
 Axes and Hatchets us'd.

Several other Weapons of less Note may occur in Authors; whereof I shall mention only one more, and then proceed to the missile Weapons: It is *κορυμή*, a Batoon of Wood, or Iron; from the Use of which the famous Robber *Periphetes*, slain by *Theseus*, was nam'd *κορυμήτης* (f); which Title was likewise conferr'd upon *Aeneas*, who, as *Homer* tells the Story, us'd to break through whole Squadrons of Enemies with his Iron Club (g);

Τοῖσι δ' Ερευνδαλίων πρὸς ἱσάτο, ἰσάδεσθαι ὥς,
 Τῷ χεῖ' ἔχων ὤμοισιν Ἀρηϊόδοιο ἀνακλῆος,

(a) *Strabo*, *Enchiridion*, *Ilia*, l. 1. *Hesychius*, &c. (b) *Plutarchus* *Agamemnon*.
 (c) *Idem* *loc. citat.* & *Lycurg.* (d) *Ilia*, v. v. 614. (e) *Ilia*, v. v. 710.
 (f) *Plutarchus* *Theseo*, *Diodorus Sic.* lib. IV. (g) *Ilia*, l. 4. v. 136.

Ἄρεθ' ἔκρινε πολεὺς παλαιζέμεναι τε χυαίνεσσι,
 Οὐκ ἄρ' ἔπεισεν μάχεσθαι, δούλ' τε μακρῷ,
 Ἀλλὰ σὺν ἡρεῖν πολεμῶν ἠνέκυρε φάλαγγας.

Brave Ereuthalion led these on; he wore
 The Arms of King Areithous before;
 Godlike Areithous, Club-bearer nam'd,
 And for his cruel Weapon greatly fam'd,
 Who with his Club whole Squadrons put to flight,
 But never Spear or Arrow us'd in Fight.

E. D.

Τὸ ξόον, the Bow; the first Invention of which some ascribe to Apollo, who from the Art of managing this Weapon hath obtain'd divers Appellations, as ἐκκρόλος, ἐκατηβέλειτης, ἐκάτος, τοξοφόρος, χρυσότοξος, ἀργυρότοξος, εὐφάρετης, &c. All which, tho' moral Interpreters force to other Applications, yet the ancient Authors of Fables refer to this Original. This new Contrivance the God communicated to the primitive Inhabitants of Crete (a), who are reported to have been the first of Mortals who understood the use of Bows and Arrows (b): And even in later Ages the Cretan Bows were famous, and preferred to all others in Greece (c). Some rather chose to honour Perseus, the Son of Perseus, with this Invention; and others father it upon Scythes, the Son of Jupiter (d), and Progenitor of the Scythians, who were excellent at this Art, and by some reputed the first Masters thereof: Thence we find it deriv'd to the Grecians, some of whose ancient Nobility were instructed by the Scythians, which in those Times pass'd for a most princely Education. Thus Hercules (to trouble you with no more Instances) was taught by Tentarus a Scythian Swain, from whom he receiv'd a Bow and Arrows of Scythian Make: Whence Lycophron, speaking of Hercules's Arrows,

Τοῖς Τένταρείοις βυκόλῳ πτερώμασι (e).

With Arrows which he had from Tentarus.

And though Theocritus hath chang'd his Tutor's Name into Eurytus, yet he also was of Scythian Original: And we find the Hero in that Poet arm'd with a Maotian, i. e. Scythian, Bow (f).

Ἦλκετο Μαιωτῆσι λαβὼν εὐκαμπέα τόξα.

He went arm'd with a crooked Bow after the
 Maotian Fashion.

(a) Diodorus Siculus. (b) Idorus. (c) Pollux lib. I. cap. X. (d) Plinius. (e) Cassander. v. 54. Item Tzetze Scholia ibidem, & Theocriti Scholastici, Idyll. XIII. (f) Idyll. XIII. v. 56.

42 Of the Military Affairs of Greece.

Lycophron also arms *Minerva* with *Μαίωτος* *πλόκος*, a *Maotian Bow*, and in the same Place speaks of *Hercules's Scythian Dragon*, whereby he means a Bow, which he bequeath'd to *Philoctetes* for his Care of kindling the Pile wherein he was burnt alive (a);

Αὐτὴ δ' ἄκραν ἄρ' ἐν εὐδωμῇ χερσὶν
Σάλπιγξ', ἀποφάλλουσα Μαίωτῳ πλόκον.
Δύρας παρ' ὀχθαῖς ὅς ποτε φλέξας θρασὺν
Λέοντα ραυδῶ χεῖρας ἀπλίσσε Σκύθῃ
Δεσφοντ', ἀρούρων γομφίων λυσχλύπον.

Minerva, who found out the Trumpet's Sound,
Drawing her Arrows with a skillful Hand,
She aim'd and shot with a *Maotian Bow*,
This crooked Bow the God-like *Hercules*,
Whose Arrows when they flew wou'd always kill,
First us'd, and then to *Philoctetes* gave,
A Present for the Pile at *Dura's Banks*.

E. D.

Both the Poets seem particularly to remark the *Incurvation* of the *Scythian Bow*, which distinguish'd it from the Bows of Greece, and other Nations, and was so great as to form an Half-Moon, or Semicircle (b). Whence the Shepherd in *Athenians* (c) being to describe the Letters in *Theseus's* Name, and expressing each of them by some apposite Resemblance, compares the third to the *Scythian Bow*;

Σκυδικῷ δὲ τόξῳ τὸ τετρὸν ὡς παρεμφορῆς.

The third was like a *Scythian Bow*;

Meaning not the more modern Character Σ, but the ancient C, which is semicircular, and bears the third Place in Θ Η C Ε Υ C. The *Græcian Bows* were frequently beautify'd with Gold, or Silver; whence we have mention of *aurei arcus*, and *Apollo* is called *ἀργυροτόξος*; but the Matter of which they were compos'd seems for the most part to have been Wood; tho' they were anciently, *Scythian-like*, made of Horn, as we read of *Pandarus's* in *Homer* (d).

Αὐτίκ' ἐσύλα πέσον ἐσέξον, ῥέαλα αἰγός
Αγέιν, ὃν ῥά ποτ' αὐτὴς, ἰσὺ σένοις τυχήσας
Πέτρης ἐκβαίνοντα δεδευμένος ἐν προσέκῃσι,
Βεβλήκει πρὸς σῆδος· ὃ δ' ὕπλιος ἔμπεσε πέτρῃ.
Τῷ κέρει ἐκ κεφαλῆς ἐκκαίδεκάδωρα πέφύκει·
Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀσκήσας κεραιοξόος ἦραρε τέχῃων,
Πᾶν δ' εὖ λειήνας, χρυσέῳ ἐπέθηκε κορώνῳ.

(a) *Cassandra*, v. 914. (b) *Amphiaraus Mantolimus*, lib. IX. (c) *Lib. I.*
(d) *Iliad*. 8. v. 105.

Straight he pulls out an handsome polish'd Bow,
 Once it a wanton He-goat's Horn did grow;
 A Goat, that coming from his wonted Rock
 He spy'd, and wounded with a mortal Stroak:
 The Dart pierc'd thro' his Breast, and straight the Ground
 Receiv'd him falling by so deep a Wound:
 Long were his Horns, and these a Workman wrought,
 And made the very Bow with which he fought:
 The Horn he smoothly polish'd, and affix'd
 A Golden Knob upon the Top.

E. D.

Whence Lycophron, who affects antiquated Customs and Expressions, speaks thus of Apollo encountering Idas with his Bow (a):

— ἐν χερμασί παλῶσας κέρας.

— In Battels bent his Horn.

But some ancient Glossographers by κέρας would rather understand τεί-
 γων, or the Bow-string, which was compos'd of Horses Hair, and
 therefore call'd also ἰππεία (b): To which Custom Accius alludes,

Reciproca tendens nervo equino concita

Tela —————

Drawing the Arrows with an Horse's Hair.

Homer's Bow-strings are frequently made of Hides cut into small-
 Thongs: Whence we read of τέξα βεία.

ἔλκε δ' οὐκ γλυφίδας τε καλῶν, ἣ τέξα βεία.

He drew the Arrow by the Leathern String.

As Eustathius observes upon that Place (c). One thing more is remark-
 able in their Bows: It is that part to which the String was fix'd, being
 upon the uppermost part of the Bow, and call'd κορώνη, commonly
 made of Gold, and the last thing towards finishing a Bow: Whence Ho-
 mer, when he has describ'd the manner of making a Bow, adds after all,

— χρυσέῳ ἐπέθηκε κορώνην.

Hence Eustathius tells us, χρυσέῳ ἐπιτίθεσθαι κορώνην signifies to
 bring any Affair to a happy Conclusion.

The Arrows usually consist of light Wood, and an Iron Head,
 which was commonly hooked: Whence Ovid (d),

(a) Cassandra, v. 564. (b) Hesychius. (c) Iliad. d. p. 344. Ed. Basil. (d) De Amore.

44 Of the Military Affairs of Greece.

Et manus bannatis utraque est armata sagittis.

Hook'd Arrows arm'd both Hands.

Sometimes they were arm'd with two, three, or four Hooks : Hence Statius (a) ;

Aspera tergemini acies se condidit uncis.

The Head with three Hooks arm'd

Enter'd his Body.

In this Sense likewise Hippocrates's *τενεδ' ὄντα βέλη* are to be understood. The Heads of Arrows were sometimes besmear'd with Poison; for which peice of inhumane Skill Virgil's *Amycus* was famous (b);

ferarum
Vastatorem Amycum, quo non felicius alter

Ungere tela manu, ferrumque armare veneno.

——— *Amycus* the Man,

Who many a wild and savage Beast had slain,

Fam'd for his Skill, and for his wond'rous Art

In giving double Force to any Dart,

Or Arrow, with his Poison.

This Practice was more frequent in barbarous Nations, but seldom us'd or understood in Greece : Wherefore *Minerva* in *Homer* having assum'd the Form and Titles of *Mentes* King of the *Taphians*, and Son to *Anchialus*, pretends that her Father, out of an extraordinary Love to *Ulysses*, oblig'd him with a Quantity of this deadly Ointment, after he had been at the pains of a tedious Journey to *Ephyra*, to furnish himself; but had been denied it by *Ilus* the Son of *Mermerus*, who (as the Poet tells us) rejected *Ulysses's* Request out of a Scruple of Conscience, being afraid that Divine Vengeance would prosecute so criminal an Action (c);

ΕΞ ΕΦΥΡΗΣ ἀνιόντα παρ' Ἴλου Μερμερίδαο.

ὦχετο γὰρ καὶ κείσε δοῖς ἐπὶ νηὸς Ὀδυσσεύς,

Φάρμακον ἀνδροφόνον διζήμενος, ὅρα οἱ εἴη

ἰὺς χεῖρ' αὖ χαλκήρεας· ἀλλ' ὅ μ' ἔειπ' οἱ

δῶκεν, ἐπεὶ βῆ, θεὸς νεμεσίζετο αἶψ' ἰόντας,

ἀλλὰ πατὴρ οἱ δῶκεν ἐμὸς, φιλέεσκε γὰρ αἰνῶς.

——— When he had *Ilus* left

Return'd from *Ephyra*; in Hopes to find

Some Poison he for Arrows Heads design'd,

Ulysses thither sail'd : *Ilus* rever'd

Th' immortal Gods, and therefore much he fear'd

(a) *Thebaid.* lib. IX. (b) *Aeneid.* IX. v. 771. (c) *Odys.* d. v. 260.

Of the Military Affairs of Greece. 45

To grant what he desir'd, but easier far
He found *Anchitus*, who straight took care
To give the killing Poison which he ask'd,
For dearly well he lov'd him.

E. D.

Arrows were usually wing'd with Feathers, to increase their Speed and Force; whence *Homer's* *πτερὰ ἰδὲ* (a), *πτερὰ ὤντος* (b); *Oppian's* *πτερὰ περὶ πύξ* (c), and *ἐν πτερό* (d); *Sophocles's* *ἰδὲ κομήτης* (e); with divers other Epithets and Names to the same purpose (f). They were carry'd to the Battel in a Quiver, which was usually clos'd on all Sides, and therefore (as *Eustathius* (g) observes) join'd with the Epithet *ἀμφορεφής*. This with the Bow the Heroes carried upon their Backs: Thus *Apollo* in *Homer* (h);

Τόξ' ἀμοισιν ἔχων, ἀμφορεφέα τε φάρετ' ἔχων.

Carrying his Bow and Quiver on his Shoulders.

Hercules is represented by *Hesiod* in the same manner (i);

κοίλῳ δὲ πρὸς στήθεσσι φάρετ' ἔχων
καρβάλετ' ἐξ ὀπίθεν, πολλοὶ δ' ἐν ὄδῳ οἴσιν
Ῥιγνηλοὶ, θανάτοιο λαοφθόροιο δοτῆρες.

— towards his Back

He turn'd the hollow Quiver, which contain'd
Great Shafts, whose Force no Mortal yet sustain'd,
And did not straight expire.

Likewise the famous Heroine in *Virgil* (k);

Aureus ex humero sonat arcus et arma Dianæ.

The Golden Bow and Arrows loosely hung
Down from her Shoulders.

In drawing Bows, the primitive *Grecians* did not pull back their Hand towards their right Ear, according to the Fashion of modern Ages, and of the ancient *Persians* (l); but placing their Bows directly before them, return'd their Hand upon their right Breast (m); which was the Custom of the *Amazonian* Women, who are reported to have cut off their right Breasts, lest they should be an Impediment to them in shooting; on which account their Name is commonly thought to have been deriv'd from the privative Particle *α* and *μαζός*, i. e. from their want of a Breast. Thus *Homer* of *Pandarus* (n).

(a) *Iliad*. δ'. v. 116, &c. (b) *Iliad*. ε'. v. 171. (c) *Αλυσίη*. β'. (d) *Κυνηγ.* α'.
(e) *Trachinias*. (f) Vide *Commentarium meum* in *Lycophron*. v. 36.
(g) *Iliad*. α'. p. 29. Edit. Basil. (h) *Iliad*. α'. (i) *Scuto Herculis*, v. 130.
(k) *Æn.* XI. v. 652. (l) *Procopius de Bell. Persic.* lib. I. (m) *Eustathius*, *Iliad*.
δ'. p. 344, &c. *Iliad*. θ'. p. 602. Ed. Basil. (n) *Iliad*. δ'. v. 123.

Of the Military Affairs of Greece.

Νευρὼν μὲ μαζῶν πέλασσιν, πῶς δὲ σίδηρον.

Up to the Head the mortal Shaft he drew,
The Bow-string touch'd his Breast.

There were several sorts of Darts, or Javelins, as γρόσφοι, call'd in *Homer* αἰγανίαι (a), ὑαδες, and many others; some of which were projected by the help of a Strap girt round their Middle, and call'd in *Greek* ἀγκυλή, in *Latin*, *amentum*: The Action is express'd by the Word ἀγκυλίσασθαι, which is also sometimes us'd in a more general Sense for any sort of Darting, tho' without Straps. The Javelin thus cast was term'd μεσάγκυλον; the Custom is mention'd in the *Roman*, as well as *Greek* Writers: Whence *Seneca* in his *Hippolytus*,

*Amentum digitis tende prioribus,
Et totis jaculum dirige viribus.*

The Strap with your Forefinger draw,
Then shoot with all your Strength.

The ancient *Greeks* were wont to annoy their Enemies with great Stones. Thus *Agamemnon* in *Homer* (b);

Αὐτὰρ ὁ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπεπωλεῖτο σίχας ἀνδρῶν,
Ἐγχεῖ τ', ἀοεῖ τε, μεγάλοισί τε χερμαδίοισιν.

But he to other Ranks himself betook,
And here his Spear, his Sword, and Stones too struck
The flying Enemy.

These were not Stones of an ordinary Size, but such as the joint Strength of several Men in our Days would be unable so much as to lift. With a Stone of this bigness *Diomedes* knocks down *Aeneas* in *Homer* (c);

ὁ δὲ χερμαδίον λάβε χειρὶ
Τυδείδης, μέγα ἔργον, ὃ εἰ δύο γ' ἄνδρες φέροισιν,
Οἷοι νῦν βροτοὶ εἰσ', ὃ δὲ μιν ῥέα πάλλε καὶ οἷος
Τῷ βάλεν Αἰνείας κατ' ἰχθίον

— a vast and monstrous Stone
The brave *Tydid* took and threw alone;
A Stone it was, so heavy, and so great,
Not two the strongest Men cou'd bear the Weight,
As now Men are; but he with Ease it hurl'd,
And broke *Aeneas's* Hip.

(a) *Eustathius*, *Odysf.* δ'. (b) *Iliad.* λ', v. 264. (c) *Iliad.* ι, v. 302.

Of the Military Affairs of Greece

It was the custom, not only of the Greeks, but of the Romans, to draw the sword from the scabbard, and to hold it in the right hand, with the point directed towards the enemy.

Now, when the sword was drawn, the soldier would hold it in the right hand, with the point directed towards the enemy.

all'd in
n were
all'd in
by the
general
in thus
Roman,

a great

k

length
With
(c);

Ajax



Ajax likewise and *Hector* encounter'd one another with the same Weapons; and the latter (as the Poet tells us) had his Buckler broken with a Stone scarce inferior in bigness to a Mill-stone (a);

Εἶσω δ' ἀσπίδ' ἔαξε, βαλὼν μυλοειδέϊ πέτρῳ.

A Stone so big, you might a Mill-stone call,
He threw, which made the Shield in pieces fall.

Nor did the Gods themselves disdain to make use of them; as appears from *Homer's Minerva*, who attack'd the God of War with a Stone of a prodigious size, which had been in former Ages placed for a Land-mark (b);

Ἡ δ' ἀναχασαμένη, λίθον ἔλετο χειρὶ παχείῃ
Κείμενον ἐν πεδίῳ, μέλανα, τριχῶί τε, μέγαν τε.
Τὸν ῥ' ἄνδρες πρότεροι θέσαν ἔμμελαι ἔρον ἀέρης·
Τῷ βάλε δῆρον Ἄρρη κατ' αὐχένα, λῦσε δὲ γῆα.

—— here stepping back,

A Stone, that long had lain to part the Land,
She forces up with her commanding Hand;
A sharp, black, heavy Stone, which, when 'twas thrown,
Struck *Mars's* Neck; the helpless God falls down
With shiv'ring Limbs.

Virgil has elegantly imitated some of these Passages in his twelfth *Aeneid* (c), where he speaks of *Turnus* in this manner;

*Nec plura effatus, saxum circumspicit ingens,
Saxum antiquum, ingens, campo quod forte jacebat
Limes agro positus, litem ut discerneret arvis:
Vix illud lecti bis sex cervice subirent,
Qualia nunc hominum producit corpora tellus:
Ille manu raptum trepida contorsit in hostem
Altior insurgens, & cursu concitus Heros.*

He spake no more, but straight a Stone he spy'd,
An old prodigious Stone, which to divide
The Lands there lay, lest Quarrels might ensue,
And one should claim what was another's Due.
Should fix the lustiest Men together try
To bear this Stone, it would their Strength defy;
So weak, so frail the Bodies that Men wear,
Such puny Men as now on Earth appear;
He snatch'd it up, and running on him threw
This massy Stone.

E. D.

(a) *Iliad*. 2, v. 270. (b) *Iliad*. 6, v. 403. (c) *Ver*. 296.

48 Of the Military Affairs of Greece.

On all which Relations, several modern, especially *French* Critics insult with Triumph, imagining them grossly absurd and ridiculous whilst forming what they call Rules of Probability from the Manner of their own Times; there is scarce any Passage in all the Volumes of ancient Poetry, which does not, on some score or other, foully disgust their curious and distinguishing Palates.

But however the heroick Fights were carry'd on in this manner, as most of the ancient Poets witness; yet in nearer Ages, when they tell us Men's Strength and Courage were lessen'd, but their Policy and Conduct improv'd, we seldom find any mention of Stones, except in Sieges, where the Defenders frequently roll'd down vast Rocks upon their Enemies Heads. They were likewise cast out of several Engines, of which the most common in Field Engagements was

Σοενδόν, a Sling; which, we are told by some, was invented by the Natives of the *Balearian* Islands, where it was manag'd with so great Art and Dexterity, that young Children were not allow'd any Food by their Mothers, 'till they could sling it down from the Beam, where it was placed aloft (a); and when they arrived to be of Age to serve in the Wars, this was the principal of their offensive Arms; it being customary for all of them to be furnish'd with three Slings, which either hung about their Necks, according to *Eustathius* (b); or were carry'd, one on their Necks, one in their Hands, a third about their Loins (c). Hence the *Balearian* Slings are famous in ancient Writers. I shall observe only this one Instance out of *Ovid* (d);

*Non secus exarsit, quam cum Balearica plumbum
Funda jacet; volat illud, & incandescit eundo,
Et quos non habuit, sub nubibus invenit ignes.*

———— He burnt within,
Just like the Lead the *Balearian* Sling
Hurls out; You hear the Bullet whistling fly,
And Heat attends it all along the Sky,
The Clouds the Fire, it wants it self, supply.

E. D.

It was likewise common in *Greece*, especially among the *Acarnanians* (e), who were well skill'd in managing it, and are by some thought to have invented it: Others give that honour to the *Ætolians* (f). But none of the *Grecians* managed it with so great Art and Dexterity as the *Achaïans*, who inhabited *Ægium*, *Dyma* and *Patra*: They were brought up to this Exercise from their Infancy (g), and are thought by some to have excell'd the *Balearians*:

(a) *Vegetius de re militari*, lib. I. cap. XVI. *Lucius Florus*, lib. III. cap. VIII. *Diodorus Siculus*, lib. V. *Strabo*, lib. III. (b) *Commentario in Dionysium*.
(c) *Lycophron*, ejusque *Scholiaſtes*, v. 635. (d) *Metamorph.* lib. II. v. 727.
(e) *Pollux*, lib. I, cap. X. (f) *Strabo*, (g) *Livius*, lib. XXXVIII.

Whence

Whence it became a Custom to call any thing directly levell'd at the Mark, *Αχαικὸν βέλος* (a). This Weapon was us'd for the most part by the common, and light-arm'd Soldiers: *Cyrus* is said to have thought it very unbecoming any Officer (b); and *Alexander* endeavouring to render his Enemies as contemptible to his own Soldiers as he could, tells them, " They were a confus'd and disorderly " Rabble, some of them having no Weapon, but a Javelin; others " were design'd for no greater Service, than to cast Stones out of " a Sling, and very few were regularly arm'd (c) ". The Form of a Sling we may learn from *Dionysius*, by whom the Earth is said to resemble it, being not exactly spherical, but extended out in length, and broad in the middle; for Slings resembled a platted Rope, somewhat broad in the middle, with an oval Compass, and so by little and little decreasing into two Thongs, or Reins. The Geographer's Words are these (d);

Οὐ μὲν πᾶσα διαπερὶ φειδερμῶ, ἀλλὰ διαμφοῖς
Εὐρυτέρῃ βεβαῖα πρὸς ἡλίοιο κελεύθῳ,
Σφενδόνῃ εἰκῆα —————

Its Matter seems not to have been always the same; in *Homer* we find it compos'd of a Sheep's Fleece; and therefore one of the Heroes being wounded in the Hand, *Agenor* binds it with his Sling (e);

Αὐτῷ (sc. χεῖρ) ὃ ζῶέδνησεν εὐσέρφῳ οἶδς ἄώτῳ,
Σφενδόνῃ, ὡς ἄρα οἱ θεράπων ἔχε ποιμῶνι λαῶν.

A Sling of Wool he to his Hand apply'd,
One of his Servants held it.

Out of it were cast Arrows, Stones, and Plummets of Lead call'd *μολυβδίδες* or *μολυβδίναι σφαῖραι*, some of which weigh'd no less than an Attic Pound, i.e. an hundred Drachms. It was distinguish'd into several sorts; some were manag'd by one, others by two, some by three Cords.

The manner of slinging was by whirling it twice or thrice about their Head, and so casting out the Bullet. Thus *Mezentius* in *Virgil* (f),

Ipse ter adducta circum caput egit habena.

Thrice round his Head the loaded Sling he whirl'd.

But *Vegetius* commends those as the greatest Artists that cast out the Bullet with one turn about the Head. How far this Weapon carried its Load is express'd in this Verse,

(a) *Suidas*. (b) *Xenoph. Cyropæd. lib. VII.* (c) *Curtius lib. IV.* (d) *Περικλῆς. v. 5.* (e) *Iliad. v. 599.* (f) *Æneid. IX. v. 587.*

Fundum Varro vocat, quem possis mittere funda.

Its Force was so great, that neither Head-piece, Buckler, or any other Armour was a sufficient Defence against it; and so vehement its Motion, that (as *Seneca* reports) the Plummers were frequently melted.

Lastly, we find mention of Fire-balls, or Hand-Granado's, call'd πυρσόλοι λίθοι, &c. One sort of them are call'd σκυτάλια or σκυταλίδες, which were compos'd of Wood, and some of them a Foot, others a Cubit in Length: Their Heads were arm'd with Spikes of Iron, beneath which were plac'd Torches, Hemp, Pitch, or such like combustible Matter, which being set on Fire, they were thrown with great Force towards the Enemy's first Ranks, Head foremost, whereby the Iron-spikes being fasten'd to whatever came in their Way, they burn'd down all before them (a): Wherefore they seem to have been of the greatest use in Leaguers, to demolish the Enemy's Works; tho' my Author mentioneth no such Thing.

Concerning Military Apparel nothing certain or constant can be related; only it may be observ'd, that *Lycurgus* order'd the *Lacedaemonians* to cloath their Soldiers with Scarlet: The reason of which Institution seems either to have been, because that Colour is both soonest imbib'd by Cloth, and most lasting and durable (b); Or on the Account of its Brightness and Splendor, which that Law-giver thought conducive to raise Men's Spirits, and most suitable to Minds animated with true Valour (c); Or, lastly, because 'twas most proper to conceal the Stains of Blood, a Sight of which might either dispirit the raw and unexperienc'd Soldiers of their own Party, or inspire their Enemies with fresh Life and Vigor (d): Which *Eustathius* observes to have been well and wisely consider'd, when he comments on that Passage of *Homer*, where the cowardly *Trojans* upon seeing *Ulysses's* Blood flow from his Wound, receive new Courage, and animating one another, rush with mighty Force upon the Heroe (e);

Τρῶες δὲ μεγάθυμοι, ἐπεὶ ἶδον αἷμ' Ὀδυσῆος,
Κεκλόμενοι καθ' ὁμίλον, ἐπ' αὐτὰ πάντες ἔβησαν.

———— The *Trojans* saw *Ulysses's* Blood

Gush from his Wounds; then with new Life inspir'd

Each stirr'd the other up, and with Joint-force

Rush'd on the Hero.

'Tis farther remarkable of the *Lacedaemonians*, that they never engag'd their Enemies, but with Crowns and Garlands upon their Heads (f) tho' at other Times they were unaccustom'd to such Ornaments: Here

(a) *Suidas*. (b) *Xenophon*. de Rep. Laced. (c) *Plutarchus* Institur. Lacon. (d) *Plutarchus* loc. citat. *Ælianus* lib. VI. cap. VI. *Valerius Maximus* lib. II. cap. VI. (e) *Iliad*. λ'. v. 459. (f) *Xenophon*, item *Plutarchus* *Lycurgo*.

by ascertaining themselves of Success, and, as it were, anticipating their Victory, Crowns being the ordinary Rewards presented to Conquerors in all the Parts of Greece. So wonderful, indeed, were the old *Lacedæmonians* Courage and Fortune, that they encounter'd the Enemies fearless and unconcern'd, joining Battel with Assurance of Victory; which was a thing so common to them, that for their greatest Successes they seldom sacrific'd to the Gods any more than a Cock: Nor were they much elevated when the happy News arriv'd, nor made Presents of any Value to the Messengers thereof, as was usual in other Cities: For after the famous Battel of *Mantineæ*, we find the Person that carry'd the Express of Victory, rewarded only with a Piece of powder'd Beef (a).

The Soldiers usually carry'd their own Provisions, which consisted for the most part, of Salt-meat, Cheese, Olives, Onions, &c. To which End every one had a Vessel of Wickers (b), with a long narrow Neck called γύλιον, whence Men with long Necks are by the Comedian term'd in Derision γυλιαύχενες (c).

CHAP. V.

Of the Officers in the Athenian and Lacedæmonian Armies.

THE *Græcian* Cities being govern'd by different Laws, the Nature, and Titles of Offices, whether in Military or Civil Affairs, must of Consequence be distinguish'd. Wherefore it being an endless Undertaking to recount the various Commands throughout the whole *Græcian* Nation, I shall only present you in this Place with a short View of the chief Offices in the *Athenian* and *Lacedæmonian* Armies.

In the primitive Times, when most States were govern'd by Kings, the supreme Command belong'd to them of Course; and it was one principal Part of their Duty towards their Subjects, to lead them forth in Person against their Enemies, and in single Combat to encounter the bravest of them at the Head of their Armies. And it may be observ'd that when any Prince thro' Cowardice, or other Weakness, was judg'd unable to protect his People, it was customary for them, withdrawing their Allegiance, to substitute a Person better qualify'd in his Place: A memorable Instance whereof we have in *Thymætes* an *Athenian* King, who declining a Challenge sent by *Xanthus* King of *Bæotia*, was depos'd without farther ado, and succeeded by a Foreigner, one *Melanthius* a *Messenian*, who undertook to revenge the Quarrel of *Athens* on the *Bæotians* (d).

(a) *Plutarchus Agesilao.* (b) *Aristophanis Scholiastes Acharnens.* (c) *Pacc.*
(d) *Vide Archaeolog. nostr. Lib. II. cap. XX. in Ανατύχεια,*

52 Of the Military Affairs of Greece.

Yet on some Occasions it was not impracticable for the King to nominate a Person of eminent Worth and Valour to be his Πολέμαρχος, or General, who either commanded under the King, or, when the Emergency of other Affairs requir'd his Absence, supply'd his Place: Which honourable Post was conferr'd by King *Erechtheus* upon *Ion* the Son of *Xuthus* in the *Eleusinian War* (a).

But the Government being at length devolv'd upon the People, Affairs were manag'd after a new Method; For all the Tribes being invested with an equal Share of Power, 'twas appointed that each of them should nominate a Commander out of their own Body. That this was done in the time of *Cimon*, appears from *Plutarch* (b). But whether each of their Tribes perpetually made Choice of one of their own Body, or sometimes nam'd Men of other Tribes, is not very certain. No Person was appointed to this Command, unless he had Children and Land within the Territory of *Athens* (c). Those were accounted Pledges to the Commonwealth. And sometimes the Children were punish'd for the Treason of their Fathers. Which, tho' seemingly cruel and unjust, was yet *Antiquum & omnium Civitatum*, an ancient Custom, and receiv'd in all Cities, as *Cicero* hath observ'd (d). He gives us in the same Place an Instance in *Themistocles's* Children, who suffer'd for the Crimes of their Father. Hence *Sinon* in *Virgil*, pretending to have quitted the *Grecian* for the *Trojan* Interest, speaks thus of his Children (e):

*Quos illi fors ad pœnas ob nostra reposcent
Effugia, & culpam hanc miserorum morte piabunt.*

To return to our Subject. The Nomination of the Generals was made in an Assembly of the People, which on this occasion was conven'd in the *Pnyx*, and frequently lighted upon the same Persons, if they behav'd themselves with Courage and Prudence, and executed their Office for the Safety and Honour of their Country; Insomuch that 'tis reported of *Phocion*, that he was a Commander five and forty Times, tho' he never sued, or canvas'd for that Honour, but was always promoted by the free and voluntary Choice of the People (f). Before their Admission to Office, they took an Oath of Fidelity to the Commonwealth, wherein one Thing is more peculiarly remarkable, viz. That they oblig'd themselves to invade the *Megarians* twice every Year: Which Clause was first inserted in the Oath by a Decree preferr'd by *Charinus*, on the Account of *Anthemocritus* an *Athenian* Herald, whom the *Megarians* had barbarously murder'd about the Beginning of the *Peloponnesian War* (g). This done, the Command of all the Forces, and Warlike Preparations was entrusted in their Hands, to be employ'd and manag'd as they judg'd convenient; Yet was not their Power absolute, or unlimited, it being wisely order'd, that upon the Expira-

(a) *Pausanias Atticis*. (b) *Cimone*. (c) *Conf. Petitus Commentario in Leges Atticas*. *Dinarchus in Demosthenem*. (d) *Epist. XVI. ad Brutum*. *Conf. Cælius Rhodiginus Lib. XIV. Cap. XII.* (e) *Æneid. Lib. II. v. 139.* (f) *Plutarchus Phocionis*. (g) *Plutarch. Pericle.*

tion of their Command, they should be liable to render an Account of their Administration: Only, on some extraordinary Occasions, it seem'd fit to exempt them from this Restraint, and send them with full and uncontrollable Authority, and then they were styl'd *Ἀυτοκράτορες* (a): Which Title was conferr'd on *Aristides*, when he was General at the famous Battel of *Plataa*; upon *Nicias*, *Alcibiades* and *Lamachus* in the *Sicilian Expedition*, and several others (b). These Commanders were Ten, according to the Number of the *Athenian Tribes*, and all call'd *Στρατηγοί*, being invested with equal Power, and about the first Times of their Creation frequently dispatch'd all together in Expeditions of Concern and Moment, where every one enjoy'd the supreme Command by Days. But left in controverted Matters an Equality of Voices should retard their Proceedings, we find an eleventh Person join'd in Commission with them, and call'd *Πολέμαρχος*, whose Vote, added to either of the contesting Parties, weigh'd down the Ballance, as may appear from *Herodotus's Account* of the *Athenian Affairs* in the *Median War*. To the same Person the Command of the left Wing of the Army belong'd of Right (c).

But afterwards it was look'd on as unnecessary, and perhaps not very expedient, for so many Generals to be sent with equal Power to manage Military Affairs: Wherefore, tho' the ancient Number was elected every Year, they were not all oblig'd to attend the Wars; but one, two, or more, as occasion requir'd, were dispatch'd to that Service: The *Polemarchus* was diverted to civil Business, and became Judge of a Court, where he had Cognizance of Law-suits between the Natives, or Freemen of *Athens*, and Foreigners: The rest of the Generals had every Man his proper Employment, yet none were wholly free from Military Concerns, but determin'd all Controversies that happen'd amongst Men of that Profession, and order'd all the Affairs of War that lay in the City (d). Hence they came to be distinguish'd into two Sorts, one they term'd, *τὸς ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσεως*, because they administered the City-Business; the other, *τὸς ἐπὶ τῷ ὅπλῳ*, from their Concern about Arms. The latter of these listed and disbanded Soldiers as there was Occasion (e), and in short, had the whole Management of War devolv'd upon them during their Continuance in that Post, which seems not to have been long, it being customary for the Generals who remain'd in the City, to take their Turns of serving in the War (f).

Ταξίαρχοι were likewise ten, (every Tribe having the Privilege of electing one) and commanded next under the *Στρατηγοί*. They had the Care of *Marshalling* the Army, gave Orders for their Marches, and what Provisions every Soldier should furnish himself with, which were convey'd to the Army by publick *Cryers*. They had also Power to cashier any of the common Soldiers, if convicted of Misdemeanors. Their Jurisdiction was only over the Foot (g).

(a) *Suidas*. (b) *Plutarchus Aristide*, &c. (c) *Herodotus Erato*. (d) *Demosthenes Philipp.* (e) *Idem Orat. de Epitrierch.* *Plutarchus Phocione*. (f) *Ulpianus in Midianam*. (g) *Lyfias Orat. pro Mantitheo*, & de neglecta militia. *Aristophanis Schol.* *Avibus*.

54 *Of the Military Affairs of Greece.*

Ἰππαρχοὶ were only two in Number (a), and had the chief Command of the Cavalry next under the Στρατηγοὶ (b).

Φύλαρχοι were ten; one being nominated for every Tribe. They were subordinate Officers to the Ἰππαρχοι, and invested with Authority to discharge Horse-men, and to fill up the Vacancies, as Occasion requir'd (c).

Thus much of the General Officers. The Inferiors usually deriv'd their Titles from the Squadron, or Number of Men under their Command: as λοχαγοὶ, χιλίαρχοι, ἑκατόνταρχοι, δεκάδ'αρχοι πεμπάδ'αρχοι, &c. Proceed we in the next Place to the Commanders of the Spartan Army.

The supreme Command was lodg'd in one Person; for the *Lacedaemonians*, however fond of *Aristocracy* in civil Affairs, found by Experience, that in War a *Monarchical* Government was on several Accounts preferable to all others (d): For it happening that once upon a Difference in Opinion between their two Kings, *Demaratus* and *Cleomenes*, the former withdrew his Part of the Army, and left his Colleague expos'd to the Enemy, a Law was hereupon enacted, that for the future they should never command the Army together, as had been usual before that Misfortune (e). Yet upon extraordinary Occasions, when the Safety and Honour of the State was in Dispute, they had so much Prudence, as rather by transgressing the Letter of the Law to secure their Country, than by insisting on Niceties to bring it into Danger: For we find that, when *Agis* was engag'd in a dangerous War with the *Argians* and *Mantineans*, *Plistonax* his fellow-King, having rais'd an Army out of such Citizens, as by their Age were at other Times excus'd from Military Service, went in Person to his Assistance (f).

The General's Title (as some say) was Βάσις (g), which others will have common to all other Military Officers. He was ordinarily one of the Kings of *Sparta*; it being appointed by one of *Lycurgus's* Laws, that this Honour should belong to the Kings: But in Cases of Necessity, as in their King's Minority, a Protector, or Viceroy, call'd ἀποστάτης (h), was substituted for the Management of Military, as well as Civil Affairs (i). 'Twas under this Character that *Lycurgus* reform'd, and new-modell'd the *Lacedaemonian* Polity, and commanded their Armies, during the Infancy of King *Charilaus* (i). *Pausanias* also was Tutor to *Lisarchus*, when he led the *Lacedaemonians*, and the rest of the *Grecians* against *Mardonius*, *Xerxes's* Lieutenant, at *Plataea* (k).

This only concern'd their Land-Armies, for the Laws made no Provision for their Fleets, their Law-giver having positively forbidden them to meddle with Marine Affairs. Wherefore when they became Masters of a Navy, they confin'd not their Elections of Admirals to the Royal House, but rather chose to commit that great Trust to their

(a) *Sigonius de Rep. Athen.* (b) *Demosthenes Midiana.* (c) *Lysius in locis citatis.* (d) *Isocrates ad Nicoelem.* (e) *Herodotus Lib. V. cap. LXXV.* (f) *Thucydides, Lib. V.* (g) *Hesychius.* (h) *Xenophon de Repub. Lacedam.* (i) *Plutarchus Lycurgo.* (k) *Herodotus, Thucydides, Plutarchus, Cornelius Nepos, Pausanias.*

most able and experienc'd Seamen; as may appear from the Instances of *Lyfander*, and several others, who commanded the *Spartan* Fleets, tho' never invest'd with Royal Power. Nor was it ordinarily permitted their Kings, when entrusted with Land-armies, to undertake the Office of Admiral: The only Person honour'd with those two Commands at the same Time, was the *Great Agesilaus* (a).

The King, however limited and restrain'd when at Home, was supreme and absolute in the Army, it being provided by a particular Precept of the Law, that all others should be subordinate to him, and ready to obey his Commands (b). Notwithstanding this, he was not always left wholly to himself, and the Prosecution of his own Measures, it being customary for some of the Magistrates call'd *Ephori*, to accompany him, and assist him with their Advice (c). To these, on some Occasions, others were join'd. When *Agis* had unadvisedly enter'd into a League with the *Argians*, at a Time when it lay in his Power to have forc'd them to accept of Terms far more honourable to his Country, the *Spartans* highly resent'd his Imprudence, and enacted a Decree, that he should never again command an Army, without ten Counsellors to go along with him. Whether the succeeding Kings were hereby oblig'd, does not fully appear; but it seems probable, they were not sent to the Wars without a Council, consisting, if not of the same, however of a considerable Number of the wisest Men in *Sparta*. *Agessipolis* was attended with no less than thirty (d); And tho' the Tenderness of his age might occasion that extraordinary Provision, yet in Wars of great Concern, or Danger, and such as were carry'd on in remote Countries, Kings of the greatest Experience, and most eminent for Conduct, were not trusted without a great Number of Counsellors; For we are told, that *Agesilaus* himself, when he made his Expedition into *Asia*, was oblig'd by a Decree of the People to take thirty along with him (e).

Beside these, the General was guarded by Three hundred valiant *Spartans*, call'd *Ιππῆες*, or Horse-men, who fought about his Person (f), and were much of the same Nature with *Romulus's* Lifeguards, call'd *Celeres*, or Light-Horse, as *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* reports. Before him fought all those that had obtain'd Prizes in the Sacred Games, which was look'd upon as one of the most honourable Posts in the Army, and esteem'd equivalent to all the glorious Rewards confer'd on those Victors in other Cities (g).

The chief of the subordinate Officers was call'd *Πολέμαρχοι*. The Titles of the rest will easily be understood from the Names of the Parties under their Command, being all deriv'd from them: Such as *Λοχαγωγοί*, *Πεντηκόςῃρες*, *Ενωμοτάρχαι*, &c.

(a) *Plutarchus Agesilao*. (b) *Herodotus* Lib. VI. *Thucydides* Lib. V. (c) *Xenophon* *Ελληνικῶν* Lib. II. (d) *Xenophon* *Ελληνικῶν* Lib. V. (e) *Plutarchus* *Agesilao*, & *Xenophon*. (f) *Thucydides* Lib. V. (g) *Plutarchus* *Lycurgo*.

C H A P. VI.

Of the several Divisions, and Forms of the Grecian Army, with other Military Terms.

THE whole Army, as compounded of Horse and Foot, was call'd *σεατία*. The Front *μέτωπον*, or *πρῶτον ζυγόν*; the Right-hand Man of which, as in other Places, was *πρωτοστάτης*; The Wings, *κέρατα*, of which some make *Pan*, *Bacchus's* General in his *Indian Expedition*, to have been the first Inventor; The Soldiers herein, and their Leader, *παρεστάται*; Those in the middle Ranks, *ἐπιστάται*; The Rear, *ἐχάτον*; or *ὀπίσθουλαξ* (a); which seem to have been common Names for any others that obtain'd the like Places in smaller Bodies.

Πεμπάς was a Party of five Soldiers; its Leader, *Πεμπάδαρχον*. *Δεκάς* of ten; its Leader, *Δεκάδαρχον*. And so of the rest.

Λόχον consisted of eight, as others, of twelve, or as some, of sixteen, which was a compleat *λόχον*, tho' some make that to contain no less than twenty-five. It is sometimes term'd *σίχον*, or *δεκανία*, and its Leader *Λοχαγός*.

Διμοιεία, or *Ημιλοχία* was an half *λόχον*; its Leaders, *Διμοιέτης*, or *Ημιλοχίτης*.

Συλλοχισμός was a conjunction of several *λόχοι*: Sometimes 'tis term'd *σύσασις*, which consisted of four half, or two compleat *λόχοι*, containing thirty-two Men.

Πεντηκονταρχία, however the Name imports only fifty, was usually a double *σύσασις*, consisting of four *λόχοι*, or sixty-four Men: Whence its Leader was not only term'd *Πεντηκονταρχον*, but *Τετράρχης*, and for *πεντηκονταρχία*, we sometimes find *τετραρχία*.

Εκατονταρχία, sometimes call'd *τάξις*, consisted of two of the former, containing an hundred twenty-eight Men. Its Commander was anciently call'd *Ταξίαρχον*, but afterwards the Name of *Εκατόνταρχον* generally prevail'd. To every *Εκατονταρχία* were assign'd five necessary Attendants, call'd *ἑκτακτοί*, as not being reckon'd in the Ranks with the Soldiers. These were,

1. *Στρατοκήρυξ*, the Cryer, who convey'd by Voice the Words of Command. He was usually a Man of strong Lungs: The most remarkable of any in Story was *Homer's Stentor*, who, he tells us, was able to shout as loud as any fifty (b).

(a) *Orbicius*. (b) *Iliad*. i. v. 784.

Of the Military Affairs of Greece. 57

Ἐνθα εἶς ἥυσε διὰ λυκώλεν Θ' Ἡρῆ,
 Στένλοι εἰσαμένη μεγαλήτοει, χαλκεοφώνῳ,
 Ὃς τόσον αὐδήσαχ', ὅσον ἄλλοι πενήηκούλα.

Juno there clamours with imperious Sway,
 Like bawling *Stentor*, when his Lungs gave way,
 Whose Voice would open in a mighty Shout,
 As loud as fifty Men's. —————

2. *Σημειοφόρος*, the Ensign, remitted by Signs the Officers Commands to the Soldiers; and was of use in conveying Things not to be pronounc'd openly, or discover'd; and when the Noise of War drown'd the Cryer's Voice.

3. *Σαλπικτής*, or Trumpeter, was necessary, as well to signify to the Soldiers the Will of their Commanders, when Dust render'd the two former useless, as to animate and encourage them, and on several other Accounts.

4. *Υπηρέτης*, was a Servant, that waited on the Soldiers to supply them with Necessaries. These four were plac'd next to the foremost Rank.

5. *Ὀυραγός*, the Lieutenant, brought up the Rear, and took care that none of the Soldiers were left behind; or deserted.

Σωτάγμα, *παρέταξις*, *ψιλαγία*, and, according to some, *ξεναγία*, was compounded of two *τάξεις*, being made up of Two Hundred fifty-six Men. The Commander, *Σωταγματάρχης*.

Πεντακοσιαρχία, or *ξεναγία* contain'd two *σωτάγματα*, i. e. Five hundred and twelve Men. The Commander's Name was *Πεντακοσιάρχης*, or *Ξεναγός*.

Χιλιαρχία, *σύσρεμμα*, and (as some think) *ξεναγία*, was the former doubled, and consisted of a Thousand and twenty four. The Commander, *Χιλίαρχος*, *Χίλιος*, or *Συσρεμματάρχης*.

Μεγάρχία, by some call'd *τέλος*, by others *ἐπιξεναγία*, contain'd two of the former, i. e. Two thousand forty-eight. The Commander, *Μεγάρχης*, *Τελάρχης*, or *Επιξεναγός*.

Φαλαγγαρχία, sometimes call'd *μέγας*, *ὑπομὴ κέρατος*, *σίφος*, and by the Ancients, *στρατηγία*, was compounded of two *τέλη*; and contain'd Four thousand, fourscore and sixteen, or Four thousand thirty six, according to others. The Officer, *Φαλαγγάρχης*, and *Στρατηγός*.

Διφαλαγγία κέρας, *ἐπίταγμα*, and (as some think) *μέγας* was almost a Duplicate of the former, for it consisted of Eight thousand one hundred and thirty two. The Commander's Title was *Κεράρχης*.

Τετραφαλαγγαρχία contain'd about two *διφαλαγγίαι*, or Sixteen thousand three hundred fourscore and four. The Commander, *Τετραφαλαγγάρχης*.

Φάλαγξ is sometimes taken for a Party of Twenty-eight Men, sometimes of Eight thousand; but a compleat *φάλαγξ* is said to be the same with *Τετραφαλαγγαρχία*. Several other Numbers are signi-

58 Of the Military Affairs of Greece.

signify'd by this Name, it being frequently taken for the whole Body of Foot, and as often in general for any Company of Soldiers. Indeed the Grecian Battles were usually rang'd into an Order peculiarly term'd *Phalanx*; which was of such Strength, that it was able to bear any Shock with what Violence soever charg'd upon them. The *Macedonians* were the most famous for this Way of Imbattelling; their *Phalanx* is describ'd by *Polybius* to be a square Battail of Pike-men, consisting of sixteen in Flank, and five hundred in Front; the Soldiers standing so close together, that the Pikes of the fifth Rank were extended three Foot beyond the Front of the Battail. The rest, whose Pikes were not serviceable by reason of their Distance from the Front, couch'd them upon the Shoulders of those that stood before them, and so, locking them together in File, press'd forward to support and push on the former Ranks, whereby the Assault was render'd more violent and irresistible. The Commander was call'd *Φαλαγγάρχης*.

Μῆκος Φάλαγγος was the Length or first Rank of the *Phalanx*, reaching from the farthest Extremity of one Wing to that of another. 'Tis the same with *μέτωπον, πρόσωπον, εἶμα, παράταξις, πρωτολογία, πρωτοστάται, πρῶτος ζυγός, &c.* The Ranks behind were call'd, according to their Order, *διδ' τερος, τρίτος ζυγός, &c.*

Βάθος or πᾶχος Φάλαγγος sometimes call'd *τοῖχος*, was the Depth, consisting in the Number of Ranks from Front to Rear.

Ζυγοὶ Φάλαγγος, were the Ranks taken according to the Length of the *Phalanx*.

Στίχοι or λόχοι, were the Files measur'd according to the Depth.

Διχοτομία Φάλαγγος, the Distribution of the *Phalanx* into two equal Portions, which were term'd *πλευραὶ, κέρατα, &c.* or Wings: The left of these was *κέρως ἐνώνυμον*, and *ἑρῶς*; The Right, *κέρως δεξιόν, κεφαλὴ, δεξιὸν ἀκρωτήριον, δεξιὰ ἀρχή, &c.*

Ἄραρος, ὀμοαλός, σιωχὴ Φάλαγγος, the Body, or middle Part between the Wings.

Λεπίσμος Φάλαγγος, the lessening the Depth of the *Phalanx* by cutting off some of its Files.

Ορδία ἐτερομήκης, or παραμήκης Φάλαγξ, acies recta, or the Horse, wherein the Depth exceeded the Length.

Πλαγία Φάλαγξ differ'd from the former, being broad in Front, and narrow in Flank; whereas the other was narrow in Front, and broad in Flank (a).

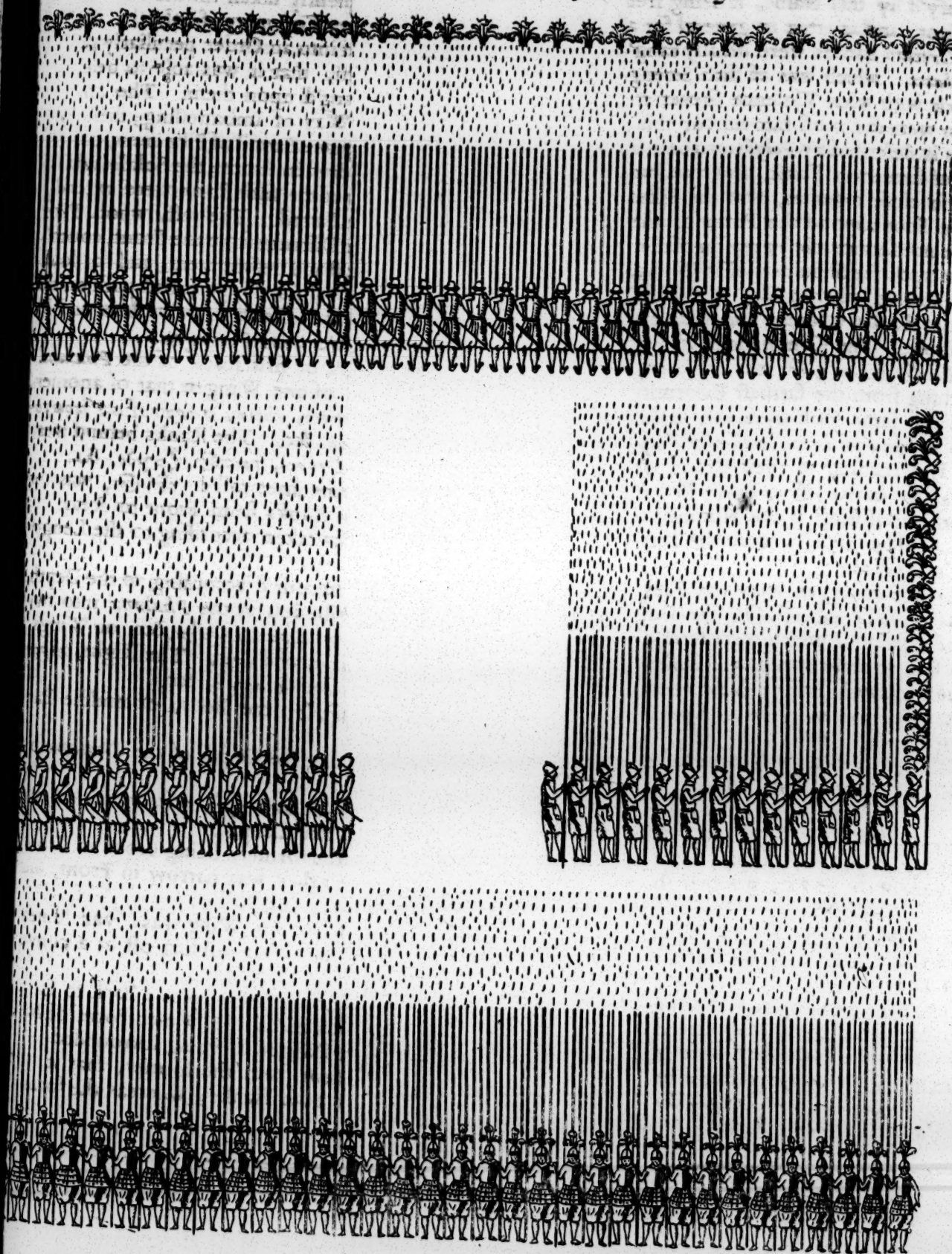
Δοξὴ Φάλαγξ, or obliqua acies, when one Wing was advanc'd near the Enemy's, to begin the Battel, the other holding off at a convenient Distance.

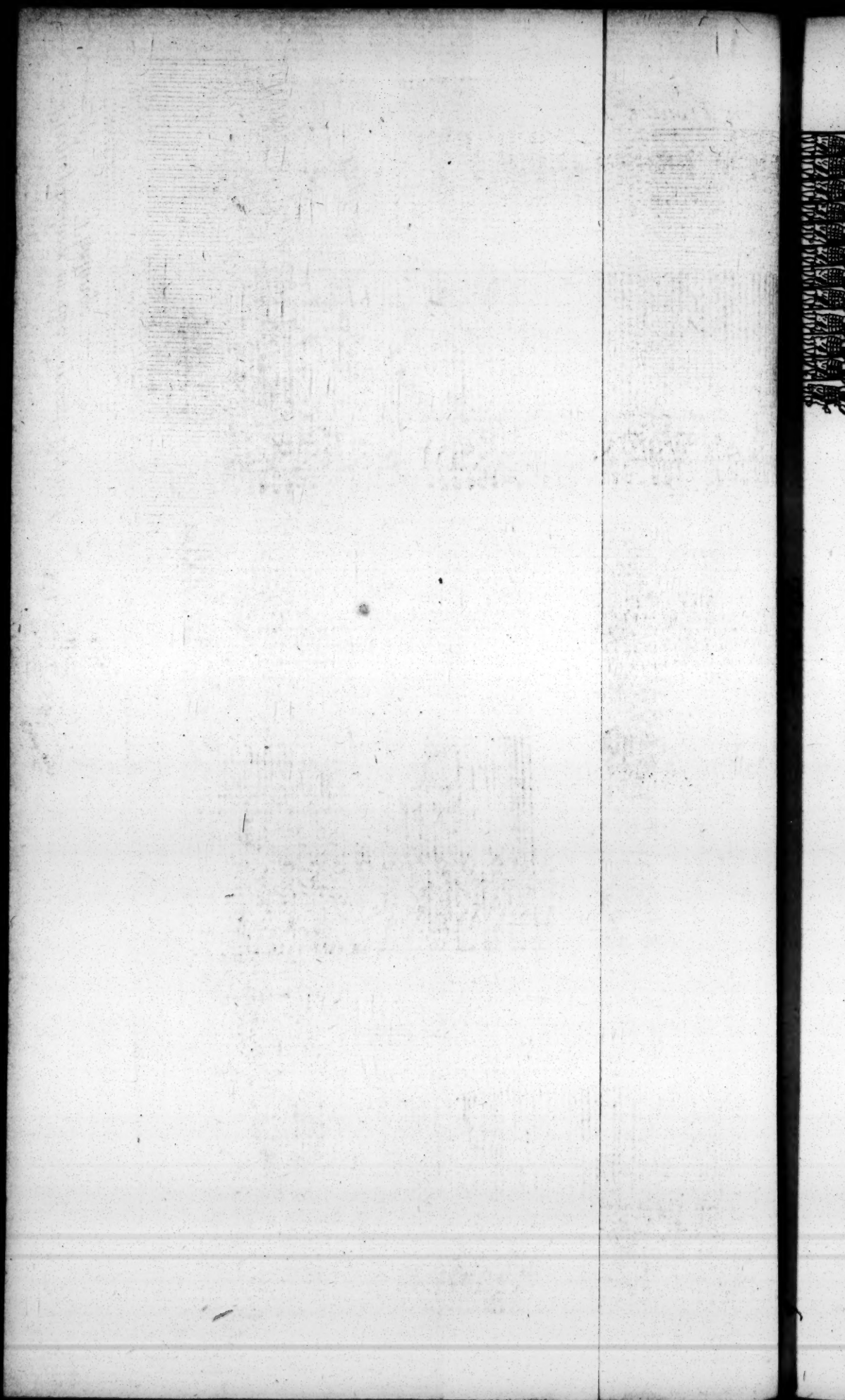
Αμφίσουμος Φάλαγξ, when the Soldiers were plac'd Back to Back, that they might every way face their Enemies: Which Form of *Battalia* was us'd when they were in Danger of being furrounded.

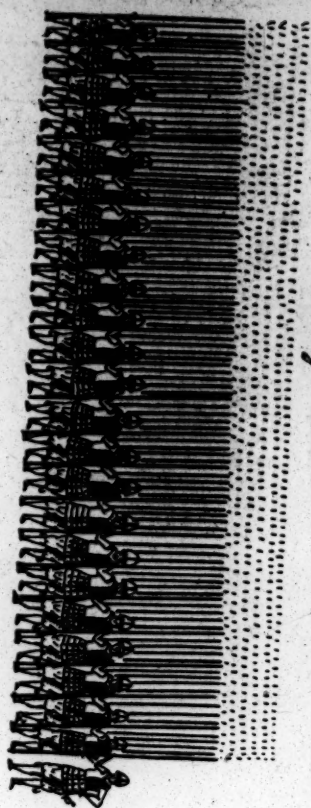
Αντίσουμος Φάλαγξ differ'd herein from the former, that it was form'd length-ways, and engag'd at both Flanks; whereas the former engag'd at Front and Rear.

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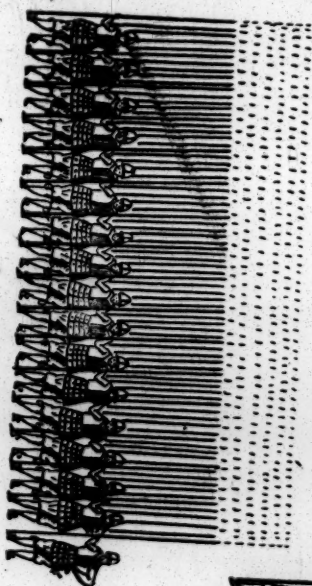
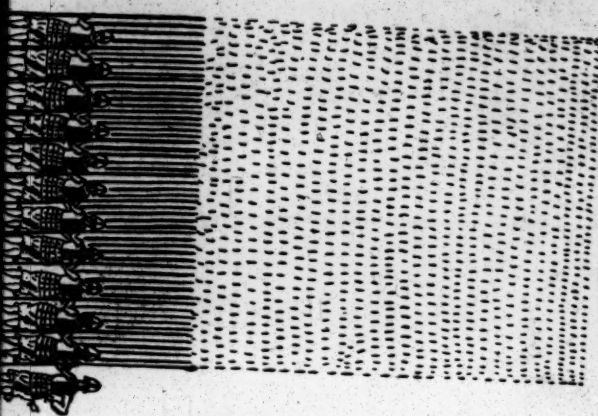
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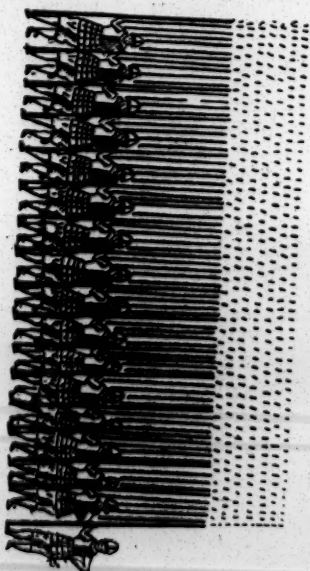




Orthiophalanx or y^e Herse

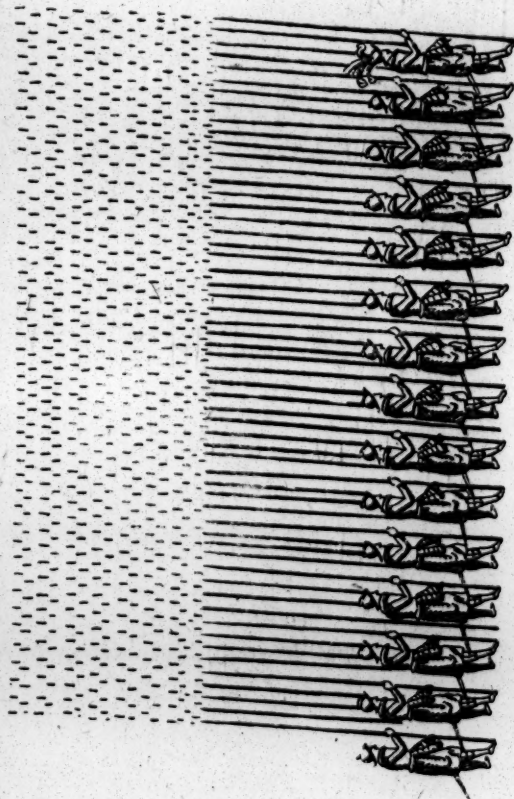


*Loxe-Phalanx or y^e uneven-Fronted
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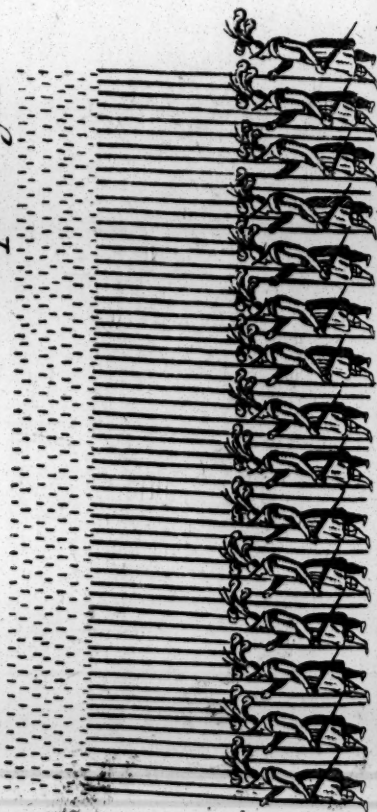
*The Battail call'd
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P. 59



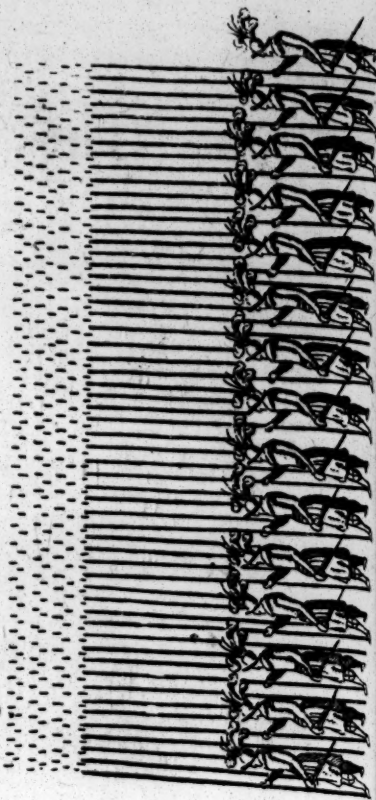
P. 57

The Diphallurgia



P. 59

Monostonus



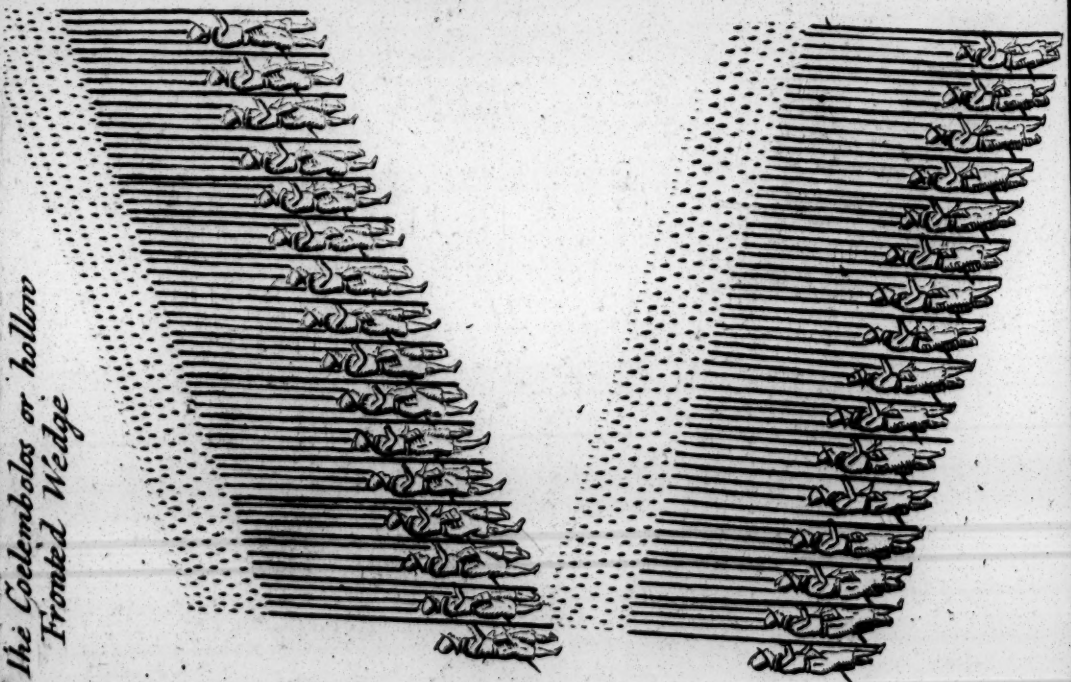


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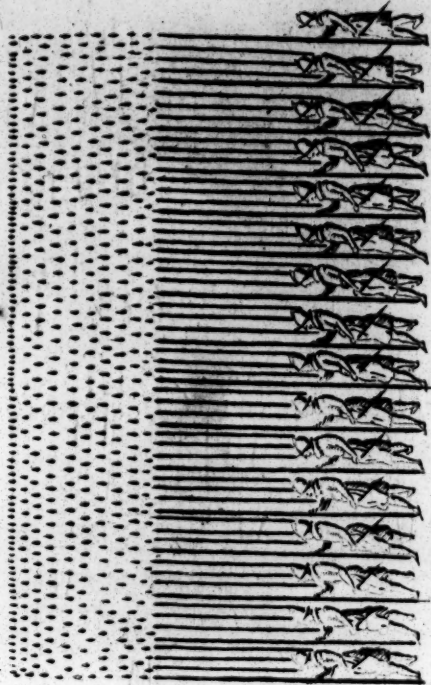
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*The Coelembolas or hollow
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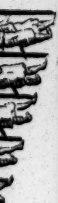
Vol 2 p:59

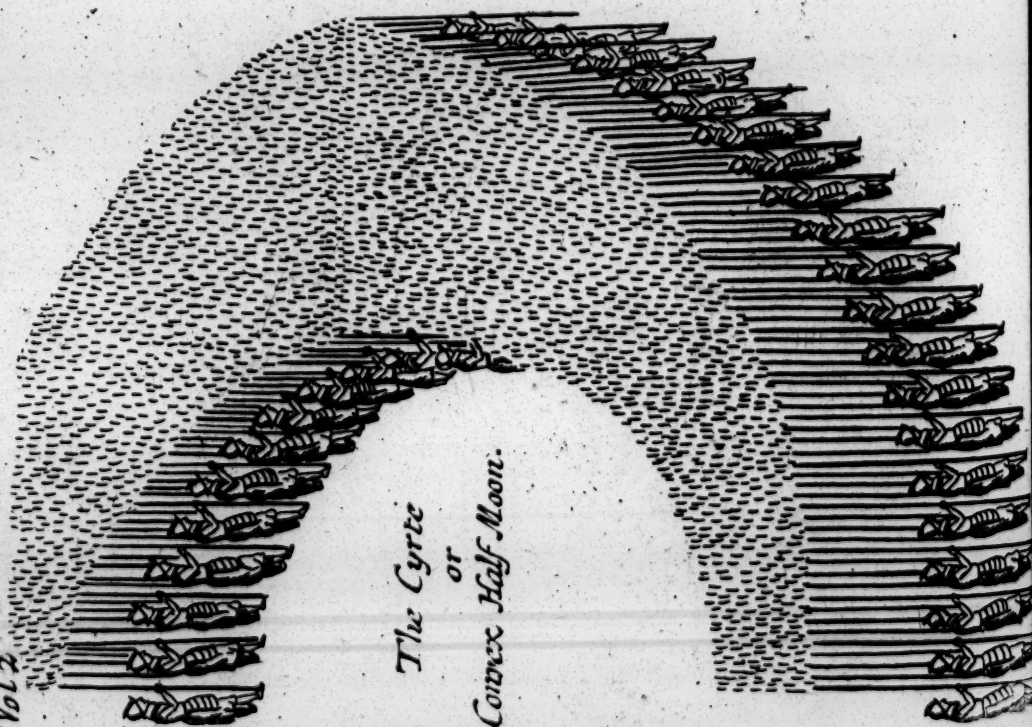


The Induction

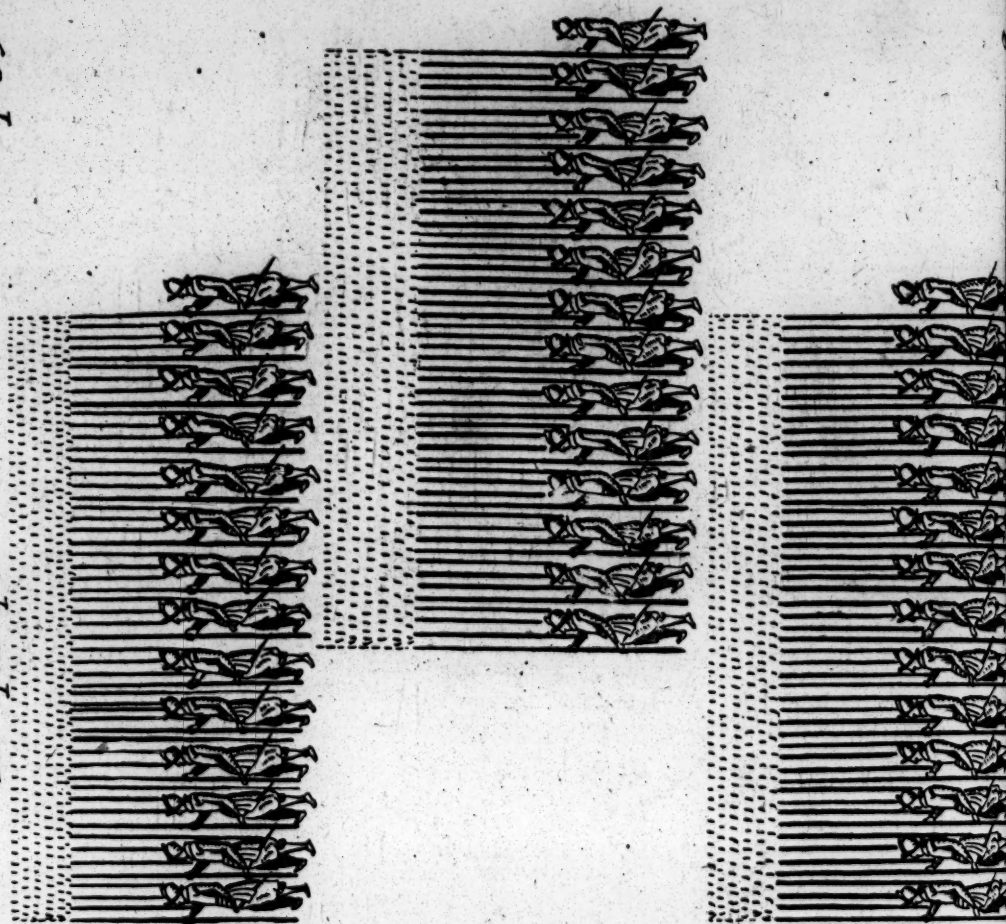


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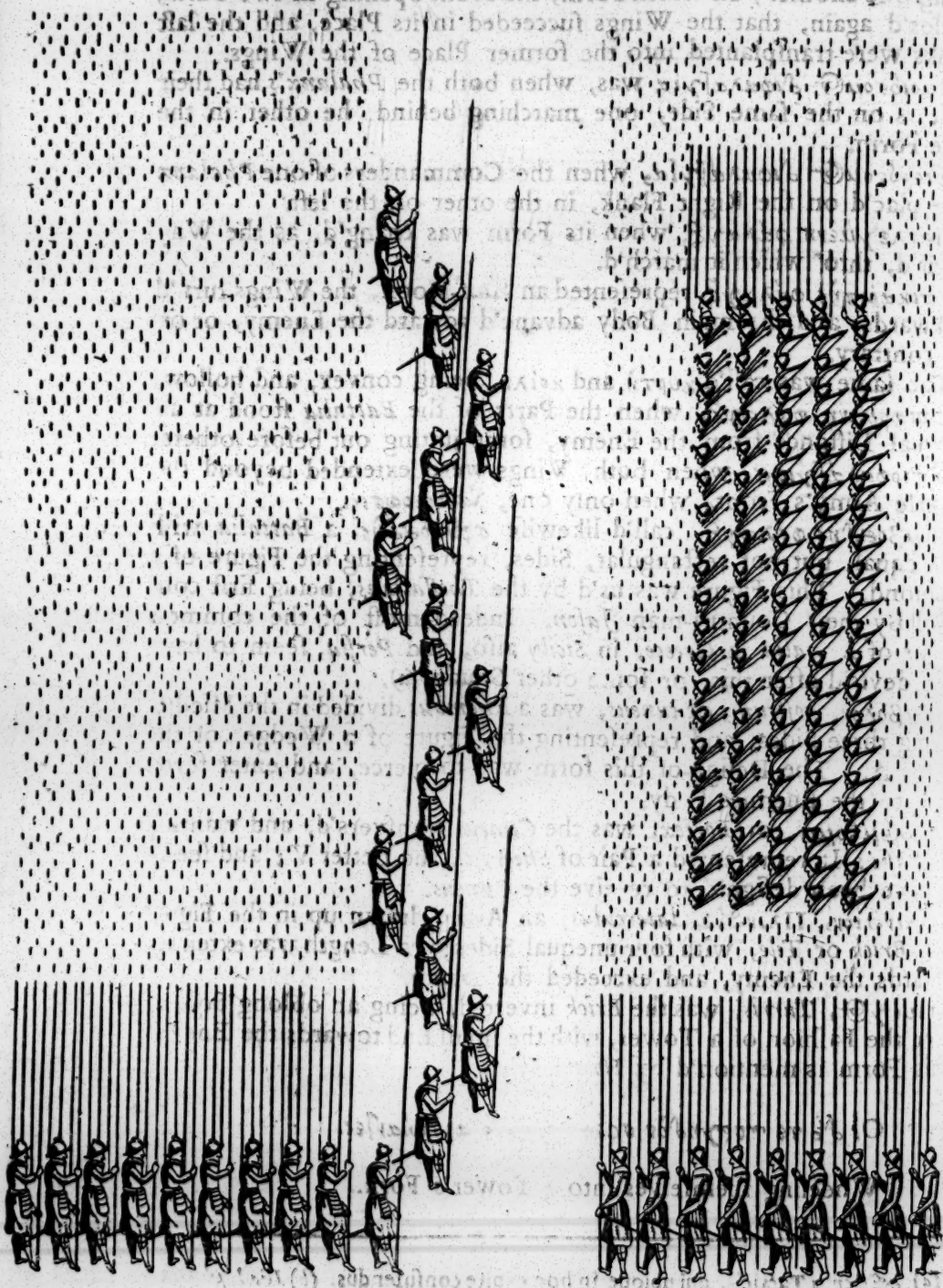




*The Cyrte
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*The Pteleumene**The Pteleumene*

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Ἀμφίσουθ' διφάλαγγία, when the Leaders were plac'd in both Fronts, but the Οὐραγοί, who follow'd the Rear, transplanted into the middle, so that their Enemies were confronted on all Sides.

Ἀντίσουθ' διφάλαγγία was contrary to the former, having the Οὐραγοί and their Rear on the two Sides, and the rest of the Commanders, who were plac'd at other Times in the Front, in the midst, facing one another; In which Form, the Front opening in two Parts, so clos'd again, that the Wings succeeded in its Place, and the last Ranks were transplanted into the former Place of the Wings.

Ομοίουςουθ' διφάλαγγία was, when both the *Phalanx's* had their Officers on the same Side, one marching behind the other in the same Form.

Ἐτερόσουθ' διφάλαγγία, when the Commanders of one *Phalanx* were plac'd on the Right Flank, in the other on the left.

Πεπλεγμένη φάλαγξ, when its Form was chang'd, as the Way requir'd, thro' which it march'd.

Ἐπικαμπής φάλαγξ, represented an Half-Moon, the Wings turn'd backwards, and the main Body advanc'd toward the Enemy, or on the contrary.

The same was call'd κυρτὴ and κοίλη, being convex, and hollow.

Ἐσπαρμένη φάλαγξ, when the Parts of the *Battalia* stood at an unequal Distance from the Enemy, some jutting out before others.

Ὑπερφάλαγγις, when both Wings were extended beyond the adverse Army's Front; when only one, ὑπερκέρωςις.

Ρομβοειδής φάλαγξ, call'd likewise ρομβοειδής, a *Battalia* with four equal, but not rectangular, Sides, representing the Figure of a Diamond. This Figure was us'd by the *Thessalians*, being first contriv'd by their Country-man *Jason*. Indeed most of the common Forms of *Battalia* in Greece, in Sicily also, and *Persia*, seem to have been devis'd after this, or some other Square (a).

Ἐμβολον, *rostrum*, or *cuneus*, was a *Rhombus* divided in the Middle, having three Sides, and representing the Figure of a Wedge, or the Letter Δ. The Design of this form was to pierce, and enter forcibly into the Enemies Body.

Κοιλέμβομον, or *Forfex*, was the *Cuneus* transvers'd, and wanting the *Basis*: It represented a Pair of *Sheers* or the Letter V; and seems to have been design'd to receive the *Cuneus*.

Πλινθιον, Πλινθία, *laterculus*, an Army drawn up in the Figure of a Brick or Tile, with four unequal Sides; its Length was extended towards the Enemy, and exceeded the Depth.

Πύργος, *Turris*, was the *Brick* inverted, being an oblong Square, after the Fashion of a Tower, with the small End towards the Enemy. This Form is mention'd by *Homer* (b).

Οἱ δὲ τε πύργηδον σφέας αὐτὰς ἀρτυώσῃτες.

Wheeling themselves into a Tower's Form.

(a) *Ælian's Tactics*, qui ubique in hoc capite consulendus. (b) *Iliad*. μ'. v. 43. Πλινθι-

Πλαίσιον had no oblong Figure, but approaching nearer to a Circle than Quadrangle.

Τερνιδών, was an Army extended at length with a very few Men in a Rank, when the Ways they march'd thro' could not be pass'd in broader Ranks: The Name is taken from a Worm that insinuates it self into little Holes in Wood. On the same Account we find mention of φάλαγξ ξιφοειδής, so rang'd, as it were, to pierce thro' the Passages.

Πύκνωσις φάλαγγος was the ranging Soldiers close together, so that, whereas in other Battalia's every Man was allow'd four Cubit Space on each Side, in this he took up only two.

Συναππισμός was closer than the former, one Cubit's Room being allow'd to every Soldier: 'Tis so call'd from Bucklers, which were all join'd close to one another.

Several other Forms of Battalia may occur in Authors, as those drawn in all the sorts of Spherical Figures. One of these was call'd ἵλη, first invented by Ilion of Thessaly, representing the Figure of an Egg, into which the Thessalians commonly rang'd their Horse (a). 'Tis commonly taken for any Party of Horse of what Number soever, but sometimes in a more limited Sense for a Troop of Sixty-four.

Ἐπιλαρχία contain'd two ἵλαι, i. e. One hundred and twenty-eight.

Ταρεντίνηλαρχία was a Duplicate of the former, consisting of Two hundred fifty-six: For they commonly us'd a Sort of Horsemen, call'd Ταρεντῖνοι, or ἵππαγωνισαί, who annoy'd their Enemies with missile Weapons, being unable to sustain a close Fight by reason of their light Armour. There was likewise another Sort of Tarentine Horsemen, who, having discharg'd their missile Weapons, engag'd their Enemies in close Fight. Their Name was deriv'd from Tarentum in Italy, which us'd to furnish out Horsemen of these Sorts: But whether the Name of this Troop was taken from the Sort of Horsemen, or the Number's being the same with that us'd by the Tarentines, is not certain.

Ἰππαρχία contain'd two of the former, i. e. Five hundred and twelve.

Ἐπιππαρχία was a double Ἰππαρχία, being made up of One thousand and twenty-four.

Τέλος was the former doubled, containing Two thousand forty-eight.

Ἐπίταγμα was equal to two τέλη, being compos'd of Four thousand ninety-six.

The Lacedaemonian Divisions of their Army had peculiar Names.

The whole Army was divided into Μόραι, or Regiments. What Numbers of Soldiers were rang'd in each is uncertain. Some make them five hundred, others seven, and some nine (b); But at the first Reformation of the Common-weath, they seem not to have ex-

(a) *Aelianus* loc. citat. (b) *Plutarchus Pelopida*.

of the Military Affairs of Greece

It was not without some difficulty, but approaching near
the Quadrangle

There was an Army extended at length with a very
a Rank, when the Ways they march'd thro' could not
a proper Rank: The Name is taken from a Word the
it fell into little Holes in Wood. On the same Ac
and mention of every Species to rang'd as it were
the Passages.

There were several of these soldiers close toge
the where in other Rank's every Man was allow'd for
space on each side, in this he took up only two.

Consequently was closer than the former, one Cubit
allow'd to every Soldier. To be call'd from the
all join'd close to one another.

Several other Forces of Rank may be seen in Addition
drawn in all the form of a Rank. One of these

was first invented by the Turkish, and is the most
into which the Turkish commonly march their
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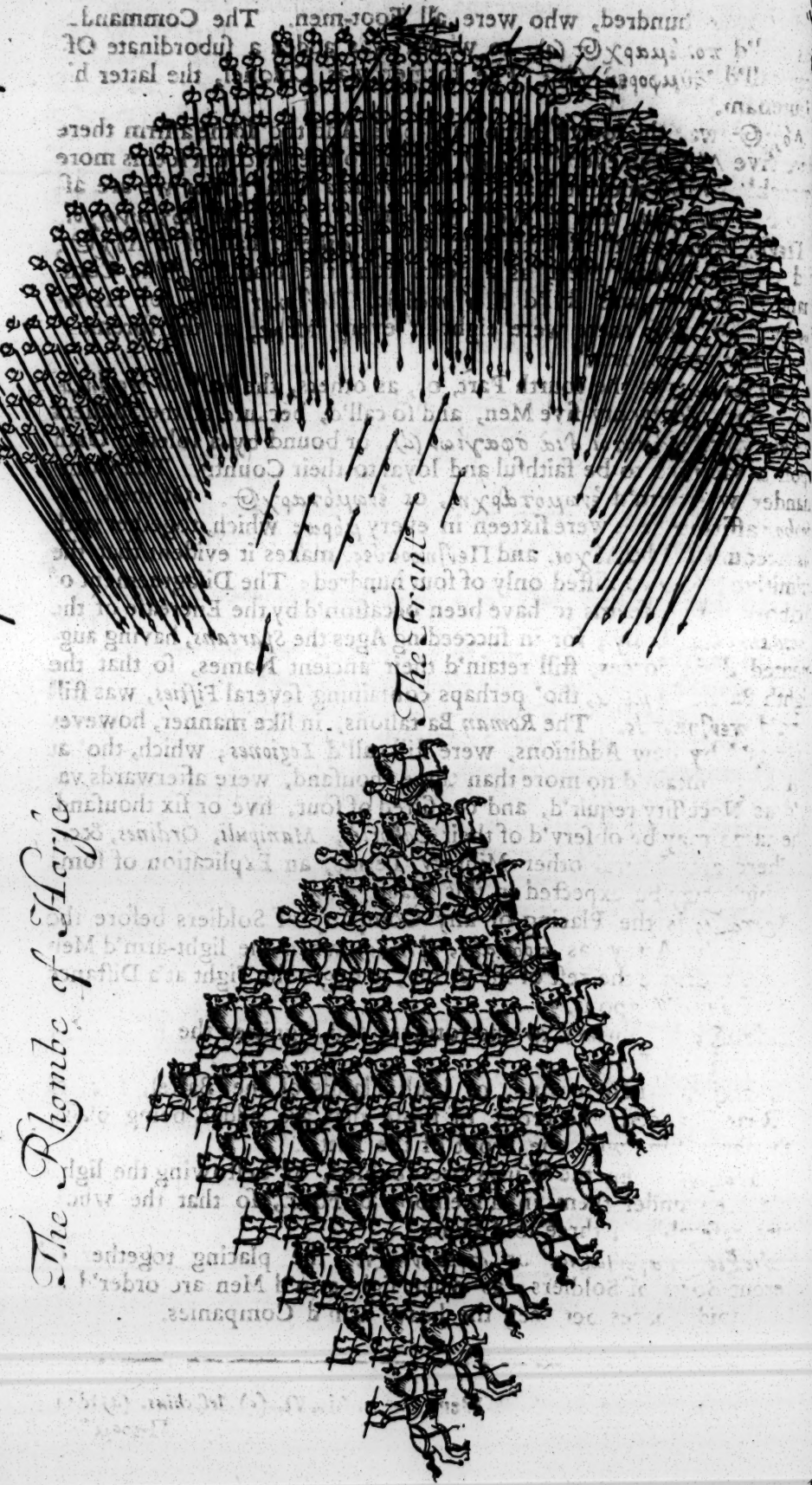
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The Half-Moon or Menoides of Foot

The Rhombe of Horse

Vol 2



the Military Affairs of Greece

hundred, who were all Foot-men. The Command-
 ing Officer was a Subordinate of the latter

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Of the Military Affairs of Greece.

ceeded four hundred, who were all Foot-men. The Commander was call'd πολέμαρχος (a); to whom was added a subordinate Officer call'd Συμφορεύς (b): The former was Colonel, the latter his Lieutenant.

Λόχος was the fourth Part of a Μόρα: And tho' some affirm there were five Λόχοι in every Μόρα (c), yet the former Account seems more agreeable to the ancient State of the Spartan Army: For we are assur'd by Xenophon, that in every Μόρα there were four Λοχαγωγοί.

Πενήκοσος was the fourth Part, or, as others, half of a Λόχος, and contain'd fifty Men, as appears from the Name. The Commander hereof was styl'd Πενήκοσις, Πενήκοσις, or Πενήκοσις: Of these there were eight in every Μόρα, as the foremention'd Author reports.

Ενωματία was the fourth Part, or, as others, the half of Πενήκοσος, contain'd twenty-five Men, and so call'd, because all the Soldiers therein were ἐνώμοτοι διὰ σφαγίων (d), or bound by a solemn Oath upon a Sacrifice to be faithful and loyal to their Country. The Commander was term'd ἐνωμοτάρχης, or ἐνωμοτάρχος. Of these Xenophon affirms there were sixteen in every Μόρα: which, together with his Account of the Λόχοι, and Πενήκοσες, makes it evident that the primitive Μόραι consisted only of four hundred: The Disagreement of Authors herein seems to have been occasion'd by the Encrease of the Lacedæmonian Army; for in succeeding Ages the Spartans, having augmented their Forces, still retain'd their ancient Names, so that the eighth Part of a Μόρα, tho' perhaps containing several Fifties, was still term'd Πενήκοσος. The Roman Battalions, in like manner, however encreas'd by new Additions, were still call'd Legiones; which, tho' at first they contain'd no more than three thousand, were afterwards vary'd as Necessity requir'd, and consisted of four, five or six thousand. The same may be observ'd of their Cohortes, Manipuli, Ordines, &c.

There are several other Military Terms, an Explication of some of which may be expected in this Place.

Πρόταξις is the Placing of any Company of Soldiers before the Front of the Army; as πρόταξις ψιλῶν when the light-arm'd Men are drawn before the rest of the Army, to begin the Fight at a Distance with missive Weapons.

Επίταξις is contrary to the former, and signifies the ranging of Soldiers in the Rear.

Πρόσαξις, when to one, or both Flanks of the Battel, Part of the Rear is added, the Front of those that are added being plac'd in the same Line with the Front of the Battel.

Υπόταξις, when the Wings are doubled, by bestowing the light-arm'd Men under them in an embow'd Form, so that the whole Figure resembles a three-fold Door.

Ενίαξις, παρένίαξις, or προσένίαξις, the placing together of different Sorts of Soldiers; as when light-arm'd Men are order'd to fill up void Spaces between the heavy-arm'd Companies.

(a) Xenophon de Rep. Laced. (b) Idem. Ελλην. Lib. VI. (c) Hesychius. (d) Idem.

62 Of the Military Affairs of Greece.

Παρεμβολή is distinguish'd from the former, as denoting the Completion of vacant Spaces in the Files by Soldiers of the same Sort.

Επαγωγή is a continu'd Series of Battalions in Marches drawn up after the same Form behind one another, so that the Front of the latter is extended to the Rear of the former: Whence this Term is sometimes taken for the Rhetorical Figure *Inductio*, where certain Consequences are inferr'd, in a plain and evident Method, from the Concession of some Antecedents (a).

Παρεπαγωγή differs herein from επαγωγή, that the *Phalanx* proceedeth in a Wing not by File, but by Rank, the Leaders marching not directly in the Front, but on one Side; When toward the left, 'twas call'd δώνυμθ παρεπαγωγή: When toward the right, δεξιά παρεπαγωγή.

Επαγωγή and παρεπαγωγή are distinguish'd into four sorts; for when they expected the Enemy, and march'd on prepar'd for him only on one Side, they were call'd επαγωγή, or παρεπαγωγή μονή πλάρθ: When on two Sides, δίπλάρθ: When on three, τρίπλάρθ: When every Side was ready for an Assault, τετράπλάρθ.

The Motions of the Soldiers at their Officers Command were term'd κλίσεις.

Κλίσις ἐπὶ δόρυ, to the Right: Because they manag'd their Spears with their right Hands.

Επανάκλισις, the Retrograde Motion.

Κλίσις ἐπὶ ἀσπίδα, to the Left: For their Bucklers were held in their left Hands.

Μεταβολή is a double Turn to the same Hand, whereby their Backs were turn'd on what before lay to their Faces. There were two Sorts of it:

1. Μεταβολή ἐπ' ἑρῶν, whereby they turn'd from Front to Rear, which is term'd ἑρᾶ, so that their Backs were toward their Enemies; whence 'tis call'd μεταβολή ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων. It was always effected by turning to the Right.

2. Μεταβολή ἀπ' ἑρᾶς, or ἐπὶ πολεμίων, from Rear to Front, whereby they turn'd their Faces to their Enemies, by moving twice to the left.

Επιστροφή, when the whole Battalion, close join'd Man to Man, made one Turn either to the Right or Left.

Αναστροφή is oppos'd to ἐπιστροφή, being the Return of such a Battalion to its former Station.

Περίσπασμος, a double ἐπιστροφή, whereby their Backs were turn'd to the Place of their Faces, the Front being transferr'd to the Place of the Rear.

Εκτρίσπασμος, a treble ἐπιστροφή, or three Wheelings.

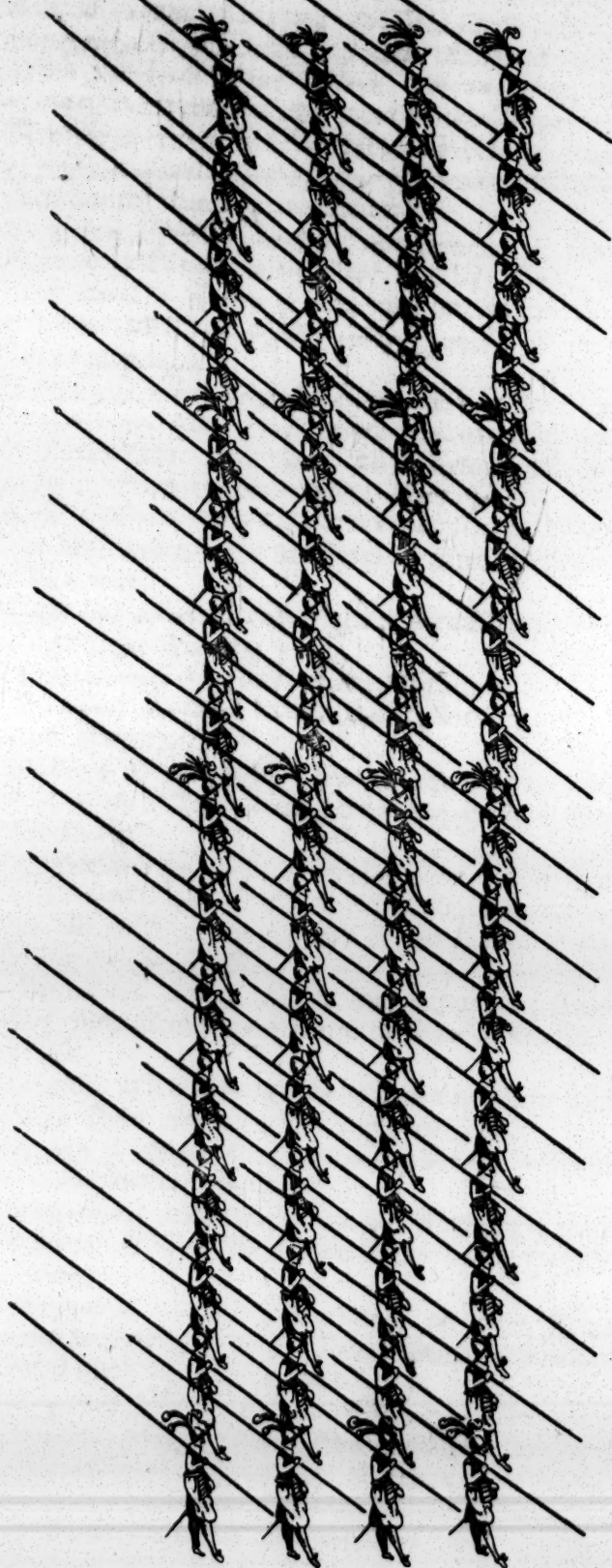
Εἰς ὁρθὸν ἀποδύναι, or ἐπ' ὁρθὸν ἐποκαταστῆσαι, to turn about to the Places they were in at first.

Εξελισμὸς, Εξελισμός, or Εξέλισις, Countermarch, whereby every Soldier, one marching after another, chang'd the Front for the Rear, or one Flank for another: Whence there are two Sorts of Coun-

(a) *Aristotelis Topic. Lib. I. Quintilianus Lib. V. cap. X. Cicero.*

2

(a) A person who is a member of the same family as the person whose name appears on the title deed.





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by File

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er-marches, κατὰ λόχους, and κατὰ ζυγά, one by Files, the other by Ranks; both are farther divided into three Sorts.

1. Εξελισμὸς Μακεδὸν κατὰ λόχους, invented by the *Macedonians*, was thus: First the Leaders of the Files turn'd to the right, or left about, then the next Rank pass thro' by them on the same Hand, and, being come into the distant Spaces, plac'd themselves behind the Leaders of their Files, then turn'd about their Faces the same Way: In like manner the third Rank after them, with the fourth, and all the rest, till the Bringers up were last, and had turn'd about their Faces, and again taken the Rear of the Battel. Hereby the Army was remov'd into the Ground before the Front, and the Faces of the Soldiers turn'd backward. This appear'd like a Retreat, and was for that Reason laid aside by *Philip of Macedon*, who us'd the following Motion in its stead.

2. Εξελισμὸς Λακων κατὰ λόχους, invented by the *Lacedamonians*, was contrary to the former; That took up the Ground before the *Phalanx*, this the Ground behind it, and the Soldiers Faces turn'd the contrary Way; In that the Motion was from Rear to Front, in this from Front to Rear. *Ælian* (a) describes it two Ways; One was, when the Bringers-up first turn'd about their Faces, the next Rank likewise turning their Faces, began the Countermarch, every Man placing himself directly before his Bringer-up; the third did the like, and so the rest, till the Rank of File-Leaders were first. The other Method was, when the Leaders of Files began the Countermarch, every one in their Files following them orderly: Hereby they were brought nearer to their Enemies, and represented a Charge.

3. Εξελισμὸς Περσικὸς, or Κρητικὸς, κατὰ λόχους, was us'd by the *Persians* and *Cretans*; it was sometimes term'd χορείος, because managed like the *Grecian chori*, which, being order'd into Files and Ranks, like Soldiers in Battel-array, and moving forward toward the Brink of the Stage, when they could pass no farther, retir'd one thro' the Ranks of another; the whole *Chorus* all the Time maintaining the same Space of Ground they were before possess'd of, wherein this Countermarch differ'd from the two former, in both which the *Phalanx* chang'd its Place.

Εξελισμὸς κατὰ ζυγά, Countermarch by Rank, was contrary to the Countermarch by File: In the Countermarch by File the Motion was in the Depth of the *Battalia*, the Front moving toward the Rear, or the Rear toward the Front, and succeeding into each other's Place; In this the Motion was in length of the *Battalia* flank-wise, the Wing either marching into the midst, or quite thro' the opposite Wing: In doing this, the Soldiers that stood last in the Flank of the Wing, mov'd first to the contrary Wing, the rest of every Rank following in their Order. It was likewise perform'd three Ways.

1. The *Macedonian* Countermarch begin its Motion at the Corner of the Wing nearest the Enemies, upon their appearing at either Flank, and remov'd to the Ground on the Side of the contrary Wing, so resembling a Flight.

(a) Tacit. cap. XXVIII. cum *Binghamii* notis.

64 *Of the Military Affairs of Greece.*

2. The *Lacedamonian* Countermarch, beginning its Motion in the Wing farthest distant from the Enemy, seiz'd the Ground nearest them, whereby an Onset was represented.

3. The *Chorean* Countermarch maintain'd its own Ground, only removing one Wing into the other's Place.

Διπλασιάζει is to *double*, or increase a Battalia, which was effected two ways. Sometimes the Number of their Men was augmented, remaining still upon the same space of Ground; sometimes the Soldiers, continuing the same in Number, were so drawn out by thinning their Ranks, or Files, that they took up a much larger space than before. Both these Augmentations of Men, or Ground, being made either in length or depth, occasion'd four sorts of *διπλασιασμοί*, which were made by Countermarches.

1. *Διπλασιασμός ἀνδρῶν χεῖρ ζυγὰ*, or *χεῖρ μῆκος*. when fresh Men were inserted into Ranks, the length of the Battalia being still the same, but the Soldiers drawn up closer and thicker than before.

2. *Διπλασιασμός ἀνδρῶν χεῖρ λόχους*, or *χεῖρ βάθος*. was when the Files were doubled, their Ground being of no larger Extent than before, by ranging them close to one another.

3. *Διπλασιασμός πόπευ χεῖρ ζυγὰ*, or *χεῖρ μῆκος*, when the length of the Battalia was increas'd, without the Accession of new Forces, by placing the Soldiers at greater Distances from one another.

4. *Διπλασιασμός πόπευ χεῖρ λόχους*, or *χεῖρ βάθος*, when the depth of Ground taken up by an Army was render'd greater, not by adding new Files, but separating the old to a greater Distance.

To conclude this Chapter, it may be observ'd, that the *Grecians* were excellently skill'd in the Method of imbattelling Armies, and maintain'd publick Professors call'd *τακτικοὶ* from *τάττειν*. who exercis'd the Youth in this Art, and render'd them expert in all the Forms of Battel, before they adventur'd into the Field.

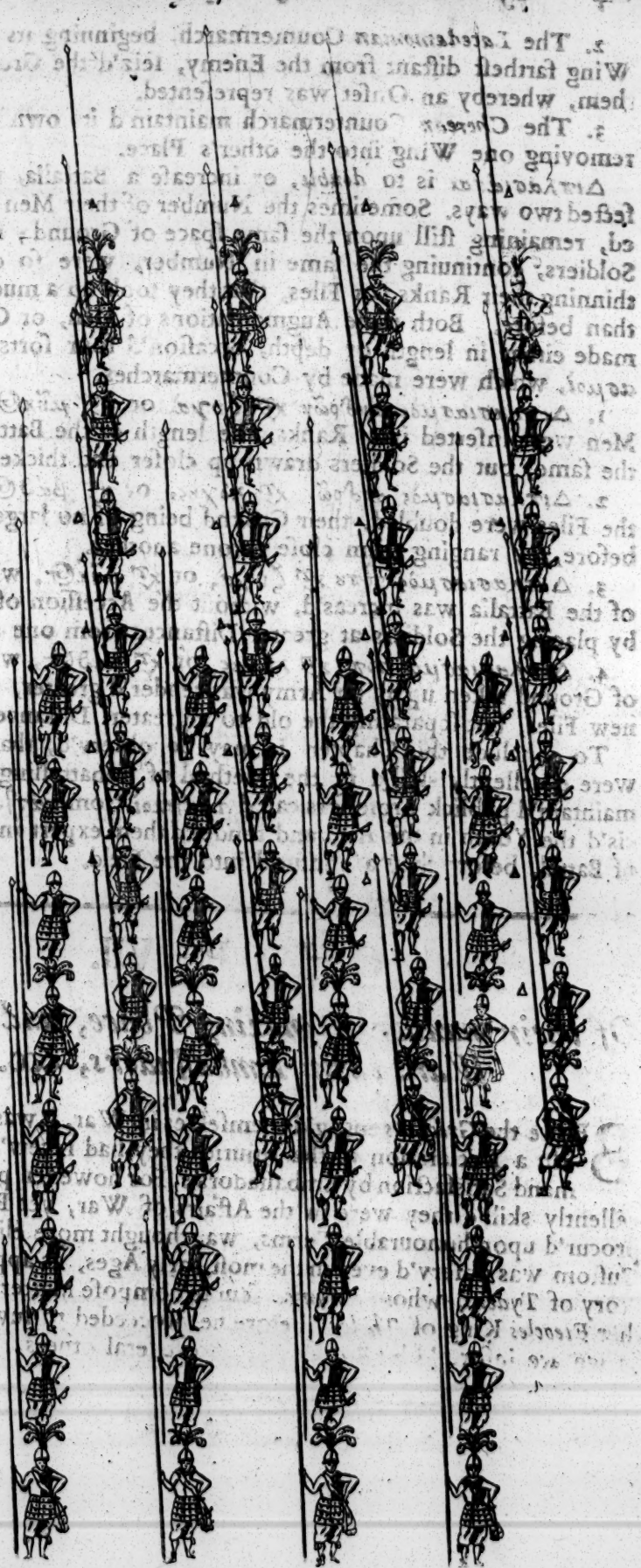
C H A P. VII.

Of their manner of making Peace, and declaring War, their Embassadors, &c.

BEfore the *Grecians* engag'd themselves in War, it was usual to publish a Declaration of the Injuries they had receiv'd, and to demand Satisfaction by Embassadors: For however prepar'd or excellently skill'd they were in the Affairs of War, yet Peace, if to be procur'd upon honourable Terms, was thought more eligible. Which Custom was observ'd even in the most early Ages, as appears from the Story of *Tydeus*, whom *Polynices* sent to compose Matters with his Brother *Eteocles* King of *Thebes*, before he proceeded to invest that City, as we are inform'd by *Statius* (a), and several others,

(a) *Thebaid.* lib. II. v. 368.

Doubling of Ranks in Action



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————— *potior cunctis sedit sententia, fratris*
Pratentare fidem, tutosque in regna precando
Explorare aditus: Audax ea munera Tydeus
Sponte subit —————

The Council then vote it expedient,
 That to the King a Legate shou'd be sent;
 Who might to prove his Faith the Oath declare,
 And stop the Ferment of intestine War;
 This Treaty *Tydeus* bravely undertook.

Nor was the *Trojan* War prosecuted with so great Hazard and Loss
 to both Parties, 'till these Means prov'd ineffectual; for we find that
Ulysses and *Menelaus* were dispatch'd on an Embassy to *Troy* to de-
 mand Restitution; Whence *Antenor* thus bespeaks *Helen* (a),

Ἦδη γὰρ καὶ δεῦρ' ἔλθεις ἡλυθε δῖ' Ὀδυσσεύς
 Σεῦ ἕνεκ' ἀγγελίης σὺν ἀρνιφίλῳ Μενελάῳ.

With stout *Atrides* sage *Ulysses* came
 Hither as Envoys, *Helen*, thee to claim.

The same Poet in another Place acquaints us, that their Proposal
 was rejected by the *Trojans* over-rul'd by *Antimachus*, a Person of
 great Repute amongst them, whom *Paris* had engag'd to his Party
 by a large Sum of Money (b);

————— Ἀντιμάχοιο δαΐφρον' ὅς ῥα μάλιστα,
 Χρυσὸν Ἀλεξάνδρειο δεδεγμέν' ἔχων, ἀγλαὰ δῶρα,
 Οὐκ ἔαχ' Ἑλένῃ δόμῳ ξανθῷ Μενελάῳ.

Antimachus o'erfway'd the Embassy
 Refus'd, and did fair *Helena* deny.
 Since *Paris* had by Largeſſes of Gold
 Secur'd his Trust —————

Invasions without Notice were look'd on rather as Robberies than law-
 ful Wars, as design'd rather to spoil and make a Prey of Persons inno-
 cent and unprovided, than to repair any Losses, or Damages sustain'd,
 which, for ought the Invaders knew, might have been satisfy'd for an
 easier Way. 'Tis therefore no Wonder, what *Polybius* (c) relates of
 the *Aetolians*, that they were held for the common Out-laws and Rob-
 bers of *Greece*, it being their Manner to strike without Warning, and
 make War without any previous and publick Declaration, whenever
 they had Opportunity of enriching themselves with the Spoil and Booty
 of their Neighbours. Yet there want not Instances of Wars begun

(a) *Iliad*. γ'. v. 205. (b) *Iliad*. λ'. v. 124. (c) *Lib*. IV.

66 *Of the Military Affairs of Greece.*

without previous Notice, even by Nations of better Repute for Justice and Humanity: But this was only done upon Provocations so great and exasperating, that no Recompence was thought sufficient to atone for them: Whence it came to pass that such Wars were of all others the most bloody and pernicious; and fought with Excess of Rage and Fury; the contesting Parties being resolv'd to extirpate each other, if possible, out of the World.

Embassadors were usually Persons of great Worth, or eminent Station, that by their Quality and Deportment they might command Respect and Attention from their very Enemies: And what Injuries, or Affronts soever had been committed, yet Embassadors were held Sacred by all Sides. Gods and Men were thought to be concern'd to prosecute with utmost Vengeance all Injuries done to them. Whence (to omit several other Instances) we read that the *Lacedæmonians* having inhumanly murder'd *Xerxes's* Embassadors, the Gods would accept none of their Oblations and Sacrifices, which were all found polluted with direful Omens, 'till two Noblemen of *Sparta* were sent as an Expiatory Sacrifice to *Xerxes* to atone for the Death of his Embassadors by their own: That Emperor indeed gave them leave to return in Safety, without any other Ignominy, than what they suffer'd by a severe Reflection on the *Spartan* Nation, whose barbarous Cruelty he profess'd he would not imitate, however provok'd by them; Yet divine Vengeance suffer'd them not to go unpunish'd, but inflicted what those Men had assum'd to themselves, upon their Sons, who being sent on an Embassy into *Asia*, were betray'd into the Hands of the *Athenians*, and by them put to Death; which my Author concludes to have been a just Revenge from Heaven for the *Lacedæmonian* Cruelty (a).

Whence this Holiness was deriv'd upon Embassadors, has been Matter of Dispute: Fabulous Authors deduce it from the Honour paid by the Ancients to the *Κήρυκες*, or Heralds, who were either themselves Embassadors, or, when others were deputed to that Service, accompanied them, being held sacred on the account of their Original, because descended from *Ceryx*, the Son of *Mercury*, who was honour'd with the same Employment in Heaven, these obtain'd upon Earth; 'Tis true that these Men were ever had in great Esteem, and their Persons held sacred and inviolable; whence, as *Euſtathius* observes, *Ulyſſes* in *Homer*, when cast upon foreign and unknown Coasts, usually sends an Herald to protect the Men deputed to make Discovery of the Country and its Inhabitants, Persons of that Character being reverenc'd even in barbarous Nations, except some few, such as the *Laſtrygonæ*, or *Cyclopes*, in whom all Sense of Humanity was extinguish'd (b); They were likewise under the Care and Protection of *Mercury* the President God of their Occupation, and *Jupiter* (c); whence *Achilles* calls them the *Messengers* not of Men only, but of *Jupiter* (d).

(a) *Herodotus Polymn. cap. CXXXIV.* (b) *Euſtathius Iliad. d. p. 83, 84. Ed. Basil.* (c) *Idem Iliad. κ. p. 729.* (d) *Iliad. d.*

Of the Military Affairs of Greece. 67

Χαίρετε κήρυκες, Διὸς ἄγγελοι, ἡδὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν.

All Hail! ye *Envoys* of great *Jove* and Men.

But these Honours seem not to have been conferr'd upon them so much, because they were descended from *Mercury*, (several other Families, to whom no such Respect was due, bearing themselves much higher on their Original) as upon account of their Office, which being common to them with other Embassadors, seems to have challeng'd an equal Reverence to both: License, indeed, being once granted to treat Persons of that Character injuriously, all Hopes of Peace and Reconciliation amongst Enemies must be banish'd for ever out of the World; and therefore in the most rude and unpolish'd Ages all sorts of Embassadors were civilly entertain'd, and dismiss'd with Safety: Whence *Tydeus's* Lady in *Statius* (a) is prevail'd with to let her Husband go Embassador to *Thebes*, because that Title would afford him Protection in the midst of his Enemies;

——— *Te, fortissime gentis*

Ætolium, multum lachrymis conata morari est,

Deiphile, sed jussa patris, tutique regressus

Legato, justaque preces vicere sororis.

Thy tender Wife, *Heroic Soul*, did pine,

And scarce admit thy generous Design,

Until her boiling Passion did abate

By *Argia's* Prayers, and a Parent's Threat,

And that *Tutelar* God, who does on *Envoys* wait.

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The *Athenian* Heralds were all of one Family, being descended from *Ceryx* the Son of *Mercury*, and *Pandrosus* Daughter to *Cecrops* King of *Athens*.

The *Lacedemonian* Heralds were all descended from *Talthybius*, *Agamemnon's* Herald, who was honour'd with a Temple, and Divine Worship, at *Sparta* (b).

They carry'd in their Hands a Staff of Lawrel, or Olive, call'd κηρύκιον, round which two Serpents, without their Crests erected, were folded, as an Emblem of Peace and Concord (c). Instead of this the *Athenian* Heralds frequently made use of Εἰρεσιώνη, which was a Token of Peace and Plenty, being an Olive-branch cover'd with Wool, and adorn'd with all sorts of Fruits of the Earth.

Κήρυκες or Heralds, are by some thought to differ from πρέσβεις, or Embassadors, in this; that Embassadors were employ'd in Treaties of Peace, whereas Heralds were sent to declare War (d): But this Di-

(a) *Thebaid*. Lib. II. v. 371. (b) *Herodotus* loc. citat. *Pausanias* *Laconicis*.
(c) *Plinius* Lib. XXIX. cap. III. (d) *Suidas*.

68 *Of the Military Affairs of Greece.*

distinction is not constant or perpetual, the *κίρυκες* being frequently taken for Persons commission'd to treat about accommodating Differences, which may appear, as from some of the forecited Places of *Euclathius*, so from several Passages in *Homer*, and other Authors.

Embassadors were of two sorts, being either sent with a limited Commission, which they were not to exceed, or invested with full Power of determining Matters according to their own Discretion. The former were liable to be call'd in Question for their Proceedings; the latter were subject to no After-reckoning, but wholly their own Masters, and for that Reason styl'd *Πρέσβεις αὐτοκράτορες*, Plenipotentiaries (a).

It may be observ'd, that the *Lacedaemonians*, as in most other things their Customs were different from the rest of the *Greeks*, so likewise in their Choice of Embassadors had this peculiar, that for the most part they deputed Men, between whom there was no very good Correspondence; supposing it most improbable, that such Persons should so far trust one another, as to conspire together against the Common-wealth. For the same reason it was thought a Piece of Policy in that State to raise Dissensions between their Kings (b).

Their Leagues were of three Sorts: 1. A bare *πρόσῃ, σωθῆναι, εἰρήνη*, or Peace, whereby both Parties were oblig'd to cease from all Acts of Hostility, and neither to molest one another, nor the Confederates of either.

2. *Ἐπιμαχία*, whereby they oblig'd themselves to assist one another in case they should be invaded.

3. *Συμμαχία*, whereby they covenanted to assist one another as well when they made Invasions upon others, as when themselves were invaded, and to have the same Friends and Enemies (c).

All these Covenants were solemnly confirm'd by mutual Oaths, the manner of which I have already describ'd in a former Book (d): To the end, they might lie under a greater Obligation to preserve them inviolate, we find it customary to engrave them upon Tables, which they fix'd up at Places of general Concourse, that all the World might be Witnesses of their Justice and Fidelity: Thus we find the Articles of Treaty between *Athens* and *Sparta* not only publish'd in those Cities, but at the Places where the *Olympian*, *Pythian*, and *Isthmian* Games were celebrated (e). Others exchange'd certain *Tessera*, in Greek, *σύμβολα*, which might be produc'd on any Occasion, as Evidences of the Agreement. The Covenant itself was also call'd by the same Name (f). Farther, to continue the Remembrance of mutual Agreements fresh in their Minds, it was not uncommon for States thus united, interchangeably to send Embassadors, who, on some appointed Day, when the People assembled in great Numbers, should openly repeat and by mutual Consent confirm their former Treaty: This we find practis'd by the *Athenians* and *Spartans* after their fore-mention'd

(a) Vide *Archæolog. nostr. Lib. I. cap. XV.* (b) *Aristoteles Politic. Lib. II.* (c) *Suidas. Lib. II. cap. VI.* (e) *Thucydides de Bello Peloponnes.* (f) *Harpocration's Σύμβολον.*

League, the *Spartan* Embassadors presenting themselves at *Athens* upon the Festival of *Bacchus*, and the *Athenians* at *Sparta* on the Festival of *Hyacinthus*.

Their manner of declaring War was to send an Herald, who bad the Persons who had injur'd them to prepare for an Invasion, and sometimes in token of Defiance cast a Spear towards them. The *Athenians* frequently let loose a Lamb into their Enemies Territories; signifying thereby, that what was then an Habitation for Men, should be laid waste and desolate, and become a Pasture for Sheep (a). Hence ἀρνὸς περὶ δάλλειν came to be a proverbial Phrase for entring into a State of War.

This was rarely done without the Advice and Encouragement of the Gods; the Southsayers, and all sorts of Diviners were consulted, the Oracles enrich'd with Presents, and no Charge or Labour spar'd to engage Heaven (so they imagin'd) to their Party; Instances of this kind are almost as common as the Declarations of War, which was never undertaken before the Gods had been consulted about the Issue. Nor was the Verdict of a single Deity thought sufficient; but in Wars of great Moment and Consequence, whereon the Safety of their Country and Liberties depended, they had Recourse to the whole Train of Prophetical Divinities, solliciting all with earnest Prayers lifted up to Heaven on the Wings of costly Offerings and magnificent Presents, to favour them with wholesome Counsel. A remarkable Example whereof we have in *Cræsus*, before he declar'd War against the *Persians*; when not content with the Answers of his own Gods, and all the celebrated Oracles in *Greece*, in consulting which he had lavishly profus'd vast Quantities of Treasure, he dispatch'd Embassadors as far as *Libya* loaden with Wealth, to ask Advice of *Jupiter Hammon* (b).

When they were resolv'd to begin the War, it was customary to offer Sacrifices, and make large Vows to be paid upon the Success of their Enterprize. Thus when *Darius* invaded *Attica*, *Callimachus* made a Vow to *Minerva*, that, if she would vouchsafe the *Athenians* Victory, he would sacrifice upon her Altars as many He-goats as should equal the Number of the Slain among their Enemies. Nor was this Custom peculiar to *Greece*, but frequently practis'd in most other Countries: Many Instances occur in the Histories of *Rome*, *Persia*, &c. The *Jews* us'd the same Method to engage the Divine Favour, as may appear from *Jephthah's* Vow, when he undertook to be Captain over *Israel* against the *Ammonites* (c).

After all these Preparations, tho' the Posture of Affairs appear'd never so inviting, it was held no less impious than dangerous to march against their Enemies, 'till the Season favour'd their Enterprize: For being extremely superstitious in the Observation of Omens, and Days, 'till those became fortunate, they durst not make any Attempts upon their Enemies. An Eclipse of the Moon, or any other of those they esteem'd unlucky Accidents, was enough to deter them from marching.

(a) *Diogenian Collect. Prov. Suidas*, &c. (b) *Herodotus Lib. I.* (c) *Judicium cap. XI. v. 39.*

70 *Of the Military Affairs of Greece.*

And if all other Things promis'd Success, yet they deferr'd their Expedition till one of the Days, they look'd on as fortunate, invited them to it. The *Athenians* could not be persuaded to march ἐν ἡμέρῃς ἐξ ὀλίγης, before the Seventh (a); which gave Occasion to the Proverb, whereby Persons, who undertook any Business unseasonably and before the proper Time, were said to do it ἐν ἡμέρῃς ἐξ ὀλίγης (b). But the *Lacedaemonians* were of all others the most nice and scrupulous in these Observations; their Law-giver having commanded them to pay a critical and inviolate Obedience to the Celestial Predictions, and to regulate all their Proceedings as well in Civil as Military Affairs by the Appearances of the Heavenly Bodies: Amongst the rest they were oblig'd by a particular Precept never to March before the full Moon (c); For that Planet was believ'd to have a particular Influence upon their Affairs, to bless them with Success, when it self was in the Height of its Splendor, but till it was arriv'd there, to neglect, or suffer them to be blasted for want of Power to send Assistance. So constant a Belief of this they had entertain'd, that the greatest Necessity could not prevail upon them to alter their Measures: For when the *Athenians* were like to fall into the Hands of *Darius*, and sent to implore their Assistance, they agreed indeed to send them a supply of Men, but, rather than march before full Moon, forc'd them to run the Hazard of a decisive Battel, and with a very small Force to encounter an Hundred thousand *Medians* (d).

C H A P. VIII.

Of their Camps, Guards, Watches and Military Course of Life.

OF the Form of the *Grecian* Camps nothing exact and constant can be deliver'd, that being not always the same, but vary'd, as the Custom or Humour of different States, or the Conveniencies of Place and Time requir'd. The *Lacedaemonians*, indeed, are said to have been prescrib'd a constant Method of building Towns and encamping, by their Law-giver, who thought a Spherical Figure the best fitted for Defence (e); which was contrary to the Custom of the *Romans*, whose Camps were Quadrangular; but all Forms of that Sort were rejected by *Lycurgus*, the Angles being neither fit for Service, nor defensible, unless guarded by a River, Mountain, Wall, or some such Fortification. It is farther observable of the *Lacedaemonians*, that they frequently mov'd their Camps, being accusom'd vigorously to prosecute all their Enterprizes, impatient of Delays and tedious Proce-

(a) *Aristophanis Scholiastes Equit. Hesychius.* (b) *Zenobius Cent. III. Proverb. LXXIX.* (c) *Lucianus Astrolog.* (d) *Herodotus Lib. VI.* (e) *Xenophon de Re pub. Laced.*

Of the Military Affairs of Greece. 7

finations, and utterly averse from passing their Time without Action: Wherefore the Reason of this being demanded of *Lycurgus*, he reply'd, " 'Twas that they might do greater Damage to their Enemies (a). To which *Xenophon* adds a second, " That they might give more early " Relief to their Friends (b).

Of the rest of the *Grecian* Camps it may be observ'd, that the valiantest of the Soldiers were plac'd at the Extremities, the rest in the middle; that the stronger might be a Guard to the weaker, and sustain the first Onsets, if the Enemy should endeavour to force their Entrenchments. Thus we find *Achilles* and *Ajax* posted at the Ends of the *Grecian* Camp before *Troy*, as Bulwarks on each Side the rest of the Princes, who had their Tents in the Middle, as we learn from *Homer* (c).

Στῆ δ' ἐπ' Ὀδυσῆος μεγαλήτεϊ νηϊ μελαίνῃ,

ἥ ῥ' ἐν μεσάτῳ ἔσκε, γεγωνέμεν ἀμφοτέρωσθε,

ἥ ῥ' ἐπ' Αἴαντος κλισίης Τελαμωνιάδαο,

ἥ δ' ἐπ' Ἀχιλλῆος, τοί ῥ' ἔχατα νῆας εἴσας

Εἴρυσαν, ἠνορέη πίσωσι, καὶ κάρτεϊ χερῶν.

Atrides stood i'th' midst o'th' Fleet, hard by

Where th' *Odyssæan* high-built Ship did lie,

That all his Orders equally might hear,

As far as *Ajax's* on one Side, as far

As *Peleus* Son's o'th' other, for they were

At each Extremity like Fortresses.

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When they design'd to continue long in their Encampments, they contriv'd a Place, where Altars were erected to their Gods, and all Parts of Divine Service solemnly perform'd; In the same Place public Assemblies were call'd together, when the General had any Thing to communicate to his Soldiers; and Courts of Justice were held, wherein all Controversies among the Soldiers were decided, and Criminals sentenc'd to Punishment: Which Custom was as ancient as the *Trojan* War, and is mention'd by *Homer* (d);

καὶ δὲ νῆας Ὀδυσῆος δέοιο

ἔϊξε θεῶν Πάτροκλος, ἵνα σφ' ἀγορή τε, δέμις τε

ἦεν, τῇ δ' ἡ καὶ σφίθεσσι ἐτεταχάτο βαμοί.

Sweating to th' *Ulyssæan* Ships he came,

Where their Assemblies, and their Courts were held,

And the Gods worship'd.

When they were in Danger of having their Camp attack'd, it was usual to fortifie it with a Trench and Rampire, or Wall, on the Sides whereof they erected Turrets not unlike those upon the Walls of Cities, out of which they annoy'd their Enemies with missive Weapons.

(a) *Plutarchus* Apophthegmat. Laconic. (b) *Loco citato*. (c) *Iliad*. 8. v. 222. *Item Sophoclis Ajax ejusque Scholiastes Triclinius*, v. 4. (d) *Iliad*. 2. 306.

72 *Of the Military Affairs of Greece.*

Thus the *Grecians* in *Homer* were forc'd to defend themselves in the ninth Year of the *Trojan War*, when *Achilles* refus'd to assist them, whereas till that Time they had wanted no Fortifications, but immur'd the *Trojans* within their own Walls: The Poet has thus describ'd their Works (a),

————— τᾶχ' ἔδειμαν,
 Πύργους δ' ὑψηλὰς, εἰλαρ νηῶν τε καὶ αὐτῶν.
 Ἐν δ' αὐτοῖσι πύλας ἐνεποίεον εὖ ἀρραγίας,
 Ὅρεα δὲ αὐτῶν ἱππηλασίη ὁδὸς ἔειν
 Ἐκίκοθεν ὃ βάθειαν ἔπ' αὐτῷ τάορον ὄρυξαν,
 Εὐρεῖαν, μεγάλῳ ἐν δὲ σκόλοπας κατέπηξαν.
 A thick substantial Wall of vast Extent
 They rais'd with Turrets, as a Muniment
 To them and th' Fleet: and that there might a Way
 Be for their Cavalry upon Survey,
 They fram'd great Gates, the Wall too they intrench'd
 With Stakes infix'd. ———

The manner of living in Camps depended upon the Disposition of their Generals, some of which allow'd their Soldiers in all sorts of Excess and Debauchery; others oblig'd them to the strictest Rules of Temperance and Sobriety; a remarkable Instance whereof we have in *Philip of Macedon*, who (as *Polyanus* reports) condemn'd two of his Soldiers to Banishment for no other Offence, than because he had found them with a Singing-woman in his Camp. But the *Grecian* Discipline was not always so severe and rigid, as may appear from *Plutarch* (b), who tells us, that the *Lacedamonians* alone of all the *Grecians* had no Stage-players, no Juglers, no Dancing or Singing Women attending them, but were free from all sorts of Debauchery and Looseness, of gaudy Pomp and Foppery; the young Men, when commanded nothing by their General, were always employ'd in some Exercise, or manly Study; the old were busy'd in giving Instructions, or receiving them from Persons more skilful than themselves; and their looser Hours were diverted with their usual Drollery, and rallying one another facetiously after the *Laconick* Fashion: Yet their Law-giver allow'd them greater Liberty in the Camp than at other Times, to invite them to serve with Delight in the Wars; for whilst they were in the Field, their Exercises were more moderate than at Home, their Fare not so hard, nor so strict a Hand kept over them by their Governors; so that they were the only People in the World, to whom War gave Repose. They were likewise allow'd to have costly Arms, and fine Cloaths, and frequently perfum'd themselves, and curl'd their Hair: Whence we read that *Xerxes* was struck with Admiration, when the Scouts brought him Word, the *Lacedamonian* Guards were at Gymnical Sports, and curling their Hair (c).

(a) *Iliad*. ἱ. v. 436. (b) *Cleomene* p. 810. Edit. *Paris.* & *Lycmgo.* (c) *Herodotus* Lib. VII. cap. CCVIII, & CCIX.

Of the Military Affairs of Greece. 73

It was also customary at *Athens* for Horsemen to nourish their Hair. Hence the following Words of *Aristophanes* (a),

————— ὁ δὲ κόμῳ ἔχων
Ἰππάζεται τε, καὶ ξυωεικδ'εται.

And in another Place of the same Poet, there is an Allusion to this Practice (b),

Νῆς ἐκ ἑνὶ ταῖς κόμαις
'Τμῦ'. —————

The Custom seems to have been deriv'd from the primitive Times, there being scarce any Expression so frequent in *Homer*, as that of *καρηκομῶντες Ἀχαιοί*. Afterwards *Cyneas* and *Phrynus*, beside several other Changes in the *Athenian* Discipline of Soldiers, procur'd a Law to be enacted, which forbid them κομᾶν, καὶ ἀερόδιαίτες (c). To nourish their Hair, and to live delicately (c).

Their Guards may be distinguish'd into φυλακαὶ ἡμεριναὶ and νυκτεριναὶ: The first were upon Duty by Day, the other by Night. At several Hours in the Night certain Officers call'd *φείπολοι*, did *φειπολεῖν*, or walk round the Camp, and visit the Watch; to try whether any of them were asleep, they had a little Bell, term'd *κώδων*, at the Sound of which the Soldiers were to answer (d): Whence to go this Circle was call'd *κωδωνίζεν*, and *κωδωνοφορεῖν*.

————— κωδωνοφορεῖται, πανταχῇ
Φυλακαὶ κατεσῆκασιν. —————

Hence also *κωδωνίζεν* is us'd for *πειράζειν*, to try, to prove (e): and *ἀκωδώνισ* for *ἀπέρας*, untry'd, or unprov'd (f). This Custom furnish'd *Brasidas* with an Advantage against *Potidaea* in the *Peloponnesian* War; for having observ'd the Sounding of the Bell to be over, he took his Opportunity before the Bell's return, to set up Ladders in an unguarded Place of the Wall, and so enter'd the City (g).

The *Lacedaemonian* Watch were not permitted to have their Bucklers, that, being unable to defend themselves, they might be more cautious how they fell asleep. To which Custom *Tzetzes* alludes in one of his *Historical Chiliads* (h).

Πότε καὶ τίς τ' ἑξατηγῶν μᾶλλον φρονέων πάντας
Γυμνὰς ἀπώδων ἄνυθε τὰς φύλακας ἔωσεν.
Ὅπως ἐπαγρυπνότερα τινὶ φυλακῶν ποιῶνται,
Καὶ μὴ θάρρησαντες αὐταῖς εἰς ὕπνον ἐκτραπῶσιν.

(a) *Nubibus* Act. I. Sc. I. (b) *Equitibus* Act. III. Sc. II. (c) *Aristophanis Scholiastes ad Equites*. (d) *Suidas*. (e) *Aristophanes* *Βατράχοις*. (f) *Idem* *Lyfistratē*. (g) *Thucydides* Lib. IV. (h) *Chiliad*. IX. Hist. CCLXXVI.

74 *Of the Military Affairs of Greece.*

One of the Gen'als once most eminent
 In Stratagems and warlike Policy
 Gave out, that all the Guards should march *unarm'd*
With Bucklers, to secure them vigilant,
 Lest they supinely negligent should sleep.

The rest of the *Spartan* Soldiers were oblig'd to take their Rest arm'd, that they might be prepar'd for Battel upon any Alarm (a).

It may be farther observ'd of the *Spartans*, that they kept a double Watch; one within their Camp, to observe their Allies, lest they should make a sudden Defection; the other upon some Eminence, or other Place, whence there was a good Prospect, to watch the Motions of their Enemies (b).

How often the Guards were reliev'd doth not appear; as neither whether it was done at set and constant Times, or according to the Commander's Pleasure. *Φυλακή* indeed, which signifies a Watch, is frequently taken for the fourth Part of the Night, answering to the *Roman Vigilia*; as appears from several Places of the *New Testament*, as well as other Authors; But it seems to have this Signification rather from the *Roman*, than *Grecian* Watches, those being chang'd four Times every Night, *that is*, every third Hour, (computing the Night from Six to Six, or rather from Sun to Sun) for the Time between the two Suns was divided into twelve equal Parts, which were not always the same, like our Hours, but greater or less, according to the Season of the Year; and are therefore by Astronomers term'd *unequal* and *Planetary Hours*.

C H A P. IX.

Of their Battles, the General's Harangues, the Sacrifices, Musick, Signals, Ensigns, the Word, and Way of ending Wars by single Combat, &c.

BEfore they join'd Battle, the Soldiers always refresh'd themselves with Victuals, Eating and Drinking plentifully: Which Custom with its Reasons we have largely accounted for in *Ulysses's* elegant Oration to *Achilles* (c), where he advises the young General by no means to lead out the Army fasting:

Μήδ' ἔτως ἀγαθός περ ἐὼν, θεοείκελ' Ἀχιλλεῦ,
 Νήσιας ὀτρυνε προτὶ Ἴλιον ἦας Ἀχαιῶν
 Τρωσὶ μαχεσσομένους· ἐπεὶ ἐκ ὀλίγον χρόνον ἔσαι
 Φύλοπις, εὖτ' ἂν πρῶτον ὁμιλήσωσι φάλαγγες.

(a) *Xenophon*. (b) *Idem*. (c) *Iliad*. τ'. v. 155.

Ἀνδρῶν, ἐν δὲ θεὸς πνέουσι μένθ' ἀμφοτέροισιν·
 Ἀλλὰ πάσαδ' ἄνωχθι δοῆς ἐπὶ νηυσὶν Ἀχαιῶς
 Σίτε καὶ οἶνοιο· τὸ γὰρ μένθ' ὄρεϊ καὶ ἀλκῇ·
 Οὐ γὰρ ἀνὴρ πρόπαν ἡμᾶρ ἐς ἥλιον καταδωῖτα
 Ἄκμῳ σίτοιο δωθήσεται ἅλα μάχεσθ'·
 Εἴπερ γὰρ θυμῷ γε μενοινάα πολεμίζειν,
 Ἀλλὰ τε λάθρε γῆα βαρύνεται, ἥδ' ἐκίχάνει
 Δίψα τε καὶ λιμὸς, βλάβεται δὲ τε γένεατ' ἰόντι·
 Ὃς δ' ἐκ' ἀνὴρ οἶνοιο κορεσάμενθ' καὶ ἐδωδῆς
 Ἀνδράσι δυσμύθεασι πανημίειθ' πολεμίζει,
 Θαρσαλέον νύ οἱ ἦτορ ἐνὶ φερσὶν, ἐδὲ τι γῆα
 Πεῖν κάμνει, πεῖν πάντας ἐρωῆσαι πολέμοιο.

Noble Achilles, tho' with martial Rage
 Thy gen'rous Mind is fir'd thy Foes t' engage,
 Let not thy valiant Troops to Troy repair,
 There to sustain the great Fatigues of War,
 Before brisk Wines and Viands animate
 Their Souls with Vigour to repel their Fate,
 That Troy to their embattel'd Force may yield,
 And with amazing Terror quit the Field;
 For such is th' Energy of sparkling Juyce
 With such Heroick Zeal it warms, such Prowess doth infuse;
 No Man hath Puissance the whole Day to fight,
 'Till the Phæbean Carr brings on the Night,
 Unless rich Wine and wholesome Food prepare
 His Courage for the Dust and Din of War;
 His strenuous Limbs then Marches undergo,
 And he with dauntless Rage assails the Foe;
 Inflaming Wine incites his Fury on,
 And thus he'll venture 'till the Battel's won.

J. A.

We are told also by *Livy*, that the *Romans* thought this a Preparative absolutely necessary, and never omitted it before Engagements (a).

This done, the Commanders marshall'd the Army in order to an Engagement: In which Art the *Grecians* were far inferior to the *Romans*; for drawing up their whole Army, as it were, into one Front, they trusted the Success of the Day to a single Force; whereas the *Romans*, ranging their *Hastati*, *Principes*, and *Triarii* in distinct Bodies behind one another, were able after the Defeat of their first Body, twice to renew the Battel, and could not be entirely routed till they had lost

(a) Lib. IX.

76 Of the Military Affairs of Greece.

three several Victories. Yet something not unlike this we find practis'd as long since as the *Trojan War*, where old *Nestor* is said to have plac'd a Body of Horse in the Front, behind these the most infirm of the Foot, and, last of all, such of them as surpass'd the rest in strength and Valour (a).

Ἰππῆας μὲν πρῶτα σὺν ἵπποισιν καὶ ὄχεσσι,
Πεζεὺς δ' ἔκπιθεν σῆσεν πολέας τε, καὶ ἐδλῆς,
Ἔρκου ἔμεν πολέμοιο· κακὸς δ' ἐς μέσων ἔλασεν,
Ὅρεα καὶ ἐκ ἐθέλων τις ἀνασκαίη πολεμίζῃ.
Nestor the *Horse* plac'd first in all the Host,
I' th' Rear the *Infantry* maintain their Post,
Such as he had detach'd from all the rest,
For Courage, Hardship, and for Strength the best:
And to the end that none shou'd run away,
I' th' midst of all were order'd in Array
The rude, th' infirm, the inexpert. —

J. A.

Where tho' some interpret τὸ πρῶτον, and τὸ ὅπιθεν of the right and left Wings, and others several other Ways, yet the most natural and genuine Sense of the Poet seems to be, that they were drawn up behind one another (b).

At this Time the General made an Oration to his Soldiers, wherein with all the Motives suitable on such Occasions he exhorted them to exert their utmost Force and Vigour against the Enemy: And so wonderful was the Success that attended these Performances, that many Times, when Affairs were in a declining, and almost desperate Condition, the Soldiers, animated with fresh Life and Courage, have instantly retriev'd them, and repuls'd those very Enemies, by whom themselves had before been defeated: Several of these Instances may be found in the *Grecian* and *Roman* Histories, few of which are more remarkable than that of *Tyrtaeus* the lame *Athenian* Poet, to whom the Command of the *Spartan* Army was given by the Advice of an Oracle in one of the *Messenian* Wars; the *Spartans* had at that Time suffer'd great Losses in many Encounters, and all their Stratagems prov'd ineffectual, so that they began to despair almost of Success, when the Poet by his Lectures of Honour and Courage, deliver'd in moving Verse to the Army, ravish'd them to such a Degree with the Thoughts of dying for their Country, that, rushing on with a furious Transport to meet their Enemies, they gave them an entire Overthrow, and by one decisive Battel put an happy Conclusion to the War (c).

Before they adventur'd to join their Enemies, they endeavour'd by Prayers, Sacrifices and Vows, to engage Heaven to their Alliance, and sung an Hymn to *Mars*, call'd παιᾶν ἐμβατήριον, as that sung to *Apollo* after a prosperous Battel, was term'd παιᾶν ἐπινίκιον (d).

(a) *Iliad*. 8. v. 297. (b) *Plutarchus* lib. de *Homero*. (c) *Pausanias* *Messeniacis*, *Diodorus Sic.* Lib. XV. *Justin.* Lib. III. (d) *Thucyd.* *Schol.* Lib. I. &c.

Of the Military Affairs of Greece. 77

The *Lacedamonians* had a peculiar Custom of sacrificing to the *Muses*, which was either design'd to soften and mollifie their passionate Transports, it being their Custom to enter the Battle calm and sedate (a); or to animate them to perform noble and Heroical Exploits, deserving to be transmittd by those Goddesses to Posterity (b). The Soothsayers inspected all the Sacrifices to presage the Success of the Battel; and till the Omens prov'd favourable, they rather chose tamely to resign their Lives to the Enemy, than to defend themselves. The *Spartans* especially were above measure addicted to this Superstition; For in the famous Battel at *Plateæ*, when *Mardonius* the *Persian* General had fallen upon the *Grecians*, *Pausanias* the *Spartan*, who at that Time commanded the *Grecian* Army, offering Sacrifice, found it not acceptable to the Gods, and thereupon commanded his *Lacedamonians*, laying down their Bucklers at their Feet, patiently to abide his Commands: The Priests offer'd one Sacrifice after another, but all without Success, the *Barbarians* all the Time charging upon them, and wounding and slaying them in their Ranks, till at length *Pausanias* turning himself towards the Temple, with Hands lift up to Heaven, and Tears in his Eyes, besought *Juno* of *Citharon*, and the rest of the Tutelar Deities of the *Plateans*, that if the Fates would not favour the *Grecians* with Victory, they would grant at least, that by some remarkable Exploit they might demonstrate to their Enemies, that they wag'd War with Men of true Courage and Bravery. These Prayers were no sooner finish'd, when the Sacrifices appearing propitious, the Signal was given, and they fell with such Resolution upon the *Persians*, that in a short time they intirely defeated their whole Army (c).

Their Signals are commonly divided into *σύμβολα*, and *σημεία*; which Words sometimes indeed are us'd promiscuously, but in propriety of Speech are distinguish'd.

Σύμβολα were of two kinds, either *φωνικά*, or *ὄρατα*, i. e. pronounc'd by the Mouth, or visible to the Eye: The first are term'd *συνθήματα*, the latter *παρασυνθήματα*.

Συνθήματα, in *Latin*, *Tessera*, or the *Word*, communicated by the General to the subordinate Officers, by them to the whole Army, as a Mark of Distinction to know Friends from Enemies (d). It commonly contain'd some good Omen, or the Name of some Deity worship'd by their Country, or General, and from whom they expected Success in their Enterprizes. *Cyrus*, for Example, us'd *Ζῆς σύμμαχος*, *ἡγεμών*, or *σωτήρ* (e); *Cæsar*, *Venus genitrix* (f); *Augustus*, *Apollo* (g): But this Custom often prov'd of fatal and pernicious Consequence; for by frequently questioning one another they bred Confusion among themselves, and (which was no less dangerous) discover'd the *Word* to the Enemies; As we find happening in the Fight between the *Athenians* and the *Syracusians*, spoken of by *Thucydides* (h); It became likewise the Occasion of several mischievous Stratagems, one of which we find practis'd by an *Arcadian* Captain in a War with *Lacedamon*; when en-

(a) *Plutarchus* περὶ ἀπορυσιας. (b) *Idem* *Lycurgo*. (c) *Idem* *Aristide*.
(d) *Glossographi*, (e) *Xenophon* Κύρου πωδ. Lib. VII. (f) *Appianus* Bell. Civil. Lib. II. (g) *Valerius Maximus* Lib. I. cap. V. (h) Lib. VII.

78 *Of the Military Affairs of Greece.*

gaging in the Night, all the *Tessera* he gave his Soldiers was, That they should forthwith kill whoever demanded the *Word*; whereby they easily distinguish'd, and slew the *Spartans*, themselves being undiscover'd, and therefore secure (a).

Παροσώδημα was a visible Character of Distinction, as nodding their Heads, waving their Hands, clashing their Weapons, or such like (b).

Σημεῖα were Ensigns, or Flags, the Elevation whereof was a Signal to join Battel, the Depression to desist (c). Of these there were different Sorts, several of which were adorn'd with Images of Animals, or other Things bearing peculiar Relations to the Cities they belong'd to; The *Athenians*, for Instance, bore an Owl in their Ensigns (d), as being sacred to *Minerva*, the Protectress of their City; The *Thebans* a *Sphinx* (e), in Memory of the famous Monster overcome by *Oedipus*: The *Persians* paid Divine Honours to the Sun, and therefore represented him in their Ensigns (f).

The *σημεῖον* was frequently a Purple Coat upon the Top of a Spear, as appears from *Conon's* in *Polyanus*, and *Cleomenes's* in *Plutarch*: Not was it uncommon to use other Colours; *Polybius* speaking of the Fight between *Antigonus* and *Cleomenes* (g), tell us, "That the *Illyrians*, having Orders to begin the Battel, were to receive a Signal by a white Flag, that should be spread from the nearest Post to *Olympus*: But the Signal to be given to the *Megalopolitans* and the Cavalry, was a Purple Coat, which was to be advanc'd in the Air, where *Antigonus* himself was posted".

The ancient *Grecian* Signals were lighted Torches thrown from both Armies by Men call'd *πυρφόροι*, or *πυροφόροι*, who were Priests of *Mars*, and therefore held inviolable; and, having cast their Torches, had safe Regress (h): Whence of Battels fought with Transport of Fury, wherein no Quarter was given, it was usual to say, *ἔδ' ὁ πυρφόρος ἐσώθη*, i. e. Not so much as a Torch-bearer escap'd. To this Custom there are frequent Allusions in *Greek* and *Latin* Poets: *Lycophron*, speaking of the *Phœnicians*, who by stealing *Io* began the Quarrel between *Europe* and *Asia*, said,

Ἐχθρὰ δ' ἐπὶ πυρσὸν ἦεν ἠπάεργις διπλάϊς (i).

They rais'd. envenom'd Discord, who then shook
Her baleful Torch within two Continents.

Hence also *Statius* (k);

Prima manu rutilam de vertice Larissæo

Offendit Bellona facem. —————

Bellona first from the *Larissæan* Tow'r

Shakes the dire Torch. —————

(a) *Polyanus* Lib. I. (b) *Onofander Strateg.* cap. XXVI. (c) *Suidas*, *Thucydides* Schol. Lib. I. (d) *Plutarchus* *Lysandro.* (e) *Idem.* *Pelopida,* *Cornelius Nepos* *Epaminonda.* (f) *Curtius* Lib. III. (g) *Fine* Lib. II. (h) *Euripidis* *Scholiastes* *Phœnissis,* *Lycophronis* *Scholiastes* v. 250. aliique plures. (i) *Cassandra* v. 1295. (k) *Thebaid.* IV. v. 5.

Of the Military Affairs of Greece. 79

Claudian likewise, with others, whom I shall forbear to mention, takes notice of this Custom (a),

Tisiphone *quatiens infesto lumine pinum,*
Armatus ad castra vocat pallentia manes.

Tisiphone summons the Ghosts t' appear,
Shaking a livid Flame as Signal of the War.

These being laid aside, Shells of Fishes succeeded, which they founded in the manner of Trumpets, which in those Days were not invented (b). Hence Theognis's Riddle may easily be interpreted,

Ἦδη γὰρ με κέκληκε θαλάττιον οἶκαδε νεκρὸς,
Τεθνηκὼς ζῶν φθεγγομένην σόματα.

A Sea-Inhabitant with living Mouth
Spoke to me to go Home, tho' dead it was.

Triton's Shell-Trumpet is famous in Poetical Story; Whence Ovid speaking of Neptune (c),

——— *supraque profundum*

Extantem, atque humeros innato murice testum
Caruleum Tritona vocat, conchaque sonaci
Inspirare jubet, fluctusque & flumina signo
Jam revocare dato, cava buccina sumitur illi
Tortilis, in latum qua turbine crescit ab imo.

Already Triton at his Call appears

Above the Waves, a Tyrian Robe he wears,
And in his Hand a crooked Trumpet bears.

The Sov'reign bids him peaceful Sounds inspire,
And give the Waves the Signal to retire:

His writen Shell he takes, whose narrow Vent
Grows by degrees into a large Extent.

Mr. Dryden.

And most of the Poets mention this Custom in their Description of the primitive Wars: Whence Theocritus in his Poem about the Exploits of Castor and Pollux (d),

Ἡ ῥ' Ἀμυκῶ, καὶ κόχλον ἐλὼν μυκάσατο κοῖλον,
Οἱ δ' ὁδῶς σιωπᾶν ἐπὶ σκιερῆς πλατανίσῳ,
Κόχλῳ φουσαδένῳ, αἰὲν Βέρρυκες κομόωντες.

This said, Amycus did his Trumpet sound,
The Valleys rung, and echo'd all around,

(a) De Raptu Proserpina Lib. I. (b) Tzetzes in Lycophron. v. 250. (c) Metamorph. Lib. I. (d) Idyll. κβ'. v. 75.

80 *Of the Military Affairs of Greece.*

Thro' every distant Field the Noise was heard,
And Crouds of stout *Bebrycians* soon appear'd.

Mr. Creech

Lycophron also, speaking of the *Trojan War* (a),

Καὶ δὴ κατὰ θει γαῖαν ὀρχησῆς Ἄρης,
Στερόμεν ἔαίματ' ἑὸν ἑλάρχων νόμον.

Great *Mars*, that nimble God of War,
Invigorates the Youth by Sound of Shell

Twining and circling into various Rounds,

Thus was the Land laid waste, thus rag'd the fir'y God,

Where tho' the *Scholiast* falls foul upon the Poet for introducing Shell at a Time when Trumpets were in use, which he tells us may be made appear from *Homer*, yet herein he seems to be too audacious, it being observable (b), that, tho' *Homer* mentions Trumpets, yet they never make any Part of the Description of his Heroical Battels, but only furnish him with a *Simile*, or Allusion; as happens in the Place cited by *Tzetzes* (c),

Ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἀειζήλη φωνή, ὅτε τ' ἰαχε σάλπιγγς,
Ἄστυ περικλουμένων δητίων ὑπὸ θυμοερίσιν.
Ὡς τότε ἀειζήλη φωνή γέενετ' Αἰακίδαο.

When Foes encamp'd around a City lie,
And wait Surrender from the Enemy,

Great Fear runs thrilling thro' their Breast within

The Walls, when echoing Trumpets do begin;

Such was *Achilles'* Voice, such Dread appear'd

In all the *Dardan* Host, 'twas so distinctly heard.

J. A.

Whence it may be presum'd, that Trumpets were indeed us'd in *Homer's* Time, being then only a late Invasion, and not so ancient as the *Trojan War*, as the old *Scholiast* hath also observ'd (d). *Virgil* indeed appears to give some Countenance to *Tzetzes's* Opinion, when he speaks of *Misenum*, whom he makes to have serv'd *Hector* in the *Trojan War*, and afterwards *Aeneas*, in the Office of a Trumpeter (e);

— illi Misenum in littore sicco,

Ut venere, vident indigna morte peremptum;

Misenum Æoliden, quo non prastantior alter

Ære ciere viros, Martemque accendere cantu:

Hectoris hic magni fuerat comes; Hectora circum

Et lituo pugnas insignis obibat & hasta.

(a) *Cassandra* v. 249. (b) *Eustathius Iliad.* ξ'. (c) *Iliad.* σ'. v. 219.
(d) *Iliad.* σ'. v. 219. *Iliad.* φ'. v. 388. (e) *Aeneid.* VI. v. 163.

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Of the Military Affairs of Greece.

82

Postquam illum victor vita spoliavit Achilles,

Dardanio Æneæ sese fortissimus heros

Addiderat socium, non inferiora secutus.

As soon as they approach'd, they spy'd their Friend

Misenus dead by some untimely End,

The brave *Misenus*, above all renown'd

To make with swelling Notes the cheerful Trumpet sound;

New Vigour would encourage on the War,

Whene'er his Trumpet eccho'd from afar.

He was th' illustrious *Hector's* Intimate,

The Ranks he'd traverse in Heroick State,

With Spear he'd exercise, with Trumpet animate;

But when *Achilles Hector* overcame,

And slew him in the Field, as great a Name

H' atchiev'd by cleaving to *Æneas's* Side,

A Prince for's Prowess no less dignify'd.

J. A.

But here the *Brazen Trumpet* and *Lituus* are taken from the Practice of the Poet's own Age by a Figure to familiar Men of his Profession; for *Misenus* was never acquainted with so rare a Contrivance; and tho' we find him so proud of his Art, as to challenge the Gods of the Sea, yet 'twas not to a Contention on the Trumpet, but on a Shell, the Instrument us'd by these Deities: Whence the same Poet, who may be suppos'd to be the best Interpreter of his own Words, speaks thus in the Verses immediately following,

Sed tum forte, cava dum personat aquora concha

Demens, & cantu vocat in certamina Divos,

Æmulus exceptum Triton, si credere dignum est,

Inter saxa virum spumosa immerferat unda.

But whilst the *Sea-Gods* proudly he defy'd,

Sounding a Writen Shell by th' Ocean's Side,

As his due Fate for his ambitious Sound,

Him, if Report deceive not, *Triton* drown'd.

Nevertheless in the most Eastern Countries Trumpets were us'd several Ages before. They are several Times mention'd in the Sacred History of the *Jews*, whose Priests Office it was to sound the Alarm upon that Instrument (a).

There were six several Sorts of Trumpets (b), which have occasion'd the Disagreement in ancient Writers concerning the first Authors of the Invention; it being common for them to ascribe to the Inventor of any one Sort, the Honour of the first Contrivance.

(a) Numer. XXXI.

(b) Eusebius Iliad. c. p. 1189. Edit. Basil.

82 Of the Military Affairs of Greece.

1. The first Trumpet was contriv'd by *Minerva*, the common Mother and Patroness of almost all Arts and useful Inventions; Whence she was honour'd with the Title of Σάλπιγξ, mention'd in *Lycophron* (a),

Ἀτὴν γὰρ ἄρεον ἄρδιν δ' ὤωε χέειν
Σάλπιγξ

Under this Name she was worship'd in a Temple dedicated to her at *Argos* (b): But *Pausanias* is rather of Opinion, that this Trumpet was the Invention of one of *Hercules's* Sons, call'd *Tyrrhenus*, whose Son *Hegelaus* (having communicated it to a Party of *Dorians*, the Subjects of *Temenus*) in Memory of the Invention, and out of Gratitude to the Goddess for her Assistance therein, gave her this Surname (c).

2. The second was the *Egyptian* Trumpet, call'd χέν, Ofir's Contrivance: It was round, and us'd at Sacrifices to call the Congregation together (d).

3. The third was invented in *Gallia Celtica*, where it was term'd κάρυξ: It gave a very shrill Sound, but was not very large: It was cast in a Mould, and had its Mouth adorn'd with the Figure of some Animal. They had a Pipe of Lead, thro' which they blew into the Trumpet when they sounded.

4. The fourth was first us'd in *Paphlagonia*, and call'd Βόϊον, from βῆ, or the Figure of an Ox upon its proper Orifice; it had a deep bass Sound.

5. The fifth was invented in *Media*, had also a deep Note, and was sounded by the help of a Pipe compos'd of Reeds.

6. The sixth was call'd Σάλπιγξ Τυρρηνική, because invented by the *Tyrrhenians*, from whom it was communicated to the *Greeks* by one *Archondas*, who came to assist the *Heraclidae*, or Posterity of *Hercules* (e). Others attribute the first Contrivance of it to *Tyrrhenus*, *Hercules's* Son (f). Its Orifice was cleft, and sent forth an exceeding loud and shrill Sound, not unlike the *Phrygian* Flute; whence it became of all the rest the most proper for Engagements: *Ulysses* in *Sophocles*, compares it to the Goddess *Minerva's* Voice (g).

ὦ φέγγ' Ἀδάνας φιλτάτης ἐμοὶ θεῶν,
ὦς εὐμαδὲς σε, καὶν ἄποπ' ἧς, ὅμως
φώνημ' ἀκέω, καὶ ξυωπαράζω φρενὶ,
Χαλκὸς ὅμως κώδων' ὥς Τυρρηνικῆς.

How clear, *Minerva*, and distinct thy Voice,
Thou, whom I reverence above the rest
Of Deities, who croud th' Ætherial Court,
Thy Voice I know, and perfectly retain,
Altho' thou art unseen, as if I'd heard

(a) *Cassandra* v. 915. (b) *Hesychius*, *Phavorinus*, *Eustathius* loc. cit. (c) *Pausanias* *Corinthiacis*. Vide *Commentarium nostrum* in *Lycophron*. v. 915. (d) *Eustathius* loc. citat. Idem deinceps videndus. (e) *Sophocles* *Scholiastes* *Ajace* v. 17. (f) *Suidas*, *Diodorus Siculus* Lib. V. (g) *Hyginus* *Fab.* 274. (g) *Ajace* v. 14.

The Tyrrhene Trumpet, whose continuing Sound
Leaves an Impression of its echoing Notes.

J. A.

Where the *Scholiast* observes, that *Minerva's* Voice is resembled to the Tyrrhene Trumpet, because it was easily known by reason of its Loudness, as that Trumpet excell'd all others, and was at the first hearing easie to be distinguish'd from them.

These were the most common and remarkable Sorts of Trumpets; others may perhaps now and then occur in Authors, such as the *Libyan* mention'd by *Suidas*, and one of *Sophocles's* *Scholiasts* (a), but seem to be of less Note, and not so frequently us'd.

Several other Instruments were us'd in sounding Alarms; the σι-
ειγ or Pipe in *Arcadia*; the ανητις, sometimes term'd μαγαδης,
in *Sicily* (b). The *Cretans* are call'd to Battel by the Sound of αυλοι,
or Flutes (c); as others, of Cithara, Lutes or Viols (d); but, as most
of the ancient Writers affirm, of Lyre, or Harps (e), which, *Plutarch*
tells us, were not laid aside for many Ages (f): The Person that
sounded the Alarm, the *Cretans* call'd ιβειος, and others term'd him
Ικυνηρ (g), from a Sort of Trumpet call'd ικυε.

The *Lacedemonians* are particularly remarkable for beginning their
Engagements with a Concert of Flutes (h); the Reason of which Pra-
ctice being demanded of *Agessilaus*, he reply'd, "That it was to distin-
guish Cowards"; such being unable, by Reason of their Consternation,
to keep Time with their Feet to the Musick, as was their Custom.
This Answer is indeed facetious, and not wholly without Truth, yet
seems not fully to comprehend the Design of this Custom. *Valerius*
Maximus is yet farther from the Truth, and stands in direct Opposition
to it, when he supposes it intended to raise the Courage of the Sol-
diers, that they might begin the Onset with greater Violence and Fury;
for *Thucydides*, with whom the rest of ancient Historians agree, assures
us, that the Design of it was rather to render them Cool and Sedate,
Trumpets and other Instruments being more proper to inspire with
Heat and Rage; but these Passions they thought rather apt to beget Dis-
order and Confusion, than to produce any noble and memorable Ac-
tions, Valour being not the Effect of a sudden and vanishing Transport,
but proceeding from a settled and habitual Firmness and Constancy of
Mind: Wherefore they endeavour'd not with Noise and Haste, but with
compos'd Minds and settled Countenances, to advance in a majestick
and deliberate Pace towards their Enemies. The manner of it is de-
scrib'd by *Plutarch* (i), who tells us, "That the Army being drawn
" up in Battel-array, and the Enemy near, the King sacrific'd a She-

(a) Loco citato. (b) *Clemens* Prædag. Lib. II. cap. IV. (c) *Polybius* Lib. IV.
(d) *A. Gellius* Lib. I. cap. XI. *Martianus Capella* Lib. XI. (e) *Clemens* loc. citat.
Athenæus Lib. XII. & XIV. *Eustathius* ad *Iliad.* ψ. (f) Lib. de Musica.
(g) *Hesychius*. (h) *Idem* Auctores, qui de *Cretensibus* citantur, item *Xenophon*,
Maximus Tyrius Dissert. XII. & XXI. *Quintilianus* Lib. I. cap. XVI. *Thucydides*
Lib. V. *Valerius Maximus* Lib. II. cap. VI. *Lucianus* de Saltatione, & alii pas-
sim. (i) *Lycargo*.

84 Of the Military Affairs of Greece.

“ goat, and at the same Time commanded the Soldiers to adorn their
 “ Heads with Garlands, and the Fluters to play *Καρυφτοὶ μέλῳ*,
 “ the Tune of *Castor's* Hymn; and himself, advancing forward, begun
 “ the *ἐλευθέρῳ παιάν*, or Alarm: So that it was at once a de-
 “ lightful and terrible Sight to see them march on keeping Pace to the
 “ Tune of their Flutes, without ever troubling their Order, or con-
 “ founding their Ranks, their Musick leading them into Danger cheer-
 “ ful and unconcern'd: For (proceeds my Author) Men thus dif-
 “ pos'd were not likely to be possess'd with Fear, or transported with
 “ Fury; but they proceeded with a deliberate Valour full of Hope and
 “ good Assurance, as if some Divinity had sensibly assisted them”.
Maximus the Tyrian attributes to this Method those great Successes,
 and numerous Victories, that have rendred the *Spartan* Name fa-
 mous in all succeeding Ages; but it seems peculiarly calculated and
 adapted to the Discipline and Temper of that State; and scarce to
 be imitated, till the old *Lacedemonian* Resolution, and unparallel'd
 Firmness of Mind shall be recall'd.

The rest of the *Grecians* advanc'd with eager Haste and Fury, and in
 the Beginning of their Onset gave a general Shout to encourage and a-
 nimate themselves, and strike Terror into their Enemies: This was
 call'd *ἀλαλαγμός*, from the Soldiers repeating *ἀλλὰλ*, *Suidas* makes
 them to have cry'd also *ἐλευθέρῳ*: The first Author of it was *Pan*, *Bac-*
chus's Lieutenant-General in his *Indian* Expedition; where, being en-
 compass'd in a Valley with an Army of Enemies far superiour to them
 in Number, he advis'd the God to order his Men in the Night to give
 a general Shout, which so surpriz'd the opposite Army, that they
 immediately fled from their Camp: Whence it came to pass, that all
 sudden Fears impress'd upon Mens Spirits without any just Reason,
 were call'd by the *Greeks* and *Romans*, *Panick Terrors* (a).

This Custom seems to have been us'd by almost all Nations, Bar-
 barous as well as Civil; and is mention'd by all Writers that treat of
 Martial Affairs: *Homer* hath oblig'd us with several elegant Descri-
 ptions of it, too numerous to be insert'd in this Place: I shall how-
 ever give you one out of the fourth *Iliad* (b), where he resembles the
 Military Noise to Torrents rowling with impetuous Force from Moun-
 tains into the subjacent Vallies.

Ὡς δ' ὅτε χεῖμαρροι ποταμοὶ, κατ' ὄρεσσι ρέοντες,
 Ἐς μισγάσκειαν συμβάλλετον ὄκειμον ὕδωρ
 Κρητῶν ἐκ μεγάλων, κοίλης ἔντοδε χαράδρης,
 Τῶν δέ τε τηλόσε δῦπον ἐν ἔρεσιν ἔκλυε ποιμῶ,
 Ὡς τ' μισγομένων γένετο ἰαχὴ τε, φόβῳ τε.

As with impetuous Torrent Rivers flow
 Down a steep Hill, when swell'n by Winter's Snow,

(a) *Polyani Strateg. Lib. I.* (b) *V. 452.*

Of the Military Affairs of Greece. 85

Into the Vales with mighty Floods they pour,
Fraught with Destruction and an hideous Roar :
Thus fled, thus posted all the *Trojan* Rout
In eager Flight with dismal Noise and Shout. *J. A.*

Some may infer from the Beginning of *Homer's* third *Iliad*, that this Noise was only a barbarous Custom, practis'd indeed by the *Trojans*, but laugh'd at by the more civiliz'd *Grecians* (a):

Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κόσμηθεν ἄμ' ἡγεμόνεσσιν ἑκαστοί,
Τρῶες μὲν κλαγγῇ τ', ἐνοπῇ τ' ἴσαν, ὄρνιδες ὥς·
Ἡύτε περ κλαγγὴν γεράνων πέλει ὑρανόδι περ,
Αἴτ' ἐπεὶ ἔν χερσὶν αὖ φύγον, καὶ ἀδέσφατον ὄμβρον,
Κλαγγῇ ταίγε πέτονται ἐπ' Ὀκεανοῖο ῥοάων,
Ἀνδράσι Πυγμαίοισι φόρον καὶ κῆρα φέρουσαι·
Ἡέριαι δ' ἄρα ταί γε κακῶς ξείδα προφέρονται.
Οἱ δ' ἄρ' ἴσαν σιγῇ μένεα πανέοιλες Ἀχαιοί,
Ἐν θυμῷ μεμαῶτες ἀλεξέμεν ἀλλήλοισιν.

As when the nipping Winter's Season's past,
To a *Pygmean* Combat Cranes make haste,
In chearful Flights they blacken from afar
The Clouds, and gladly meditate a War,
With Noise and Clangor eagerly they fly,
Such were the clam'rous Shouts of th' *Trojan* Enemy.
Silent and wise the *Argian* Legions move,
Fix'd and united by a mutual Love,
Auxiliary Aid resolv'd to shew,

If an impending Loss came threatning from the Foe. *J. A.*

But this is only to be understood of their March, as appears likewise from another Passage in the fourth *Iliad*, where the Poet has admirably represented the Order and regular March of the *Grecians*, with the Confusion and disorderly Motion of the *Barbarians* (b):

——ἐπαυτέραι Δαναῶν κίνωτο φάλαγγες
Νωλεμέως πόλεμόν δ' ἐκέλευε δὲ οἷσιν ἑκαστοί·
Ἠγεμόνων, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἀκλῶς ἴσαν (ὕδ' κε φαίης
Τόσσον λαὸν ἔπεσθαι ἔχοντ' ἐν σήδεσιν αὐδῶ)
Σιγῇ δεδιότες σημαντοράς· ἀμφὶ δ' οἱ παῖσι
Τάχιστα ποικίλ' ἔλαμπε, τὰ εἰμῆροι ἐσιχώωντο.
Τρῶες δ', ὥστ' οἷες πολυτάμμοντο ἀνδρὸς ἐν αὐλῇ
Μυεῖαι ἐσήκασιν ἀμελγόμεναι γάλα λαλῶν,

(a) V. 1. (b) V. 427.

86 *Of the Military Affairs of Greece.*

Ἀρχῆς, μεμακῆαι, ἀκέσασαι ὅπα ἀρνῶν,
Ὡς Τρώων ἀλλαντὸς ἀνὰ στρατὸν ἑρπυῖ ὄραρει.

With stern and awful Viſage Chiefs bear Sway,
While all their Forces ſilently obey;
In thick Battalions they march along,
(But who wou'd think that ſuch a num'rous Throng
Shou'd fill the Plains, and ſcarce e'er uſe a Tongue?)
Such pow'rful Chiefs the Grecian Heroes were,
Thus did their Conduct gracefully appear;
And thus they march, their burniſh'd Arms afar
Display the Luſtre of a future War.
Not in ſuch State advanc'd the Trojan Rout,
With thund'ring Peals of Noiſe and pompous Shout
A Tumult they did raiſe, and th' Air did rend;
Thus, when a Swain large Flocks of Ewes hath penn'd
To milk their burthen'd Duggs, they doleful bleat,
Hearing their Lambkins bleating for the Teat. *J. A.*

Where 'tis manifeſt he only ſpeaks of their March, becauſe a few Verſes after, where he comes to deſcribe the Engagement of the two Armies, he does it in the Words before-cited, and in all other Places he mentions the great Noiſe and Clamour of both Parties in their Encounters. Thus in the ſixteenth *Iliad* he ſpeaks of *Achilles's Myrmidons* (a),

Εν δ' ἔπεσον Τρώεσσιν ἀολλέες· ἀμφὶ δ' νῆες
Σμερδαλέον κονάβησαν, αὐσάντων ὑπ' Ἀχαιῶν,
The Grecians prefs o' th' Trojans with a Noiſe,
The Ships reflect the Echo of their Voice.

And a little before (b),

Εκ νηῶν ἐχέοντο, βοὴ δ' ἄσβεστος ὄραρει.
They throng out of their Ships with joyful Shout.

Nay ſo neceſſary, and almoſt eſſential, was this Shout to a Battle, that *φύλοπις*, *αὐτῇ*, and *βοή* are uſ'd by the Poet as equivalent Terms for *μάχη*: And when he commends his Heroes for being *βωλὴ ἀγαθοί*, he often means no more than *μάχῃ ἀγαθοί*, excellent Warriours. 'Twas alſo one Part of a good Soldier's and Commander's Character, to have a ſtrong Voice, not only becauſe it was the Cuſtom to ſignifie their Orders by Word of Mouth before Trumpets were invented, but for the Terror wherewith it ſurpriz'd and aſtoniſh'd their Enemies (c): Inſtances of this Nature are very frequent in *Homer*, where *Hector*, *A-*

(a) V. 276. (b) V. 267. (c) *Euſtathius Iliad.* β'. p. 187. *Iliad.* γ'. p. 305. *Iliad.* λ'. p. 799. &c. Ed. Baſil.

Achilles, and several others strike a Consternation into the adverse Party with a Shout : And later Authors give this good Quality its peculiar Commendation ; *Plutarch* in particular in his Character of *Marcus Coriolanus* the Roman General observes, that he was not only dreadful to meet in the Field by reason of his Hand and Stroke, but (what he tells us *Cato* required in an accomplish'd Warriour) insupportable to an Enemy for the very Tone and Accent of his Voice, and the sole Terror of his Aspect.

In the Heroical Wars the Generals fought at the Head of their Armies, as appears in all *Homer's* Battels : Whence they are frequently term'd *πρωμάχοι*, and *πρόμοι*, because they did *πρωμαχίζεν πρὸ στρατός*, fight before their Armies : Thus when he led up the *Trojans* (a),

Τρῶσιν μὲ πρωμάχιζεν Ἀλέξανδρ' ὁ θεοειδής.

At th' Head o' th' *Trojans* God-like *Paris* fought.

And when *Achilles* sends out his Soldiers to defend the *Grecian* Ships, having allotted to the rest of his Officers their several Posts, he places *Patroclus* and *Automedon*, as chief Commanders, before the Front (b).

Πάντων ὃ προπάροιθε δὴ' ἀνέρε θωρήσασθον,
Πάτροκλός τε καὶ Αὐτομέδων, ἕνα θυμὸν ἔχοντες,
Πρόθεν Μυρμιδόνων πολεμιζέμεν.

Before the rest two well-arm'd Chiefs appear'd,
Patroclus and *Automedon*, prepar'd
With equal Courage to begin the Fight
At the Head o' th' *Myrmidons*.——

To heap up more Instances in a Thing so well known, would be to no Purpose. In wiser Ages this Practice was laid aside, and Generals, considering how much the Event of the Battel depended upon the Preservation of their Persons, usually chose safer Posts, and were more cautious how to adventure themselves into Danger.

The Retreat, and other Commands, seem usually to have been sound- ed upon the same Instrument wherewith the Alarm was given : Yet in those Places where the Alarm was sounded by soft and gentle Musick, the Retreat and other Orders we find sometimes signify'd upon louder Instruments : Which may be observ'd of the *Lacedæmonians*, who seem to have us'd Trumpets in signifying the General's Orders, as appears from *Polybius* (c), who reports that *Cleomenes* commanded a Party of his Army to change their Posts by Sound of Trumpet.

(a) *Iliad*, γ'. v. 16. (b) *Iliad*, π'. v. 218. (c) *Lib.* II. prope finem.

88 *Of the Military Affairs of Greece.*

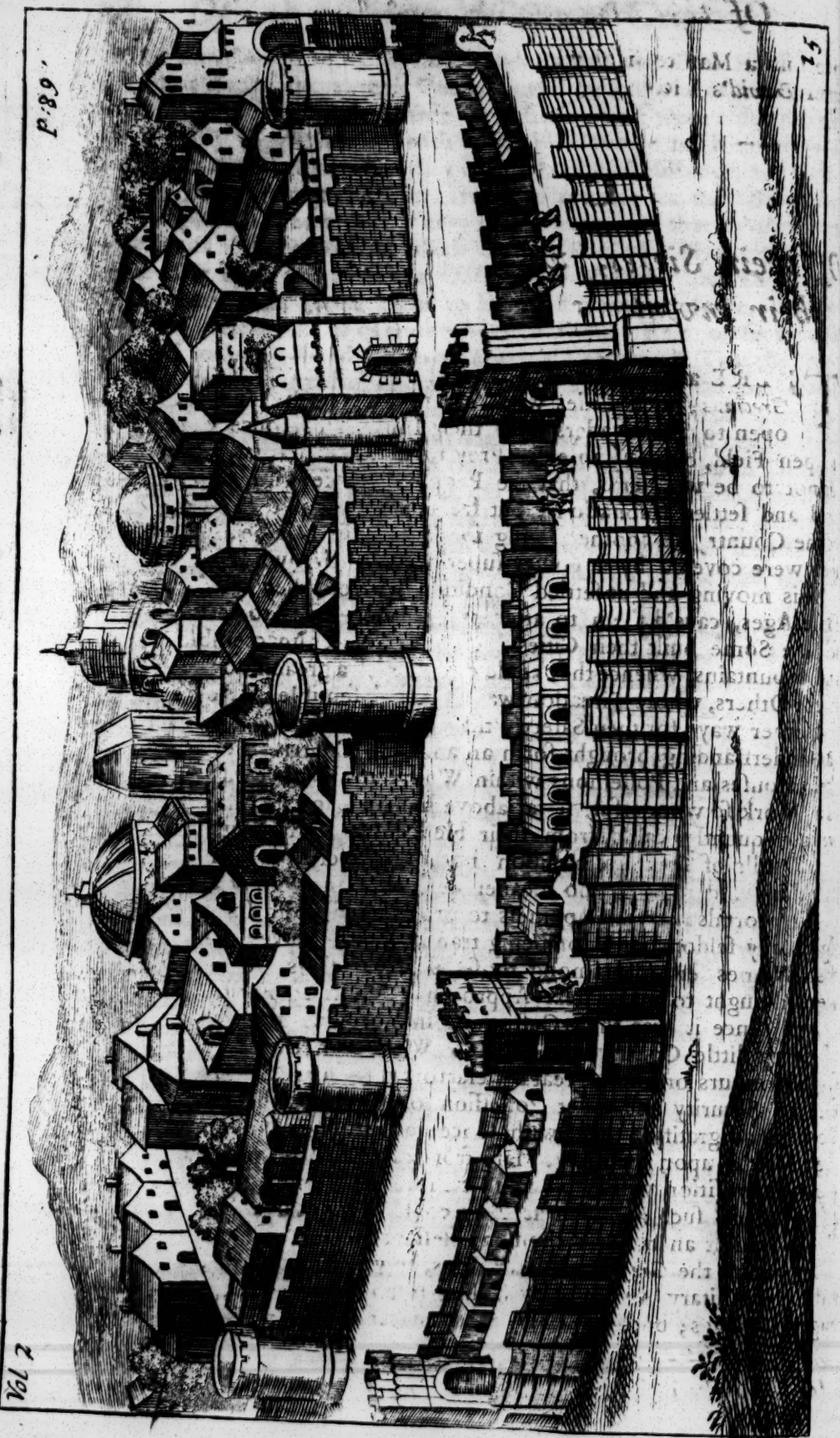
The *Lacedæmonians*, when their Enemies fled out of the Field, were not allow'd to prosecute their Victory, or make long and eager Pursuits after them (a): While they made Opposition, and were able to fight for Mastery, they contended with invincible Courage and Resolution to bear them down; but, when they ceas'd to make Resistance, and yielded the Day, they gave them Liverty to provide for their Safety by Flight, pursuing them only a very short Space, and that by slow and easy Paces: The reason of which Custom *Pausanias* (b) accounts for from their strict and inviolate Observance of Order and Discipline, which made them rather chuse to let their Enemies escape, than by breaking their Ranks to overtake them. *Plutarch's* Relation seems also rational, and well-suited to the old *Spartan* Temper; "That the *Spartans*, having routed an Enemy, pursu'd him till they had compleated their Victory, and then sounded a Retreat; thinking it base, and unworthy of true *Grecians*, to cut Men in pieces, that had ceas'd from resisting them, and left them the Field: Which manner of Dealing with those they had conquer'd, did not only shew their Magnanimity and Greatness of Soul, but had a politick End in it too; For their Enemies, knowing that they kill'd only those who made Resistance, and gave Quarter to the rest, generally thought it the best way to consult their Safety by an early Flight (c)".

One thing farther remains before the Conclusion of this Chapter, viz. That it was frequent amongst the ancient *Grecians* to put their Cause upon the Issue of a single Combat, and to decide their Quarrels by two, or more Champions on each Side: And their Kings and great Commanders were so eager in their Pursuit after Glory, and so tender of the Lives of their Subjects, that they frequently sent Challenges to their Rival Princes, to end their Quarrel by a single Encounter, that by the Death of one of them they might prevent the Effusion of more Blood. Remarkable Instances hereof we have in *Xanthus* King of *Bæotia*, who challenging the King of *Attica*, was slain by him, and so ended a dangerous War between those States (d); and in *Pittacus* the famous *Mitylenian*, who slew *Phryno* the *Athenian* General in single Combat: Ancient Histories are full of such Examples, as likewise of Wars happily concluded by a small Number commission'd by mutual Agreement to decide the Controversy: The *Lacedæmonians* furnish us with one memorable Instance in their Wars with *Argos* about the Title to *Thyrea*, which was determin'd by three hundred on each Side: Nor was the Conclusion of the War between the *Tegeans* and *Pheneans*, two small States in *Arcadia*, less remarkable, being effected by a Combat of three Brothers on each Side (e), all the Circumstances of whose Story run exactly parrallel to that of the *Horatii* and *Curatii* so famous in *Roman* Histories. The Eastern Countries were acquainted with the same Custom, as may appear from *Goliath's* challenging the *Israelitish* Host to

(a) *Thucydides* Lib. V. *Polyænus* Lib. I. (b) *Messeniacis*. (c) *Plutarchus* *Lycurgo*, *Apophthegmar. Laconicis*, περί ἀπρησίας. (d) Vide *Archæolog. nostr.* Vol. I. cap. XX. in *Αἰτιασίξ.* (e) *Plutarchus* *Parallelis*.

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P. 89.

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give him a Man to fight with him, and the Flight of the *Philistines* upon *David's* Victory over their Champion.

CHAP. X.

Of their Sieges, with the most remarkable of their Inventions, and Engines us'd therein.

THERE are no Footsteps of any Siege amongst the primitive *Grecians*; their Cities were not fortify'd with Walls, but lay open to all Invaders, and their Inhabitants, once vanquish'd in open Field, became an easie Prey to the Conquerors. Wherefore 'tis not to be wonder'd, that the People of those Times enjoy'd no fix'd and settled Habitations, but frequently remov'd from one Part of the Country to another, being forc'd to quit their Seats whenever they were coveted by a Power superiour to their own (a).

This moving and unsettled Condition wherein they continued for some Ages, caus'd them to attempt several Methods to secure themselves: Some built their Cities upon the Tops of unaccessible Rocks and Mountains, whence they could easily repel a greater force of Enemies: Others, whose Situation was not so defensible, were driv'n to seek other ways for their Safety; 'till at length some Heads of no vulgar Understanding brought forth an amazing Contrivance to enclose their Houses and Possessions within Walls; this at first was look'd on as a Work so wonderful, so far above human Capacity, that the Gods were frequently call'd from their blessed Mansions to undertake it. The Walls of *Troy* (to mention no more) were of Divine Workmanship, and rais'd by no meaner Persons than *Neptune* and *Apollo*: But if Mortals had the Happiness to project and finish so great a Design, they seldom fail'd of being translated to Heaven, and having their Names enroll'd among those exalted Beings, to whom they were thought to make near Approaches, whilst on Earth.

And since it was their Custom to immortalize the first Author of every little Contrivance, 'tis no Wonder if they conferr'd the same Honours on those great Benefactors to whom they were oblig'd for the Security and quiet Possession of whatever the rest of their Deities had gratify'd them with. Once, indeed, enclos'd within Walls, they look'd upon themselves safe from all Assaults; and, had not a weak Opposition within been sufficient to repel much greater Forces of Invaders, such a Town as *Troy* could never have held out ten Years against an hundred thousand Besiegers.

Nor were the *Grecians* of later Ages, however renown'd for Knowledge in Military Affairs, very willing to undertake, or expert in managing, Sieges; but rather chose to end their Quarrel, if possible, by

(a) *Thucydides* initio Lib. I,

one decisive Battel, than to undergo the Fatigue, and other Inconmodities of so tedious, so dangerous, and expensive a Method.

Of all the *Grecians* the most averse from undertaking Leaguers, and the most unskilful in carrying them on to advantage, were the *Lacedæmonians*; insomuch that after *Mardonius's* Defeat at *Plataea*, when a Body of *Persians* had taken Refuge in some Wooden Fortifications, they could find no means to drive them thence, but must have been forc'd to retire, had not the *Athenians* and some other *Grecians* advanced to their Assistance (a). For we are told by *Plutarch*, That their Law-giver oblig'd them by a special Injunction not easily to engage in besieging Towns; and to lose their Lives in such Undertakings was accounted inglorious, and unworthy a *Spartan*, as we learn from the same Author (b), who, speaking of *Lyfander's* being slain before the Gates of a little *Bæotian* Town call'd *Haliartus*, tells us, "That like some common Soldier, or one of the forlorn Hope, he cast away his Life ingloriously, giving Testimony to the ancient *Spartans*, that they did well to avoid Storming of Walls, where the stoutest Man may chance to fall by the Hand not only of an abject Fellow, but of a Boy or Woman; as they say *Achilles* was slain by *Paris* at the *Sæan* Gates of *Troy* (c); *Pyrrhus* also the great King of *Epirus* fell by the Hand of a Woman at *Argos* (d).

When they endeavour'd to possess themselves of a Town or Castle, it was usual first to attempt it by Storm, surrounding it with their whole Army, and attacking it in all Quarters at once, which the *Greeks* call'd *συνωλεσις*, the *Romans*, *coronâ cingere*. When this Method prov'd ineffectual, they frequently desisted from their Enterprize: But if resolv'd to prosecute it, they prepar'd for a longer Siege; in carrying on which they seem not to have proceeded in any constant and settled Method, but to have vary'd it according to the Direction of their Generals, as well as the Difference of Time, Place, and other Circumstances.

When they design'd to lay close Siege to a Place, the first Thing they went about was *σπεραισμοὶ* or *περαισμοὶ*, the Works of Circumvallation, which we find sometimes to have consisted of a double Wall or Rampire, rais'd up of Turfs, call'd in *Greek* *πλίνθοι*, and *πλιθία*, in *Latin*, *Cespites*. The interior Fortification was design'd to prevent sudden and unexpected Sallies from the Town, and to deprive it of all Possibility of Succour from without; the exterior to secure them from foreign Enemies that might come to the Relief of the Besieg'd. Thus, when the *Peloponnesians* invested *Plataea*, *Thucydides* reports, they rais'd a double Wall, one towards the City, the other towards *Athens*, to prevent all Danger on that Side: the middle Space, which was sixteen Feet, was taken up with Lodges for Guards and Sentinels, built at due Distances one from another, yet so close, that at a distant view the whole Pile appear'd to be one broad Wall, with Turrets on both Sides, after every Tenth of which was a larger Tower extended from Wall to Wall.

(a) *Herodotus* Lib. IX. cap. LXIX. (b) *Plutarch*. *Sylla*. (c) *Homer Iliad*. χ'. v. 360. (d) *Plutarchus* *Pyrrho*.

Of the Military Affairs of Greece. 91

Engines were call'd by the ancient Greeks *μάχυνα* and afterwards *μηχανή*. The first Invention of them the Grecians claim to themselves, being not easily induced to allow the Contrivance of any Art to other Nations; for it was their Custom to travel into Egypt, India, and other Eastern Countries, to furnish themselves with Sciences and Inventions, which afterwards they made publick in Europe, and vented as Productions of their own: Hence was deriv'd most of the Grecian Philosophy; and as for Engines us'd in Sieges, it appears they were invented in the Eastern Nations many Ages before Greece had the least Knowledge of, or Occasion for, them; *Moses's* Times seem not to have been unacquainted with them (a), several of the Jewish Kings likewise appear to have known the Use of them; whereas the Grecians 'till *Homer's* Times are not found to have had the least Hint of any such Thing: *Statius* indeed carries them as high as the Trojan War, and speaking of the various Presents sent to *Achilles* by the Grecians, in order to carry on the War, reports, that *Pylos* and *Messene* furnish'd him with Engines to batter the Walls;

Murorum tormenta Pylos Messenaeque tradunt.

Large batt'ring Engines are from *Pylos* sent,

And from *Messene*. ———

But the Poet seems to have forgotten the rude and unskilful Age of this Hero, and to have form'd his Description from the Practices of his own Times; since Authors of better Credit have no Mention of any such thing. *Homer* indeed speaks of *κράνα*, which some ancient Interpreters take for *κλίμακες*, Scaling-Ladders (b),

——— οἱ μὲν ἔπειτα

Κραάων ἐπέβαινον, ἀναχμήα δ' ἔχοντες.

Bearing well-pointed Spears these straight ascend

The Scaling-Ladders. ———

But it may with no less Propriety be taken for the Pinnacles or Towers, as we find it us'd in the following Verse (c);

Κράας μὲν πύργων ἔρπον, καὶ ἔρειπον ἐπ' ἀλξίαις.

The Tower's lofty Pinnacles they raz'd,

Demolish'd all their Bulwarks. ———

Others again will have them to have been as ancient as the Theban War, and to have been the Contrivance of *Capaneus*, one of the seven Champions; the Story of whose being knock'd down with Thunderbolts was grounded on no better a Foundation, than that, attempting to scale the

(a) *Deuteronom*, cap. XX. v. 20. (b) *Iliad*. μ' v. 443. (c) *Ibid*. v. 258.

Walls of *Thebes* with Ladders, he was beaten down and slain with Stones: And since the Contrivance is so easy and obvious, it may not be wholly improbable, that even those Ages were acquainted with it: However the different Sorts of Ladders were invented afterwards, when some of them were *πικύλαι* (a), *plicatiles*, folded; others *δραλῦται*, *solutiles*, to be taken in Pieces (b), for the Convenience of Carriage. The Matter they were compos'd of was likewise very different, being not only Wood, but Ropes, Leather, &c.

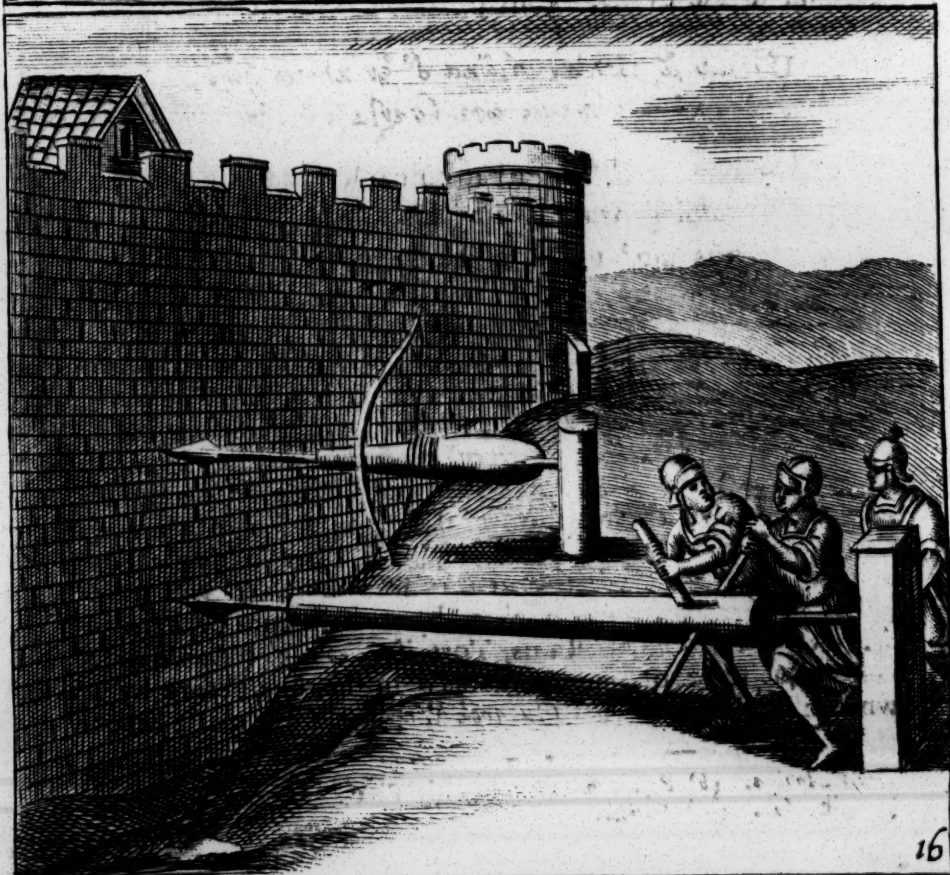
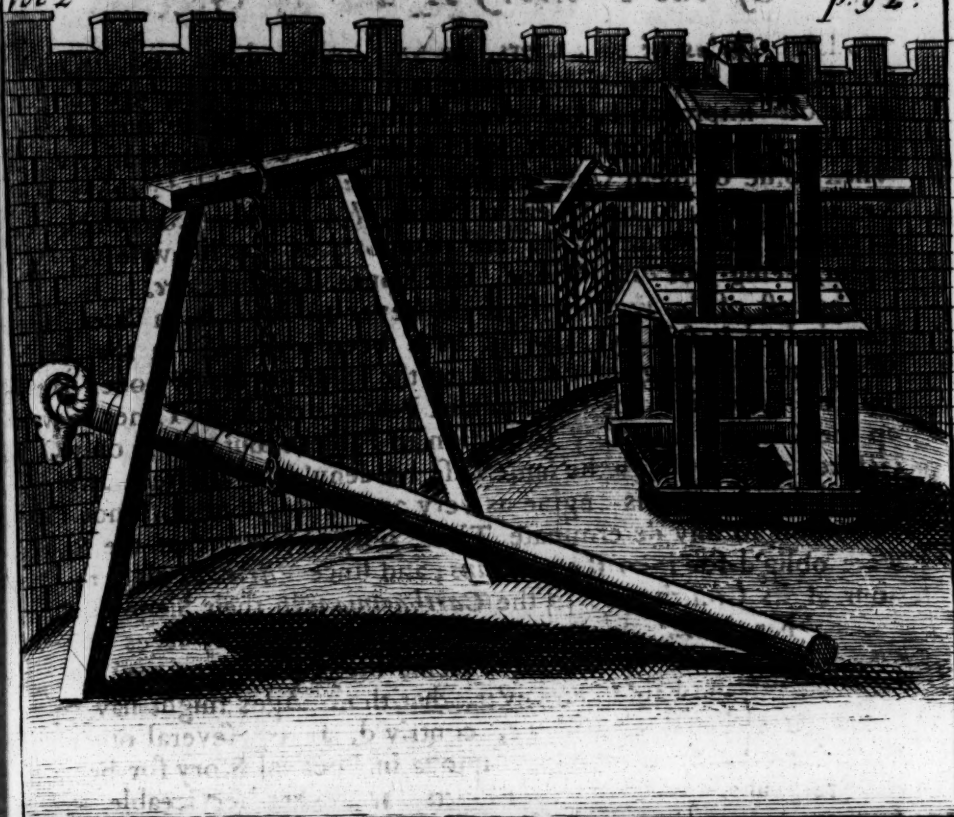
The rest of the Engines seem however to have been later: The *Ram* indeed is said by *Pliny* to have been invented in the *Trojan War*, and to have given occasion to the Fable of the Wooden Horse built by *Epeus*, it being the constant Practice of those Times to wrap up the Original of every Invention in Fables: But this is only Conjecture, and may with the same Ease be deny'd, as asserted. *Athenans* indeed speaks of this Engine as very ancient (c), but doth not fix its Invention to any determinate Time, only observes that the *Romans* were oblig'd for it to the *Grecians*; and since *Vitruvius* gives the Honour of its Contrivance to the *Carthaginians* in their Siege of *Gader*, and neither *Homer*, nor any *Greek Writer* for many Ages after has the least mention thereof, there seems little Reason to credit *Pliny's* Report. 'Tis probable, however, that those Ages might have some small Helps in taking Towns, contriv'd, as by several others, so particularly by *Epeus*, who is famous in Poetical Story for being an Artificer, and (as *Lycophron* reports) was very serviceable on that Account to the *Grecian Army*;

Πύκλῳ μὲ ἐβλῶν, πῶκα δ' ἐν κλόνῳ δορὺς,
καὶ πλεῖστα τέχναις ὠρελήσαντα στρατόν (d).

Dauntless in Boxing, but dismay'd at th' Sound
Of clashing Arms, yet by his famous Art
He was most useful to the *Grecian Fleet*.

But these Devices seem to have been exceeding contemptible, and unartificial, and therefore were wholly laid aside in wiser Ages, and, it may be, never practis'd but at their first Invention. The only constant Instruments us'd by the ancient *Grecians* in demolishing Walls, were (for ought appears to the contrary) those they call'd *τεπανά*, in *Latin*, *terebra*, which were long Irons with sharp Ends. Wherefore 'tis reasonable to conclude that most of their famous Engines were invented about the Time of the *Peloponnesian War*, wherein 'tis plain from *Thucydides* they were us'd; *Diodorus* (e) and *Plutarch* (f) will have *Pericles* to have contriv'd several of them by the Assistance of *Artemon* an Artificer of *Clazomena*, as Rams, Tortoises, &c. yet *Cornelius Nepos* reports, that some of them were us'd in the Age before by *Miltiades*, when he besieged *Paros*; *Plutarch* also himself, when he reports out of

(a) *Appian*. (b) *Plutarchus Arato*. (c) *Fine Lib. IV*. (d) *Cassand. v. 945*.
(e) *Lib. XII*. (f) *Pericle*.



Walls of *Thebes* with Ladders, he was beaten down and slain with Stones: And since the Contrivance is so easy and obvious, it may not be wholly improbable, that even those Ages were acquainted with it. However the different Sorts of Ladders were invented afterwards, when some of them were *πικταὶ* (a), *plicatiles*, folded; others *διαλυταὶ*, *solutiles*, to be taken in Pieces (b), for the Convenience of Carriage. The Matter they were compos'd of was likewise very different, being not only Wood, but Ropes, Leather, &c.

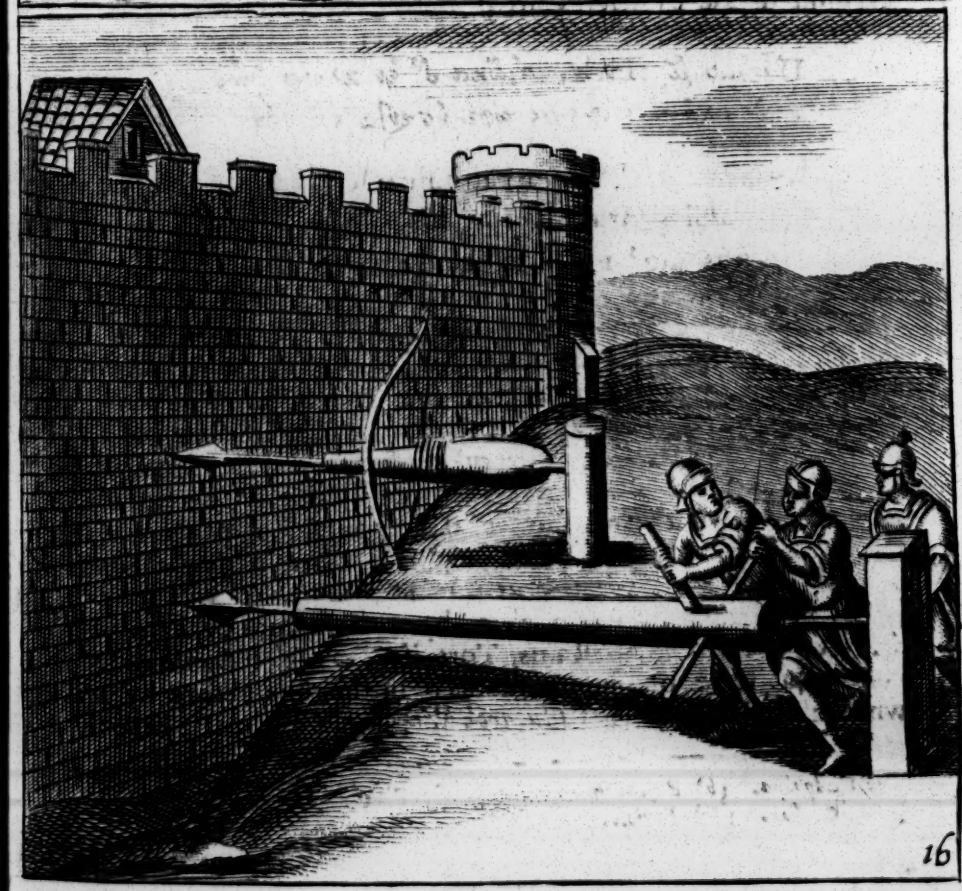
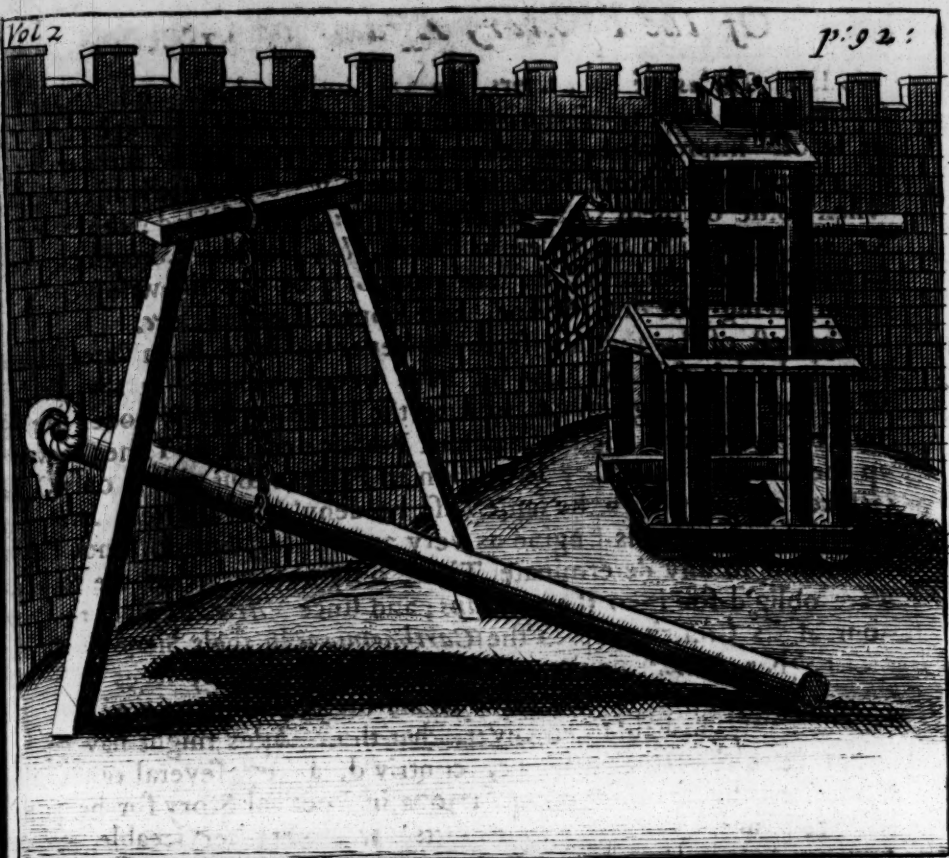
The rest of the Engines seem however to have been later: The *Ram* indeed is said by *Pliny* to have been invented in the *Trojan War*, and to have given occasion to the Fable of the Wooden Horse built by *Epeus*, it being the constant Practice of those Times to wrap up the Original of every Invention in Fables: But this is only Conjecture, and may with the same Ease be deny'd, as asserted. *Athenaus* indeed speaks of this Engine as very ancient (c), but doth not fix its Invention to any determinate Time, only observes that the *Romans* were oblig'd for it to the *Grecians*; and since *Vitruvius* gives the Honour of its Contrivance to the *Carthaginians* in their Siege of *Gades*, and neither *Homer*, nor any *Greek Writer* for many Ages after has the least mention thereof, there seems little Reason to credit *Pliny's* Report. 'Tis probable, however, that those Ages might have some small Helps in taking Towns, contriv'd, as by several others, so particularly by *Epeus*, who is famous in Poetical Story for being an Artificer, and (as *Lycophron* reports) was very serviceable on that Account to the *Grecian Army*;

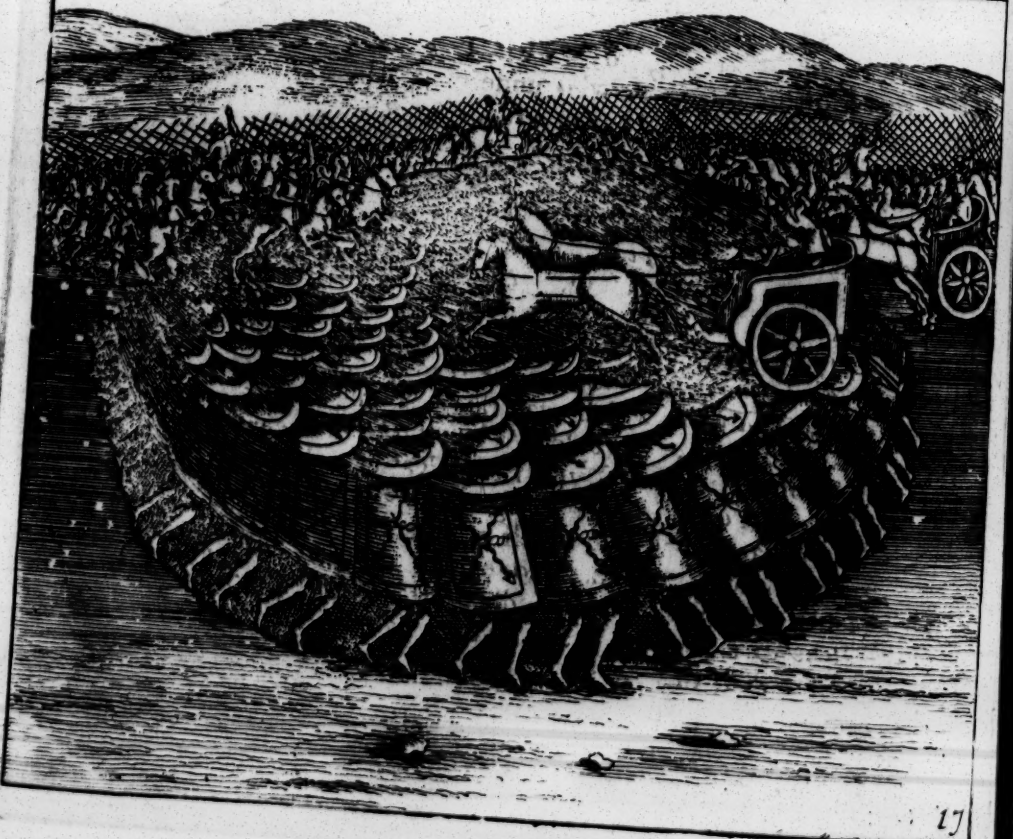
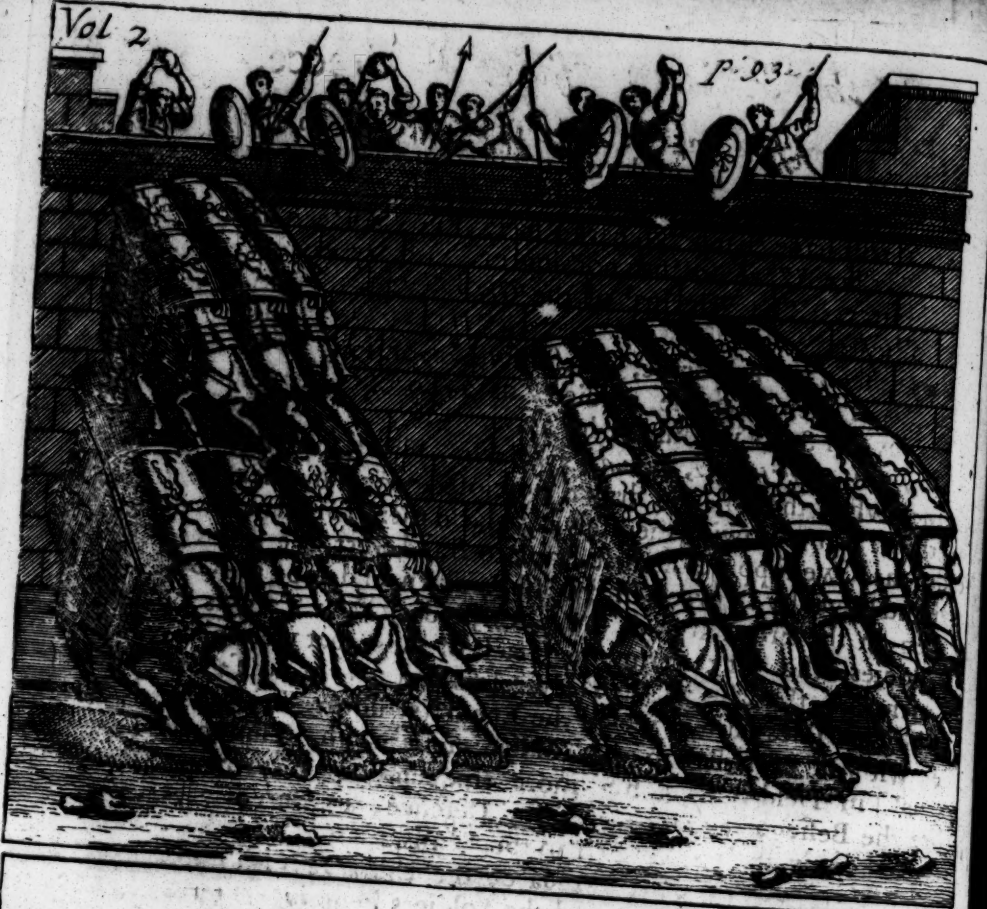
Πύκτω μ' ἐβλόν, πῶκα δ' ἐν κλόνῳ δορὺς,
Καὶ πᾶσα τέχνηα ὠρελήσαντα στρατόν (d).

Dauntless in Boxing, but dismay'd at th' Sound
Of clashing Arms, yet by his famous Art
He was most useful to the *Grecian Fleet*.

But these Devices seem to have been exceeding contemptible, and unartificial, and therefore were wholly laid aside in wiser Ages, and, it may be, never practis'd but at their first Invention. The only constant Instruments us'd by the ancient *Grecians* in demolishing Walls, were (for ought appears to the contrary) those they call'd *τερέπανα*, in *Latin*, *terebra*, which were long Irons with sharp Ends. Wherefore 'tis reasonable to conclude that most of their famous Engines were invented about the Time of the *Peloponnesian War*, wherein 'tis plain from *Thucydides* they were us'd; *Diodorus* (e) and *Plutarch* (f) will have *Pericles* to have contriv'd several of them by the Assistance of *Artemon* an Artificer of *Clazomena*, as Rams, Tortoises, &c. yet *Cornelius Nepos* reports, that some of them were us'd in the Age before by *Miltiades*, when he besieged *Paros*; *Plutarch* also himself, when he reports out of

(a) *Appian*. (b) *Plutarchus Arato*. (c) *Fine Lib. IV*. (d) *Cassand. v. 945*.
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Ephorus, that battering Engines were first employ'd in the *Samian* War by *Pericles*, and compos'd at that Time by *Artemon*, being then a strange and surprizing Sight, presently after adds, that *Heraclides* of *Pontus* will have that Engineer to have flourish'd several Ages before the *Samian* War; so that nothing of Certainty can be expected in this Matter. The Principal of the *Grecian* Inventions were these which follow:

Χελώνη, *testudo*, a Tortise, a defensive Invention, so call'd from covering and sheltering the Soldiers, as a Tortise is covered by its Shell. Several Sorts we find of it, as,

1. *Χελώνη σφραγιωτῶν*, *testudo militaris*, term'd sometimes *σωασιμὸς*, when the Soldiers drawn up close to one another, and the hindermost Ranks bowing themselves, plac'd their Targets above their Heads: as if we suppose the first Rank to stand erect, the rest to stoop lower and lower by Degrees, till the last Rank kneel'd upon the Ground; the Men in the Front and on the Sides holding their Targets before their Bodies, the rest covering the Heads of those that were plac'd before them; so that the whole Body resembled a Pent-house or Roof cover'd with Tiles, down which the Enemy's missive Weapons easily glided without Prejudice to the Soldiers underneath. This Invention was us'd in Field-Battels, but more frequently in surprizing Cities before the Besieg'd were prepar'd for Defence; and serve to protect the Besiegers in their Approach to the Walls.

2. *Χελώνη χωρεῖς* was four-square: the chief Design thereof was (as the Name imports) to guard the Soldiers in filling Ditches, and casting up Mounts.

3. *Χελώνη ὄρυξ*, was triangular, with its Front shelving downwards for the Protection of Pioneers, who undermin'd Walls.

4. To these may be aded *Testudo arietaria*, wherewith those that batter'd the Walls were protected; of which afterwards.

Γέρρα, Wicker-Hurdles, resembling the *Roman vineæ*, which the Soldiers held over their Heads. The Word came at length to signify Trifles, from the Siege of *Syracuse*, where the *Athenians* calling continually for Hurdles to shelter them, the Besiegers in Derision cry'd *γέρρα, γέρρα*.

Another Engine compos'd of Boards, and like the *Roman Pluteus*, was us'd by *Alexander's* Soldiers, as we read in *Curtius*.

Χῶμα, *agger*, a Mount, which was rais'd so high as to equal, if not exceed, the Top of the besieg'd Walls: The Sides were wall'd in with Bricks or Stones, or secur'd with strong Rafter to hinder it from falling; the Fore-part only, being by Degrees to be advanc'd nearer the Walls, remain'd bare. The Pile it self consisted of all sorts of Materials, as Earth, Timber, Boughs, Stones, &c. as *Thucydides* reports in the Siege of *Plataeæ*: Into the middle were cast also Wickers, and Twigs of Trees to fasten, and, as it were, cement the other Parts, The whole Fabrick is thus describ'd by *Lucan* (a).

tunc omnia latè.
*Procumbunt nemora, & spoliantur robore silvæ;
 Ut, cum terra levis mediam virgultaque molem
 Suspendant, structâ laterum compage ligatam
 Arctet humum, pressus ne cedat turribus agger.*

The Groves are fell'd, and strongest Timber sought,
 From thickest Forests largest Oaks are brought,
 To make strong Rafters to support the Pile,
 Lest th' Earth break in, and frustrate all their Toyl,
 Unable to sustain the Tower's Weight.

H. H.

Πύργοι, Turres, moveable Towers of Wood, usually plac'd upon the Mount: They were driven upon Wheels, which were fix'd within the Bottom-planks to secure them from the Enemies. Their Size was not always the same, but proportion'd to the Towers of the City they besieg'd; the Front was usually cover'd with Tiles, and in later Times the Sides were likewise guarded with the same Materials; their Tops were cover'd with raw Hides, and other Shrowds, to preserve them from Fire-balls and missive Weapons: They were form'd into several Stories, which were able to carry not Soldiers only, but several Sorts of Engines; whence *Silius* (a);

*Turris multiplici surgens ad sidera testò
 Exhibat, tabulata decem cui crescere Grajus
 Fecerat, & multas nemorum consumserat umbras.*

Thin were the Groves, and scarce cou'd boast a Shade
 When th' *Grajan* with ten Rooms a Tower made,
 Whose various Turrets seem'd the Stars t' invade.

The first Contrivance is attributed to some Artificers of *Silicy* about the Time of *Dionysius* the Tyrant; by some to *Polyidus* a *Theffsalian*, *Philip* of *Macedon's* Engineer (b); by others to *Diades* and *Chareas* (c), who were *Polyidus's* Scholars, and entertain'd by *Alexander* in his Eastern Expedition: The last of these seem rather to have been Improvers of the former Invention, for we find Mention of Wooden Towers in the elder *Dionysius's* Reign (d): It may be the Device of making *πύργος φορητός*, portable *Turrets*, to be taken in pieces and carry'd along with the Army, may be owing to them.

Κρίδς, Aries, the Ram, was an Engine with an Iron-Head call'd in Greek *κεφαλή* or *ἐμβολή*, resembling a Ram's Head, wherewith they batter'd the Enemies Walls. Of this there were three Kinds:

1. The first was plain and unartificial, being nothing but a long Beam with an Iron-Head, which the Soldiers drove with main Force against the Wall.

(a) Lib. XIV. (b) *Athenaus Mechanicis* apud *Turneb. Vitruvius* Lib. X. cap. XIX. (c) *Heron*. cap. XIII. (d) *Diodorus Siculus*.

2. The second was hung with Ropes to another Beam, by the Help of which they thrust it forwards with much greater Force.

3. The third differ'd only from the former, as being cover'd with a *χελώνη*, or Shroud, to guard the Soldiers, whence 'tis call'd *Testudo arietaria*.

The Beam was sometimes no less than an hundred and twenty Feet in length, and cover'd with Iron-Plates, lest those who defended the Walls should set it on Fire; the Head was arm'd with as many Horns as they pleas'd: *Josephus* reports that one of *Vespasian's* Rams, the Length whereof was only fifty Cubits, which came not up to the Size of several of the *Grecian* Rams, had an Head as thick as ten Men, and twenty-five Horns, each of which was as thick as one Man; and plac'd a Cubit's Distance from the rest; the Weight hung (as was customary) upon the hinder Part, weigh'd no less than one thousand and five hundred Talents; when it was remov'd from one Place to another, if it was not taken in Pieces, an hundred and fifty Yoke of Oxen, or three hundred Pair of Horses and Mules labour'd in drawing it; and no less than fifteen hundred Men employ'd their utmost Strength in forcing it against the Walls. At other Times we find these Rams driven upon Wheels.

Ελέπολις was first invented by *Demetrius*, Son to *Antigonus*, who, having taken *Rhodes*, with several other Towns by the Help of this Engine, was honour'd with the Sirname of *πολιορκητής*. We have several Descriptions of it left us by *Vitruvius* (a), *Plutarch* (b), and *Diodorus* (c), who, tho' differing in other Points, are thus far agreed, That it was a Machine of prodigious Bulk, not unlike the Ram cover'd with the Shroud, but vastly bigger, and of far greater Force; that it was driven both with Ropes and Wheels, and contain'd several other smaller Engines, out of which Stones and other missive Weapons were cast.

Καταπέλται are us'd in different Senses, sometimes for Arrows, sometimes for Engines out of which Arrows were cast; in the latter of which Significations they are term'd *ὀξυελαῖς*, and *βελοςάσεις*. They are likewise, tho' not very properly, taken for Engines to cast Stones; and we find them sometimes us'd to throw great Pieces of Timber. The Invention of them is ascrib'd to the *Syrians* by *Pliny*; but *Diodorus* (d) and *Plutarch* report, they were first contriv'd in *Sicily*, about the Time in which the elder *Dionysius* engag'd in the War with *Carthage*.

Engines to cast Stones were of several Sorts; some only for smaller Stones, such as *σφενδόναι* Slings; others for those also of a larger Size, call'd sometimes only by the general Names of *μάσγανα*, and *μάσγανικά ὄργανα*, or *αφετήρια ὄργανα*, the former of which seem to signify all sorts of Engines, the latter all those design'd to cast missive Weapons; sometimes by more peculiar Titles, as *λιθοβόλοι*, *πετροβόλοι*, *πετροβολικά ὄργανα*, which Names are yet so general, as to comprehend all Engines that cast Stones: Nor is there any proper Term,

(a) Lib. X. (b) *Demetrio*. (c) Lib. XX. (d) Lib. XIV.

96 *Of the Military Affairs of Greece.*

that I know of, for that famous Engine, out of which Stones of Size not less than Millstones, were thrown with so great Violence as to dash whole Houses in pieces at a Blow: 'Twas call'd indeed by the Romans, *Ballista*; but this Name, tho' of Grecian Original, appears not to have been us'd in Greece; this Engine however was known there, and was the same with that us'd by the Romans, the Force of which is thus express'd by *Lucan* (a);

*At saxum quoties ingenti verberis ictu
Excutitur, qualis rupes, quam vertice montis
Abscidit impulsu ventorum adjuta vetustas;
Frangit cuncta ruens, nec tantum corpora pressa
Exanimat, totos cum sanguine dissipat artus.*

Such is the Force, when massy Stones are thrown,
As when from some Mount's Top a Rock falls down,
Which now worn out with Age can't longer bear
The Shock of Winds, and Fury of the Year;
They break thro' all that in their Passage lie,
And do thro' Walls and Houses force their Way,
Not only kill the Man, but spread all o'er

The Ground his scatter'd Limbs and reeking Gore. *H. H.*

These were the most remarkable Engines the *Grecians* us'd in taking Towns. It will be expected in the next Place, that some Account be given of the Methods by which the Besieg'd defended themselves.

Upon the Enemy's Approach, they gave Notice to their Confederates (if they had any) to hasten their Assistance: In the Day this was done by raising a great Smoke; in the Night by Fires, or lighted Torches, call'd *φρυκτοί*, and *φρυκτωεῖαι*, whence to signify the coming of Enemies was call'd *φρυκτωρεῖν* (b). These Torches were term'd *φρυκτοὶ πολέμιοι*, to distinguish them from those they call'd *φρυκτοὶ οἰλίοι*, which were lighted upon the Approach of Friends: They differ'd in this, that the latter were held firm and unmov'd, the former tofs'd and wav'd to and fro in the Air.

They seem not to have had any constant Method of defending themselves; but thus much may be observ'd in general, that the Walls were guarded with Soldiers, who, with Stones, and all Sorts of missive Weapons assaulted the Invaders; and the *καταπέλται* with other Engines of that Kind, were planted within the Town, and play'd upon them. Several other Methods were practis'd against them, as when the *Tyrians* heating Brass Bucklers red hot, and filling them with Sand and Lime, pour'd it upon *Alexander's* Soldiers, which getting between their Armour and Flesh, burn'd vehemently, and caus'd them to fling off their Armour, so that the Besiegers wounded them at pleasure,

(a) Lib. III.

(b) *Theognidis Scholiastes, Homeri Scholiastes Iliad. 6.*

without receiving any Hurt. Several Ways they had to elude the Force of their Engines, and defeat their Stratagems: Their Mines they render'd ineffectual by Countermines; their Mounts they let fall to the Ground by Undermining the Foundations: Their Towers and all their Engines they burn'd with Fire-balls; themselves they defended with Skins, Wool-packs, and other Things proper to ward off Stones, and other missive Weapons: The Heads of Battering Rams they broke off with Stones of a prodigious Size from the Walls; or (as we read of the *Tyrians*) render'd them uselefs by cutting the Ropes, whereby they were govern'd, with long Scythes: And if there remain'd no Hope of defending their Walls, they sometimes rais'd new ones with Forts within. Many other Contrivances were us'd, as the Posture of Affairs requir'd, and as the Besieg'd were ingenious in finding out Methods for their own Preservation.

The Manner of treating the Cities they had taken, was not always the same, depending upon the Temper of the General, who sometimes put all, at least all that were in Arms, to the Sword, demolish'd the Walls and Buildings, and made the rest Slaves; sometimes graciously receiv'd them into Favour, requiring only some Tributary Acknowledgement. The *Athenians* had a Custom of sending Colonies to inhabit the Places they had depopulated, which they divided by Lots among some of the Commonalty, when met together in a publick Assembly (a).

When they demolish'd a City, it was frequent to pronounce direful Curses upon whoever should endeavour to rebuild it; which some imagine was the Reason that *Troy* could never be rais'd out of its Ashes, tho' several Persons attempted it, being devoted to eternal and irreparable Ruin by *Agamemnon* (b): This seems to have been a very ancient Custom, and deriv'd from the Eastern Nations, for (to omit other Instances) we find *Joshua* at the Destruction of *Jericho* to have fix'd an Imprecation upon the Person that should rebuild it (c), which was accomplish'd in *Hiel* the *Bethelite* many Ages after, in the Reign of *Ahab* (d.)

CHAP. XI.

Of the Slain, and their Funerals.

THE ancient *Grecians* seem to have treated the Bodies of their dead Enemies in a very undecent and inhuman Manner, basely revenging the Injuries they had receiv'd from them whilst living, by disfiguring, and stabbing their Carcasses, and exposing them to Scorn and Ignominy: Which cruel and barbarous Practice was not thoroughly reform'd in the *Trojan War*, as appears from divers Instances in the

(a) *Aristophanis Scholiafles Nubibus* p. 134. (b) *Eustathius Iliad. d. p. 350.*
(c) *Joshua* cap. VI. 26. (d) *1 Reg. cap. XVI. 34.*

98 *Of the Military Affairs of Greece.*

Iliads, where dead Enemies are dismember'd by insulting Conquerors; none of which is more remarkable than that of *Hector*, who lay unbury'd many Days, was dragg'd round *Troy's Walls*, and *Patroclus's Sepulchre*, and suffer'd all sorts of Indignities. This indeed might be imputed to *Achilles's* extravagant Rage for the loss of *Patroclus*, or (as the *Scholiast* (a) affirms) to a peculiar Custom of *Thessaly*, his native Country, where it was their constant Practice to drag at their Chariots the Murderers of their near Friends; did it not appear that the rest of the *Grecians* us'd him in a manner no less brutish and barbarous, insulting over him, and stabbing his dead Body (b):

Ἦ ῥα, καὶ ἐκ νεκροῖο ἐρύσαστο χάλκεον ἔσχαθ·
 Καὶ τὸ γ' ἀνδρὲν ἐθιχ'. ὁ δ' ἀπ' ὤμων τέλχε' ἐσύλα
 Αἱματόεντ'· ἄλλοι δὲ περὶ δέσμον ἦες Ἀχαιῶϊ,
 Ὅι καὶ θηήσαντο φυλῶ καὶ ἔσχαθ' ἀγνητόν
 Ἐκλῶσθ'· ἔδ' ἄρα οἱ τις ἀνστητεῖ γε παρέση.
 Ὡδε δὲ τις ἔπεσκεν ἰδὼν ἐς πλησίον ἄλλον,
 Ὡ πόποι, ἦ μάλα δὴ μαλακώτερόν· ἀμφιφάδαδ'·
 Ἐκλῶρ, ἦ ὅτε νῆας ἐνέπρησεν πυρὶ κηλέα.

Thus having said, with unrelenting Force
 He rends his vengeful Spear from *Hector's* Corse;
 Too small the Recompence one Death cou'd give.
 But, *Hector* dead, his *Manes* still must grieve:
 He then the bloody, lifeless Corps despoil'd,
 And Soldiers with avenging Fury fill'd,
 With eager Haste about his Body press,
 Admire his Stature, and his Comeliness;
 Each vents his Rage upon th' already slain,
 As tho' they meant to kill him o'er again:
 Then thus one pointing to his Neighbour said,
 With vaunting Words insulting o'er the Dead,
 "Is this the *Hector*, whose tremendous Name
 Brought Fear and Terrour wheresoe'er it came?
 "Gods! How he's chang'd since when he threw his Fire
 "Amidst our Ships, and made whole Greece retire. H. H.

Tydeus has no better Treatment in *Statius* (c); .

Ducitur hostili (proh dura potentia Fati!)

Tydeus ille solo, modo cui Thebana sequenti

Agmina, sive gradum seu frena effunderet, ingens

Limes utrinque datus: Nusquam arma, manusque quiescunt,

Nulla viri feritas; juvat ora rigentia leto,

(a) *Iliad*, χ'. v. 398. (b) *Ibid.* v. 367. (c) *Thebaid.* IX, v. 380.

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Of the Military Affairs of Greece. 99

*Et formidatos impune laceffere vultus ;
Hic amor, hoc unà timidi, fortesque sequuntur
Nobilitare manus, infectaque sanguine tela
Conjugibus servant, parvisque ostendere natis.*

At God-like Tydeus (wretched Turn of Fate!)

Avenging Tyrians level all their Hate;

At God-like Tydeus, whose commanding Sway

Thro' Theban Troops did propagate Dismay;

Whether he mounted on his Horse appear'd,

Or for destructive War on Foot prepar'd,

Th' opposing Squadrons dar'd not long to stay,

But, where he led, submissively gave way;

Yet he, brave Chief, is dragg'd along the Field,

And bears what Foes, with Pow'r and Fury fill'd,

Could e'er inflict; his dreadful Arms they seize,

All stab his Corps, and tear his manly Face;

The most opposing Minds in this conspire,

The tim'rous and the brave alike desire

To stab the Body of their Foe when slain,

And with his Blood their glutted Blades to stain:

These they as Marks of highest Honour prize,

And keep to shew their Wives, and blooming Boys. H. H.

Whence it appears to have been their constant Practice, and look'd on as very consistent with Virtue and Honour; as *Servius* hath likewise observ'd, when *Virgil's Mezentius* was us'd in the same manner; the Poet indeed does not expressly affirm any such Thing, which notwithstanding plainly appears, for whereas he only receiv'd two Wounds from *Aeneas* (a), we find his Breast-plate afterwards pierc'd thro' in twelve, i. e. a great many Places, a determinate Number being put for an indefinite (b);

——bis sex thoraca petium

Perfossumque locis.

Thro' twice six Places was his Breast-plate pierc'd.

The barbarous Nations were not less guilty of this inhuman Practice. *Leonidas* King of *Sparta*, having valiantly lost his Life in fighting against *Xerxes*, had his Head fix'd upon a Pole, and his Body gibbeted (c): But the *Grecians* were long before that Time convinc'd of the Villany, and Baseness of such Actions; and therefore when *Pausanias* the *Spartan* was urg'd to retaliate *Leonidas's* Injury upon *Mardonius*, *Xerxes's* General overcome at *Plataea*, he refus'd to be concern'd in, or to permit a Revenge so barbarous, and unworthy a *Grecian*: Even in the Times

(a) Fine *Æn.* X. (b) XI, v. 9. (c) *Herodotus Calliope.*

100 *Of the Military Affairs of Greece.*

of the *Trojan War* the *Grecians* were much reform'd from the Inhumanity as well of their own Ancestors, as other Nations; it had formerly been customary for the Conquerors to hinder their Enemies from interring their Dead, 'till they had paid large Sums for their Ransom; and some Footsteps of this Practtce are found about that Time; *Hector's* Body was redeem'd from *Achilles* (a); *Achilles's* was again redeem'd from the *Trojans* for the same Price he had receiv'd for *Hector* (b);

Λαβὼν ὃ ταύρε τῷ πεφασμένῳ δάνῳ
Σκεδρῶν τάλαν' ἡρτημένον,
Αὔθις τὸν ἀντίποινον ἐκχέαις ἴσαν,
Πακλώλιον σαδμοῖσι τηλαυγῇ μύδρον,
Κρατῆρα Βάκχῳ δύσεται——

A Ransom large as that which *Priam* gave,
That Royal *Hector's* mangled Corps might have
The happy Priv'lege of a decent Grave,
By *Argian* Chiefs shall be repaid to *Troy*,
And then the slain *Achilles* shall enjoy
That honourable Urn the grateful God
Upon his Mother *Thetis* had bestow'd.

H. H.

Nisus is introduc'd by *Virgil*, dissuading his Friend *Euryalus* from accompanying him into Danger, lest, if he were slain, there should be no Person that would recover by Fight, or redeem his Body (c).

Sit, qui me raptum pugna, pretiove redemptum
Mandet humo solita.——

Let there be one, who, mov'd with pitying Care,
Wou'd me redeem made Pris'ner of the War,
Or ransom'd, decently my Corps interr.

Whence it appears, that Redemption of the Dead was practis'd in those Days, and if neglected, they were frequently suffer'd to lie unbury'd; which Misfortune happen'd to many of *Homer's* Heroes, as we learn from the very Entrance of the first *Iliad*, where he thus speaks of *Achilles's* Anger,

Πολλὰς δ' ἰφθίμους ψυχὰς αἰεὶ προΐαψεν
Ἡρώων, αὐτὰς δ' ἑλώεια τεῦχε κύνεσσιν,
Οἰωνοῖσί τε πᾶσι——

And num'rous Crouds of valiant Heroes Ghosts
Sent mournful down unto the *Stygian* Coasts,
Whilst uninterr'd on Earth their Bodies lay,
Expos'd to Dogs, and rav'nous Birds a Prey.

(a) *Iliad*, α', (b) *Lycophronis Cassandra* v. 269. (c) *Aeneid*. IX. v. 213.

But

Of the Military Affairs of Greece. 101

But this was not so common as in more early Ages, for we find *Achilles* himself celebrating the Funeral of *Eetion* King of *Thebes* in *Cilicia*, and Father of *Andromache*, whom the Poet introduces speaking thus (a);

Ἦτοι γὰρ πατέρ' ἀμὼν ἀπέκτανε δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς,
Ἐκ δ' ὅλιν πέρσεν Κιλικῶν εὖ ναιετάωσαν,
Θήσω ὑψίπυλον· καὶ δ' ἔκτανεν Ἡτίωνα,
Οὐδέ μιν θξενάειξε, σεβάσατο γὰρ πόγε θυμῷ·
Ἀλλ' ἄρα μιν κατέκχε σὼν ἐνίσσι δαιδαλέοισιν,
Ἢ δ' ἐπὶ σῆμ' ἔχρεν. —

Then when the Walls of *Thebes* he overthrew,
His fatal Hand my Royal Father slew,
He slew *Eetion*, but despoil'd him not,
Nor in his Hate the Fun'ral Rites forgot,
Arm'd as he was he sent him whole below,
And reverenc'd thus the *Manes* of his Foe;
A Tomb he rais'd. —

Mr. Dryden.

And *Agamemnon* granted the *Trojans* free Leave to perform the Funeral Rites of all their Slain, promising upon Oath to give them no Disturbance (b);

Ἀφ' οἷ δὲ νεκροῖσιν κατακείμεν ἔτι μεγάλει
Οὐ γὰρ τις φοιδά νεκρῶν κατατεθνεώτων
Γίνετ', ἐπεὶ κε θάνοσι, πῦρ δὲ μελίσσεται ὄκα
Ὅρκια δ' Ζεὺς ἴσῳ, ἐρίγδ' αὖτ' ὅσοις Ἑρῆς.

I envy not the Priv'lege of the Dead,
I grant, that they upon the Pile be lay'd;
Let *Jove* be Witnesses to the Vows I make,
Nor will I e'er the binding Cov'nant break.

H. H.

Not long before, the *Grecians* were perfect Strangers to this Piece of Humanity, for we are told that *Hercules* was the first that ever gave leave to his Enemies to carry off their Dead (c); and others report, that the first Treaty made for the recovering and burying the Bodies of the Slain, was that of *Theseus* with the *Thebans* to interr the Heroes that lost their Lives in the *Theban War* (d). In succeeding Ages it was look'd on as the greatest Impiety to deny what they thought a Debt to Nature, and was rarely, or never done to lawful Enemies, except upon extraordinary and unusual Provocations; for it was thought below a ge-

(a) *Iliad*. ʒ. v. 414. (b) *Iliad*. ἡ. v. 408. (c) *Aliauns* Var. Hist. Lib. XII. ʒp. XXVII. (d) *Plutarchus Theseo*.

102 Of the Military Affairs of Greece.

nerous Temper, and unworthy *Grecians* to vent their Malice, when their Enemies were depriv'd of all Power to defend themselves.

The *Athenians* seem to have been careful to Excess and Superstition in procuring an honourable Interment for the Bodies of their own Soldiers that had valiantly lost their Lives; insomuch that the Ten Admirals that gain'd that famous Victory over the *Lacedæmonians* in the Sea-fight at *Arginuse*, were put to Death chiefly on this Pretence, that they were said not to have taken due Care in gathering the Bodies that floated on the Waves; when yet they alledg'd, that they were hinder'd by a Tempest which might have been dangerous to the whole Fleet, had they not provided for their Safety by a timely Retreat. (a): This, no doubt, was one Cause why, after a Battel upon the *Corinthian* Territory, *Nicias* the *Athenian* General, finding that two of his Men were left by an Oversight, when they carry'd off the Dead, made an Halt, and sent an Herald to the Enemy for leave to carry them off, hereby renouncing all Title to the Victory, which belong'd to him before, and losing the Honour of erecting a *Trophy*; for it was presum'd that he who ask'd leave to carry off his Dead could not be Master of the Field (b). After that, *Chabrias* having put to Flight the *Lacedæmonians* at *Naxos*, rather than leave any of his Soldiers, or their Bodies to the Mercy of the Waves, chose to desist from prosecuting his Victory, when he was in a fair way to have destroy'd the Enemies whole Fleet (c).

When they carried their Arms into distant Countries, they reduc'd the Bodies of the Dead to Ashes, that those at least might be convey'd to their Relations, and reposit in the Tombs of their Ancestors: The first Author of which Custom (they say) was *Hercules*, who having sworn to *Licymnius* to bring back his Son *Argius*, if he would give him leave to accompany him in his Expedition against *Troy*; the young Man dying, he had no other Expedient to make good his Oath, but by delivering his Ashes to his Father (d): However we find it practis'd in the *Trojan* War, where *Nestor* advis'd the *Grecians* to burn all their Dead, and preserve them there 'till their Return into *Greece* (e);

Αὐτοὶ δ' ἀγέμεναι κυκλίσουμεν ἐνθάδε νεκροὺς
Βροτὶ καὶ ἡμιόνουσιν ἀπὸ κατακλόμεναι αὐτὰς
Τυτθὸν ἀπο πρὸ νεῶν ὥς κ' ὄσέα πασὶν ἕκαστ'
Οἶκαδ' ἄγῃ, ὅταν αὖτε νεώμεθα πατρίδα γαῖαν.

Oxen and Mules in solemn Order led
To us assembled here, shall bring our Dead,
That we their Bodies near our Ships may burn,
And save their snowy Bones 'till we to *Greece* return.

H. H.

(a) *Xenophon Graec. Hist. Lib. I.* (b) *Plutarchus Nicias.* (c) *Diodorus Siculus. Lib. XV.* (d) *Homeri Scholiastes Iliad. α. v. 52.* (e) *Iliad. η. v. 332.*

The

Of the Military Affairs of Greece. 103

The *Lacedamonians* thought this an unprofitable Labour, and therefore bury'd their Dead in the Country where they dy'd; only their Kings they embalm'd with Honey, and convey'd them Home, as we learn from *Plutarch* (a), who reports, that when *Agefilaus* resign'd his Life at the Haven of *Monelaus*, a desert Shoar in *Africa*, the *Spartans* having no Honey to embalm his Body wrap'd it in Wax, and so carry'd it to *Lacedamon*.

The Soldiers all attended at the Funeral Solemnities with their Arms turn'd upside down, it being customary for Mourners in most of their Actions to behave themselves in a manner contrary to what was usual at other Times; in those Places where it was the Fashion to wear long Hair, Mourners were shav'd; and where others shav'd Mourners wore long Hair: Their Conjecture therefore is frivolous, who imagined the Soldiers turn'd the Heads of their Shields downwards, lest the Gods, whose Images were engraven upon them, should be polluted with the Sight of a Corpse (b); since not the Gods only, but any other Figures were frequently represented there; nor some few only, but the whole Company held them in the same Posture: Besides, not the Shields alone, but the'r other Arms were pointed downwards: Thus *Evander's* *Arcadians* with the rest of *Aeneas's* Soldiers in *Virgil* (c), follow *Pallas's* *Herse*,

——— *Tum mœsta Phalanx, Teucrique sequuntur,
Tyrrhenique duces, & versis Arcades armis.*

Next went the mournful Troop, Captains from *Tray*,
Tyrrhenia, and from pleasant *Arcady*,
With Arms turn'd downward.———

The *Grecian* Princes in *Statius* (d) observe the same Custom;

——— *versis ducunt insignibus ipsi
Grajugena reges.* ———

The *Grecian* Chiefs the sad Procession led
With Ensigns downwards turn'd, ———

Their Tombs were adorn'd with Inscriptions shewing their Names, and sometimes their Parentage, and Exploits, which Honour the *Spartan* Lawgiver granted to none beside Women who dy'd in Child-bed, and Soldiers (e) that lost their Lives in Battel: These were bury'd with green Boughs, and honour'd with an Oration in their Praise: Such of them as had excell'd the rest, and were judg'd compleat and perfect Warriours, had a farther Honour of being interr'd in their Red Coats, which were the Soldier's Habit at *Sparta* (f): Their Arms were likewise fix'd upon their Tombs; whence *Leonidas* the *Spartan* King is introduc'd in the Epigram refusing *Xerxes's* purple Robe, and desiring no other Ornament to beautify his Tomb, than his Buckler.

(a) *Agefilao*. (b) *Servius* in *Aeneid*. XI. 92. (c) *Loc. citat.* (d) *Thebaid*. VI.
(e) *Plutarchus* *Lycurgo*. (f) *Ælianus* *Var. Hist. Lib. VI. cap. VI.*

104 *Of the Military Affairs of Greece.*

Παλὺ Λεωνίδεω κατιδὼν δέμας αἰπὸ δάκρυον
 Ξέρξης, ἐχλαίνε φάρεϊ πορφυρέῳ
 Κῆκ νεκύων δ' ἤχησεν ὁ τὰς Σπάρτας μέγας ἥρωες
 " Οὐδέχομαι προδόταις μισθὸν ὀφειλόμενον
 " Ἀπῆς μοι τύμβος κόσμος μέγας, ἔρρε τὰ Περσῶν,
 " Ἡζω κ' εἰς αἶδ' ὡς Λακεδαιμόνιοι

Whilst *Xerxes* mov'd with pitying Care beheld
 Th' unhappy *Spartan*, who himself had kill'd;
 The Royal *Persian* with officious Haste
 His purple Robe about the Body cast;
 'Till dying *Leonidas* Silence broke,
 And thus that gen'rous *Spartan* Hero spoke:
 " Forbear, fond Prince, this unbecoming Pride,
 " No *Persian* Pomp shall e'er these Reliques hide.
 " Soft purple Palls are only us'd by those
 " Who have betray'd their Country to their Foes;
 " My Buckler's all the Ornament I'll have,
 " 'Tis that which better shall adorn my Grave
 " Than 'Scutcheon, or a formal Epitaph;
 " My Tomb thus honour'd, I'll triumphant go
 " Like some brave *Spartan* to the Shades below. H. H.

This Custom was not peculiar to *Sparta*, but practis'd all over *Greece*; where, besides their Arms, it was usual to add the Badge of whatever other Profession they had born. *Elpenor*, appearing in the *Shades below* to *Ulysses*, intreats him to fix the Oar he us'd to row with, upon his Tomb, and to cast his Arms into the Funeral Pile (a);

Ἀλλὰ με κάκῃσιν σὺν τῷ χέσιν ἄσπετος εἶμι
 Σῆμα τέ μοι χεῖραι πολιῆς ἐπὶ θινὶ θαλάσσης
 Ἀνδρὲς δυσήνοιο, καὶ ἑσπερίοισι πυθέσθαι.
 Ταῦτα τέ μοι τελέσαι, πῆξαι τ' ἐπὶ τύμβῳ ἐρετμόν,
 Τῷ καὶ ζῶδες ἔρεσσαν, ἐὼν μετ' ἐμοῖς ἐτάροισιν.

Whatever Arms remain to me when dead,
 Shall with my Corps upon the Pile be laid;
 Then o'er my Grave a lasting Mon'ment rear,
 Which to Posterity my Name shall bear;
 This do, then fix the Oar upon my Tomb,
 With which I us'd to cut the Silver Foam. H. H.

(a) *Odys.* x. v. 74.

Of the Military Affairs of Greece. 105

Misenus, *Æneas's* Trumpeter, has both his Arms, Oar and Trumpet fix'd upon his Grave (a);

*At pius Æneas ingenti mole sepulcrum
Imponit, suaque arma viro, remumque, tubamque,*

A Tomb of vast extent *Æneas* rear'd,
Where the dead Corps was decently interr'd,
And on't his Arms, his Oar, and Trumpet fix'd.

It was customary for the *Spartan* Matrons, when there had been a Fight near Home, to examine the Bodies of their dead Sons; and such as had receiv'd more Wounds behind than before, they conveyed away privately, or left them in the common Heap; but those who had a greater Number of Wounds in their Breasts, they carried away with Joy and Triumph, to be repositd amongst their Ancestors (b): They were carry'd Home upon their Bucklers; whence that famous Command of the Mother to her Son related in *Plutarch* (c), ἢ τὰν, ἢ ἐπὶ τᾶν, i. e. either bring this (meaning his Buckler) Home with you, or be brought upon it: To which Custom *Ausonius* alludes (d);

Arma super veheris quid, Thrasybule, tua?

Why are you thus upon your Buckler born,
Brave *Thrasybulus*?

The *Athenians* us'd to place the Bodies of their Dead in Tents three Days before the Funeral, that all Persons might have Opportunity to find out their Relations, and pay their last Respects to them: Upon the fourth Day a Coffin of Cypress was sent from every Tribe, to convey the Bones of their own Relations, after which went a cover'd Herse in Memory of those whose Bodies could not be found: All these, accompany'd with the whole Body of the People, were carry'd to the publick Burying-place, call'd *Ceramicus*, and there interr'd: One Oration was spoken in Commendation of them all, and their Monuments adorn'd with Pillars, Inscriptions, and all other Ornaments usual about the Tombs of the most honourable Persons. The Oration was pronounc'd by the Fathers of the deceas'd Persons, who had behav'd themselves most valiantly. Thus after the famous Battel of *Marathon*, the Fathers of *Callimachus* and *Cynagirus* were appointed to make the Funeral-Oration (e). And upon the Return of the Day, upon which the Solemnity was first held, the same Oration was constantly repeated every Year (f). This was their ordinary Practice at *Athens* (g), but those valiant Men who were slain in the Battel of *Marathon*, had their

(a) *Virgil Æneid*. VI. v. 232. (b) *Ælianus Var. Hist.* Lib. XII. cap. XXI.
(c) *Apophthegma*. (d) *Epigram*. XXIV. (e) *Polemo in Argumento τῶν Ἐπι-
ταφίων λόγων*. (f) *Cicero de Oratore*. (g) *Thucydides* Lib. III.

106 *Of the Military Affairs of Greece.*

Bodies interr'd in the Place where they fell, to perpetuate the Memory of that wonderful Victory.

It may be observ'd farther, that in their Lists the Names of the Soldiers deceas'd were mark'd with the Letter θ , being the Initial of θ ανόντες, *i. e.* Dead; those of the living with τ , the first in τ ηρέμενοι, *i. e.* Preserv'd; Which Custom was afterwards taken up by the Romans (a).

C H A P. XII.

Of their Booty taken in War, their Gratitude to their Gods after Victory, their Trophies, &c.

THEIR Booty consisted of Prisoners and Spoils. The Prisoners that could not ransom themselves, were made Slaves, and employ'd in the Service of their Conquerors, or sold.

The Spoils were distinguish'd by two Names, being either taken from the Dead and term'd $\sigma\kappa\upsilon\lambda\alpha$; or from the Living, which they call'd $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\upsilon\epsilon\alpha$: They consisted of whatever Moveables belong'd to the Conquer'd, whose Right and Title by the Law of Arms pass'd to the Conquerors (b).

Homer's Heroes no-sooner gain a Victory over any of their Rivals, but without farther Delay they seize their Armour; Instances of this are as numerous as their Combats. But however this Practice might be usual among the great Commanders, who rode in Chariots to the Battel, fought by themselves, and encounter'd Men of their own Quality in single Combat; yet inferiour Soldiers were not ordinarily permitted such Liberty, but gather'd the Spoils of the Dead, after the Fight was ended: If they attempted it before, they were even then look'd upon to want Discipline. Nestor gives the Grecians a particular Caution in this Matter (c);

Νέστωρ δ' Ἀρχαίοισιν ἐκέλευτο, μακρὸν αὖσας
 ὦ φίλοι, ἦρως, Δαναοί, θεράποντες Ἄρῃ;
 μή τις νῦν ἐνάρων ἐπιβαλλόμενός, μετόπισθε
 μιμνέτω, ὥς κεν πλεῖστα φέρων ἐπὶ νῆας ἱκῆῃ,
 ἀλλ' ἄνδρες κλένωμυ' ἔπειτα ὃ καὶ τὰ ἔκρηλοι
 Νεκρὸς ἀμπεδίον συλήσετε τεθνεώτας.

Then Nestor thus began his sage Advice;
 My Friends, and valiant Greeks, be timely wise,

(a) Rufinus in Hieronymum, Paulus Diaconus De Notis Literarum, Isidorus Hispal. Lib. I. cap. XXIII. (b) Plato De Legibus Lib. I. (c) Iliad. ζ'. v. 66. Auspi-

Of the Military Affairs of Greece. 107

Auspicious Sons of Mars, let no Delay,
 No Hopes of sordid Booty cause your Stay;
 But with united Force rush on the Foe,
 Add certain Death to each becoming Blow;
 'Twill then be time enough for to prepare
 To seize the Booty of the horrid War,
 To drag your mangled Foes along the Plain,
 When weltring in their Blood they lie all slain.

H. H.

This Method was taken in succeeding Ages; for no sooner were their Battels ended, but they fell to stripping and rifling the dead Carcasses of their Enemies: Only the *Lacedæmonians* were forbidden to meddle with the Spoils of those they had conquer'd (a); the Reason of which Prohibition being demanded of *Cleomenes*, he reply'd, "That it was improper to offer the Spoils of Cowards to the Gods, and unworthy a *Lacedæmonian* to be enrich'd by them (b)"; But this seems only a Pretence, since there are several Instances of their dedicating Part of their Booty to the Gods; the true Reason perhaps may be collected from the Constitution of their State, whereby an Equality was maintain'd amongst them, and nothing more severely prohibited, or more repugnant to the very Foundation of their Government, than to acquire or possess large Estates: Wherefore to prevent their Soldiers from seizing upon the Spoils, they had always three hundred Men appointed to observe their Actions, and to put the Law in Execution against Delinquents (c).

The whole Booty was brought to the General, who had the first Choice, divided the Remainder amongst such as had signaliz'd themselves according to their Quality and Merits, and allotted the rest equal Portions: Thus in the *Trojan War*, when the captive Ladies were to be chosen, *Agamemnon* in the first place took *Astynome*, *Chryses's* Daughter, next *Achilles* had *Hippodamia* Daughter to *Brisis*, then *Ajax* chose *Tecmessa*, and so on (d); whence *Achilles* complains of *Agamemnon*, that he had always the best part of the Booty; himself, who sustain'd the Burden of the War, being content with a small Pittance (e);

Οὐ μὲν σοὶ ποτε ἴσον ἔχω γέρας, ὅππότε Ἀχαιοὶ
 Τρώων ἐκπέρσωσ' ἐνὶ αἰόλῳ πολίεθρον.
 Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πλεον πολυδάκν' πολέμοιο
 Χεῖρες ἐμαὶ διέπυσ'. ἀτὰρ ἦν ποτε δασμὸς ἱκνῆ,
 Σοὶ τὸ γέρας πολὺ μᾶλλον, ἐγὼ δ' ὀλίγον τε, φίλον τε
 Ἐρχομ' ἔχων ἐπὶ νῆας, ἐπὶ κελάμῳ πολεμίζων.
 Yet when the Greeks some Trojan Town invade,
 And Distribution of the Spoils is made,

(a) *Ælianus* Lib. VI. cap. VI. (b) *Plutarchus* Apophthegm. Laconicis. (c) *Euripidus* *Iliad*, 2. v. 66. (d) *Isaac. Tzetzes* in *Lycophronis Cassandra*, v. 299. (e) *Iliad*, d. v. 163.

108 *Of the Military Affairs of Greece.*

How small a Part, compar'd to thine, I bear,
I who have born the Burden of the War!
Nor do you envy me in this the largest Share.
But when the so much wish'd-for Time arrives,
That to each Greek th' allotted Portion gives,
Laden with Spoils you haste into your Tent,
Whilst I with fighting quite fatigu'd and spent,
Come to the Navy with a grateful Heart
For that small Pittance they to me impart.

H. H.

And whenever any Booty of extraordinary Value was taken, we find the Soldiers reserving it for a Present to their General, or the Commander of their Party: Instances of this Sort are frequent, as in other Writers, so especially in *Homer*; *Ulysses's* Company always honour'd him with the best and choicest Part of what they took. *Herodotus* (a) reports, that after the Victory over *Mardonius*, *Xerxes's* Lieutenant, *Pausanias* the *Spartan*, being at that Time General of all the *Grecian* Forces, was presented with a great Booty of Women, Money, Horses, Camels, &c. over and above what was given to any other: This Practice indeed was so universal, that to be a Commander, and to have the first Share of the Booty, are us'd by the Poets as equivalent Expressions: whence *Lycophron* (b),

Πολλὰς δ' αἰετῆς, πρωτόλαιά δ' Ἑλλάδ' ὄ
Αἰχμῇ φέροντας, καὶ ποταῖς ὠκυμαδύς
Αἰ σὺν καταξανέσιν ὀμβραίοι χέρες.

Thy Hands shall mighty Potentates subdue,
And brave Commanders that the Prize first share,
Chiefs too, that so much boast their Pedigree.

But before the Spoils were distributed, they look'd on themselves oblig'd to make an Offering out of them to the Gods, to whose Assistance they were indebted for them all; those separated to this Use were term'd ἀκροθίνια. either γ. ἀκροθίνια, παρὰ τὴν τίνεσθ' ἐν μάχῃ πολλὰς, because the War, wherein they were collected, had destroy'd many (c); or, ἀπὸ τοῦ θινός, because after Sea-Engagements they were expos'd upon the Shoar (d); or rather, from their being taken ἀπὸ ἀκρῆς τοῦ θινός, from the Top of the Heap; because all the Spoils being collected into one Heap, the First-fruits were offer'd to the Gods (e): In Allusion to which Custom, *Megara* in *Euripides*, telling what Choice of Wives she had made for her Sons out of *Athens*, *Sparta* and *Thebes*, thus expresseth it,

Εγὼ δὲ νύμφας ἡκροθίνιαζόμεναι.

(a) Calliops. (b) *Cassandra* v. 292. (c) *Eusebius*; *Odyss.* δ'. (d) *Bulengerus* Lib. de S. poliis. (e) *Sophocles* *Scholia* *Trachin.*

The

Of the Military Affairs of Greece. 109

The Gods, to whom this Honour was paid, were not only those whom they look'd on as having a peculiar Concern in all Affairs of War, such as *Mars*, *Minerva*, &c. but several others, as *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and any to whom they thought themselves oblig'd for Success, those especially that were Protectors of their City, or Country, &c.

They had several Methods of consecrating Spoils: Sometimes they collected them into an Heap, and consum'd them with Fire; sometimes they made Presents, which were dedicated and hung up in Temples: So *Pausanias* the *Spartan* is reported to have consecrated out of the *Persian* Spoils a *Tripod* to *Delphian Apollo*, and a Statue of Brass seven Cubits long to *Olympian Jupiter* (a).

It was very frequent to dedicate their Enemy's Armour, and hang it in Temples; but the *Lacedaemonians* were forbidden this Custom; which perhaps may be the meaning of *Cleomenes's* foremention'd Reply; for that they were allow'd to offer their other Spoils appears as from that of *Pausanias*, so from several other Instances. This Custom was very ancient (b), and universally receiv'd, nor in Greece alone, but most other Countries: Hence *Hector* promises to dedicate his Enemy's Armour in *Apollo's* Temple, if he would vouchsafe him Victory (c);

Εἰ δὲ κ' ἐγὼ τ' ἔλω, δῶν δέ μοι εὖ χ' Ἀπόλλων,
Τάκεα συλήσας, οἶσω ποτὶ Ἴλιον ἱρὴν,
Καὶ κρεμῶω ποτὶ νηὸν Ἀπόλλωνος ἐκάτοιο.

If kinder *Phœbus* my Proceedings blefs,
And crown my bold Attempt with good Success,
Make *Hector* conquer, whilst his Foe shall bleed,
And give me th' Honour of so brave a Deed,
When I've despoil'd my Foe, his Arms I'll bring,
And there devote them in his Temple. ——— H. H.

Virgil alludes to this Custom in his Description of the Temple, where *Latinus* gave Audience to *Æneas's* Ambassadors (d);

*Multaque praterea sacris in postibus arma,
Captivi pendent currus, curvaque secures,
Et crista capitum, & portarum ingentia claustra,
Spiculaque, clypeique, ereptaque rostra carinis.*

Axes, and Arms did sacred Posts adorn,
And Chariots from the conquer'd Nations born,
Crests too, and massy Bars of Gates, and Spears,
And Beaks of Ships, and Bucklers. ———

(a) *Herodotus* Lib. IX. (b) *Eusebius Iliad*, 4. v. 81. (c) *Iliad*, loc. cit.
(d) *Æneid*, VII. v. 183.

110 *Of the Military Affairs of Greece.*

Many other Instances to the same Purpose occur in Authors. This Custom seems to have been deriv'd into Greece from the Eastern Nations, where, no doubt, it was practis'd; what else can be the meaning of *Goliath's* Sword being reposit'd in the *Jewish* Place of Worship (a);

Nor was it customary only to dedicate to the Gods Weapons taken from Enemies, but their own likewise, when they retir'd from the Noise of War to a private Life; which seems to have been done, as a grateful Acknowledgment to the Gods, by whose Protection they had been deliver'd from Dangers. *Horace* alludes to this Custom (b);

————— *Vejanius, armis*

Herculis ad postem fixis, latet abditus agro.

Vejanius now consults his private Ease,
Desists from War, and seeks retir'd Peace,
Having hung up his Arms to *Hercules*.

Ovid also speaks to the same Purpose (c);

Miles ut emeritis non est satis utilis annis,

Ponit ad antiquos, quæ tulit, arma Lares.

The batter'd Soldier harrass'd out with Age,
Not able longer in the War t' engage,
Devotes the Arms which formerly he bore,
To's Household-Gods for their assisting Pow'r.

But lest these Arms should furnish Male-contents in sudden Tumults and Insurrections, they seem to have been usually some Way or other render'd unfit for present Service: The Bucklers, for instance, were hung up without Handles; whence a Person in one of the Poets seeing them otherwise, cries out in a Fright,

Οἱ μοι τάλας, ἔχουσι γὰρ πόρπανας.

Unhappy Wretch! the Bucklers Handles have.

The Reason may be collected from the fore-going Verses, where another saith,

Οὐ γὰρ ἐχρῆν, εἴπερ φιλεῖς τὸ δῆμον, ἐν προνοίᾳς
ταύτας εἶν' αὐτοῖς πόρπαξιν ἀναβιβῆναι.

If you sincerely wish the publick Good,
You shou'd not suffer any to devote
Bucklers with Handles. —————

(a) 1 Sam. XXI. 9. (b) Lib. I. Epist. I. v. 4. (c) *Trist.* Lib. IV.

Of the Military Affairs of Greece. III

As a farther Expression of their Gratitude to the Gods, it was customary to offer solemn Sacrifices, and return public Thanks to them. Here it may be observ'd, that the *Lacedæmonians* for their greatest Successes by Force of Arms offer'd no more than a Cock to the God of War, but when they obtain'd a Victory by Stratagem, and without Blood, they sacrific'd an Ox (a); whereby they gave their Generals to understand, that Policy as well as Valour was requir'd in a compleat Warrior, and that those Victories were to be prefer'd, whereby they suffer'd the least Damage; excelling herein the *Roman* Constitution, which rewarded with greater Honours the Victors in open Field, than those who gain'd a Conquest by Policy, which was esteem'd less noble and becoming *Romans*; wherefore those were permitted to enter the City in *Triumph*, but the latter were only honour'd with an *Ovation* (b). It may not be improper in this Place to add, that the *Grecians* had a Custom which resembled the *Roman* Triumph, for the Conquerors us'd to make a Procession thro' the middle of their City, crown'd with Garlands, repeating Hymns and Songs, and brandishing their Spears; the Captives were also led by them, and all their Spoils expos'd to publick View, to do which they call'd *θεατρίζειν* (c).

Trophies were call'd by the ancient *Athenians* *τροπαῖα*, by succeeding Ages *τρόπαια* (d): They were dedicated to some of the Gods, especially *Jupiter* firnam'd *Τρόπαιος*, and *Τροπαῖος* (e), and *Juno*, who shar'd in her Husband's Title, being call'd *Τροπαῖα* (f); whence *Lycophron* (g),

——— Τροπαίας μασὸν εὐθνηλον θεᾶς.

The manner of adorning Trophies, was hanging up all Sorts of Arms taken from the Enemy, according to *Euripides* (h);

——— Τρόπαια ἰδρύει
Πανδύχϊαν ἔχοντα τ' πολέμιων.

All Sorts of Arms, that from the Foe he took,
He hung about the Trophy which he rais'd.

Hence also *Juvenal* (i) speaking of the *Roman* Triumphal Arches,

Bellorum exuvie, truncis affixa tropais
Lorica, & fracta de casside buccula pendens,
Et curtum temone jugum, victaque triremis
Aplustre. ———

(a) *Plutarchus Institut. Laconic.* (b) *Idem Marcello.* (c) *Phavorinus.* (d) *Aristophanis Scholiastes Pluto.* (e) *Pausanias Laconicis, Plutarchus Parallelis. Phur-
nus.* (f) *Phavorinus.* (g) *Cassandra, v. 1328.* (h) *Heraclid. v. 786.* (i) *Satir.
X. v. 133.*

112 *Of the Military Affairs of Greece.*

The Spoils of War brought to *Feretrian Jove*,
 An empty Coat of Armour hung above
 The Conqu'ror's Chariot, and in Triumph born
 A Streamer from a boarded Gally torn,
 A chap-fall'n Beaver loofely hanging by
 The cloven Helm. —————

Mr. Dryden.

To these they usually added the Names of the God they were dedicated to, of the Conquerors also, and of those overcome by them, with an Account of all the Spoils, and other remarkable Occurrences in the War; this Inscription was call'd ἐμύλαιον, or ἐπιγέγραμμα; and was frequently engrav'd, whence *Lucian* saith ἐπὶ τοῦ τροπαίου ἐσκόδατο; sometimes written with Ink, whence *Othryades*, the *Lacedaemonian*, just surviving his Victory over the *Argians*, caus'd a Trophy to be erected, upon which, being supported by his Spear, he inscrib'd with his own Blood, instead of Ink, Δὴ Τροπαίῳ (a).

The Spoils were hung upon the Trunk of a Tree; the Olive was frequently put to this Use, being the Emblem of Peace, which is one of the Consequents of Victory: Several other Trees also had the same Honour, especially the Oak, as being consecrated to *Jupiter*, who had a peculiar Right to these Respects; there is frequent mention of this in the Poets: *Sidonius* (b)

————— *quercusque tropais*
Curva gemit —————

The bended Oak beneath the Trophies groans.

Statius describes the same Custom (c);

Quercus erat tenera jamdudum oblita juventa,
Huic leves galeas, perfossaque vulnere crebro
Inserit arma. —————

There stood an ancient Oak, whose sprightly Juice
 Decay'd by Age cou'd not like Life infuse
 Thro' ev'ry Part, on this bright Helmets hung,
 And batter'd Arms. —————

Virgil also concurs herein with them in several Places, and adds farther, that *Aeneas's* Trophy was upon a Hill; whence it may seem probable, that it was customary to set them upon eminent Places, to render them more conspicuous: His Words are these (d);

(a) *Plutarchus Parallelis*, *Stobaeus* Tit. De Fortuna. (b) *Panegyric*. (c) *Thebaid*.
 (d) *Aeneid*. XI. v. 4.

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Vota Deum primo victor solvebat Eo;
Ingentem quercum, decisis undique ramis,
Constituit tumulo, fulgentiaque induit arma,
Mezenti ducis exuvias, tibi, magne, trophaum,
Bellipotens; aptat rorantes sanguine cristas,
Telaque trunca viri, & his sex thoraca petiitum
Perfessumque locis, clypeumque ex are sinistra.
Subligat, atque ense collo suspendit æburnum.

Soon as the Morn her weaker Beams display'd,
 His Vows to Heaven the pious Victor pay'd:
 A stately Oak, whose Branches all around
 Were first lopt off, he plac'd on rising Ground,
 With glitt'ring Arms the hallow'd Trunk he grac'd,
 The Spoils of King Mezentius deceas'd:

Which Trophy, mighty *Arbiter* of War,
 The grateful Prince did to thy Honour rear,
 He hung his nodding Plume besmear'd with Blood,

And broken Spears upon the leafless Wood;
 Then round the Stock his much pierc'd Corset bound,
 The sad Remembrance of each ghastly Wound,

And on the left Side fix'd the brazen Shield,
 With which *Mezentius* lost the fatal Field,

Then round his Neck the Leathern Belt he cast,
 And in't his Iv'ry-hilted Sword he plac'd.

H. H.

In the same Manner *Pompey* having subdu'd the Spaniards, erected a Trophy upon the Top of the *Pyrenean* Mountains.

Instead of Trees, succeeding Ages erected Pillars of Stone, or Brass, to continue the Memory of their Victories; to raise these they term'd *στήλαι τριούχων*, which Expression was likewise apply'd to the Erection of Trees; for if the Place they pitch'd upon was void of Trees fit for their Purpose, it was usual to supply that Defect by fixing one there, as appears from the fore-mention'd Passage of *Virgil*.

To demolish a Trophy was look'd on as unlawful, and a kind of Sacrilege, because they were all consecrated to some Deity: Nor was it less a Crime to pay Divine Adoration before them, or to repair them when decay'd, as may be likewise observ'd of the *Roman Triumphal Arches*: This being a Means to revive the Memory of forgotten Quarrels, and engage Posterity to revenge the Disgrace of their Ancestors: For the same Reason those *Grecians* who first introduc'd the Custom of erecting Pillars for Trophies, incur'd a severe Censure from the Ages they liv'd in (a).

(a) *Plutarchus Romanis Quæstionibus.*

114 Of the Military Affairs of Greece.

The Macedonians never erected Trophies, oblig'd hereto by a Prescription, observ'd from the Reign of Caranus, one of whose Trophies was demolish'd by Wolves (a); which was the Reason that Alexander the Great; however vain-glorious in other Instances, never rais'd a Trophy: As for those erected by the Macedonians of succeeding Ages in their Wars with the Romans, they were inconsistent with the ancient Custom of their Country. In some Ages after this, they seem to have been wholly laid aside.

Yet they were not still wanting to raise Monuments to preserve the Memory of their Victories, and to testify their Gratitude to the Gods; some of which are likewise mention'd in Authors before the Disuse of Trophies. Sometimes Statues were erected to the Gods, especially to Jupiter, as appears from that which Pausanias dedicated out of the Persian Spoils (b), and several others: there is frequent mention of this Custom in Euripides, (c),

Δίδς Τρόπαιον ἰσάων Βέρας.

Again,

Τρόπαιον Ζυλὸς ὀρθῶσαι Βέρας.

Several other Instances may be produc'd: Sometimes the same God was honour'd with a Temple on such Accounts, as appears from the Story of the Dorians, who having overcome the Abians, rais'd a Temple to Jupiter Τρόπαιον (d).

Sometimes they erected Towers, which they adorn'd with the Spoils of their Enemies; which was likewise a Roman Custom, and practis'd by Fabius Maximus, and Domitius Ahenobarbus after the Victory over the Allobroges (e).

It was also customary to raise Altars to the Gods; an Instance whereof we have in Alexander, who, returning from his Indian Expedition, erected Altars in Height scarce inferior to the most lofty Towers, and in Breadth exceeding them (f).

C H A P. XIII.

Of their Military Punishments, and Rewards, with their Manner of conveying Intelligence.

THE Grecians had no constant Method of correcting their Soldiers, but left that to the Discretion of their Commanders; only in some few Cases the Laws made Provision.

Ἀυτομόλοι, Runagates, suffer'd Death.

Ἀσπείτευτοι, such as refus'd to serve in the Wars, and such as quitted their Ranks, by one of Charondas's Laws, were oblig'd to sit three

(a) Pausanias p. 375. (b) Herodotus Lib. IX. (c) Phaniff. (d) Pausanias Laconic. (e) Lucius Florus Lib. III. cap. II. (f) Arrianus Exped. Alexand. Lib. V.

Days in the publick *Forum* in Women's Apparel (a). At *Athens* ἀπερ-
 αμένοι, such as refus'd to serve in the Wars; λειποτάκτα, they who
 deserted their Ranks; and δειλοί, Cowards, were neither permitted
 to wear Garlands, nor to enter the ἱερὰ δημοτελῆ, publick Temples:
 And were farther oblig'd by the *Undecemviri* to appear in the Court
 call'd *Helica*, where a Fine, or other Punishment was inflicted accord-
 ing to their Demerit. If a Fine was inflicted, the Criminal was kept
 in Bonds 'till he made Payment (b). To these are to be reckon'd
 ἀσπίδες, they who lost their Bucklers, which was accounted a
 Token of extreme Cowardice. Hence a Law came to be enacted,
 That whoever should object this Crime to any Person undeservedly,
 should be fin'd (c). But of all others the *Lacedaemonians* inflicted the
 heaviest Punishments on all such Offenders; for their Laws oblig'd them
 either to conquer, or to die upon the Place; and such as quitted their
 Bucklers, laid under as great Disgrace, as if they had forsaken their
 Ranks. Runagates were not only depriv'd of all Honours, but it was
 likewise a Disgrace to intermarry with them; whoever met them in
 the Streets, had Liberty to beat them, nor was it permitted them to
 resist in their own Defence; and to make them more remarkable, when-
 ever they went abroad, they were oblig'd to wear a nasty Habit, their
 Gowns were patch'd with divers Colours, and their Beards half shav'd,
 half unshav'd (d). Their Scandal was likewise extended to their whole
 Family, and therefore their Mothers frequently aton'd for their Crime,
 by stabbing them at their first meeting; which was a common Practice,
 and frequently alluded to in the *Greek* Epigrams, in one of which a
Spartan Matron having run her Son thro', thus insults over him,

Ἐρρε, κακὸν φῦτάμα, διὰ σκότος, ἔ' διὰ μῖσος

Εὐρώτας δειλαῖς μὴδ' ἐλάφοισι ῥέει

Αχρεῖον σκυλάκμα, κακὴ μεεῖς, ἔρρε ποδ' ἄδαν,

Ἐρρε, τὸ μὴ Σπάρτας ἄξιον, ἔδ' ἔτεκόν.

Be gone, degenerate Offspring, quit this Light,

Eurotas is concern'd at thy loath'd Sight,

For see he stops his Course, asham'd to glide

By that polluted Coast where you abide;

Hence then, unprofitable Wretch, speed to the Dead,

And hide in Hell thy ignominious Head;

Base dastard Soul, unworthy to appear

On *Spartan* Ground; I never did thee bear.

H. H.

Several others may be produc'd to the same Purpose; and where the
 same Fate befel those that lost their Bucklers. Now the Reason being
 demanded of *Demaratus*, why they punish'd so severely those who

(a) *Diodorus Siculus*. (b) *Aeschines* in *Ctesiphontem*, *Demosthenes* in *Timocratem*.

(c) *Lysias* *Orat. d. in Theomnestum*. (d) *Plutarchus* *Agésilao*.

116 *Of the Military Affairs of Greece.*

quitted their Bucklers; when the Loss of their Helmet, or Coat of Mail, was not look'd on to be so scandalous, he reply'd, *That they were only design'd for the Defence of single Persons, whereas Bucklers were serviceable to the whole Battalia.* Archilochus the Poet was punish'd from Sparta for publishing the following Epigram, where he glories in the Loss of his Buckler (a)

Απίδι μὲ Σαίων τις ἀγάλλεται, ὡς περὶ δάμνη,
 Ἐντὸς ἀμώμητον κάλλιπον ἐκ ἐθέλων,
 ————— ἀπὶς ἐκείνη
 Ἐρρέτω· Ἰθαῦθις κήσομαι ἔκαστω.

To pawn their Arms was also accounted a Crime, and seems to have been forbidden by a Law at Athens, as the Greek Scholiast hath observ'd in his Explication of the following Passage of Aristophanes (b):

Ποίαν γὰρ ἔδωκεν, ποίαν ἀπίδα,
 Οὐκ ἐνέχυρον τίθησιν ἢ μισρωτάτη.

Where the Poet describes the Misfortunes to which Men are expos'd by Poverty. Among the Romans, any Soldier who pawn'd his Shoulder-piece, or any other of the less considerable Parts of his Armour, was corrected with Stripes: But such as pawn'd their Helmet, Buckler, Coat of Mail, or Sword, were punish'd as Deserters (c).

Beside the Rewards of Valour already mention'd in the foregoing Chapters, there were several others: The private Soldiers were put into Office, and the subordinate Officers were honour'd with greater Commands. It was likewise customary for the General to reward those that signaliz'd themselves with large Presents; whence Telamon, being the first that gain'd the Top of Troy's Walls, when it was besieg'd by Hercules, had the Honour to have Hesione the King's Daughter for his Captive: Theseus was presented by the same Hero with Antiope the Amazonian Queen, for his Service in the Expedition against the Amazons. The Poets frequently introduce Commanders encouraging their Soldiers with Promises of this Nature: Thus Agamemnon animates Teucer to behave himself courageously, by assuring him of a considerable Reward, when the City should be taken (d);

Πρώτῳ τοῖς μετ' ἐμὲ πρεσβήϊον ἐν χειρὶ θήσω,
 Ἡ τρίποδ', ἢ δὲ δύο ἵππους αὐτοῖσιν ὀχεσθιν,
 Ἡ γὰρ ῥάχ', ἢ κέν τοι ὁμὸν λέχῃ εἰσαναβαίνοι.

Next after mine, yours is the best Reward,
 A Tripod, or a Chariot stands prepar'd

(a) Strabo Geograph. Lib. XII. Plutarchus Institut. Lacon. p. 239. Edit. Paris.
 (b) Plut. Aet. II. Scen. IV. (c) Paulus libro singulari de Poenis Militum.
 (d) Iliad. 6. v. 289.

Of the Military Affairs of Greece. 117

For your Acceptance; else some captive Maid
Shall, big with Charms, ascend your joyous Bed. H. H.

Ascanius in *Virgil* makes no less Promises to *Nisus* (a);

*Bina dabo argento perfecta, atque aspera signis
Pocula, devicta Genitor qua cepit Arisba,*

Et tripodas geminos, auri duo magna talenta;

Cratera antiquum, quem dat Sidonia Dido:

Si vero capere Italiam, sceptrisque potiri

Contigerit victori, & præda ducere sortem;

Vidisti quo Turnus equo, quibus ibat in armis

Aureus, ipsum illum clypeum, cristasque rubentes

Excipiam sorti, jam nunc tua premia, Nise:

Præterea bis sex genitor lectissima matrum

Corpora, captivosque dabit, suaque omnibus arma

Insuper id campi quod rex habet ipse Latinus.

Your common Gift shall two large Goblets be

Of Silver wrought with curious Imagery,

And high emboss'd, which, when old *Priam* reign'd,

My conqu'ring Sire at sack'd *Arisba* gain'd;

And more, two Tripods cast in Antick Mold,

With two great Talents of the finest Gold;

Beside, a costly Bowl engrav'd with Art,

Which *Dido* gave, when first she gave her Heart:

But if in conquer'd *Italy* we reign,

When Spoils by Lot the Victor shall obtain,

Thou saw'st the Courser by proud *Turnus* prest;

That, *Nisus*, and his Arms, and nodding Crest,

And Shield from chance exempt shall be thy Share;

Twelve lab'ring Slaves, twelve Hand-maids young and fair,

All clad with rich Attire, and train'd with Care,

At last, a *Latian* Field with fruitful Plains,

And a large Portion of the King's Domains. Mr. Dryden.

Several other Promises they encourag'd them with, according to every
man's Temper or Condition: Wherefore *Ascanius* thus proceeds to
Aryalus, *Nisus*'s Companion in Danger;

Te vero, mea quem spatii propioribus ætas

Insequitur, venerande puer, jam pectore toto

Accipio, & comitem casus complector in omnes;

Nulla meis sine te queretur gloria rebus,

118 Of the Military Affairs of Greece.

*Seu pacem, seu bella geram, tibi maxima rerum,
Verborumque fides.*

But thou, whose Years are more to mine ally'd,
No Fate my vow'd Affection shall divide
From thee, Heroick Youth; be wholly mine,
Take full Possession, all my Soul is thine;
One Faith, one Fame, one Fate shall both attend,
My Life's Companion, and my Bosom Friend,
My Peace shall be committed to thy Care,
And to thy Conduct my Concerns in War.

Mr. Dryden.

Sometimes Crowns were presented, and inscrib'd with the Person's Name and Actions that had merited them, as appears from the Inscription upon the Crown presented by the Athenians to Conon, Κόνων ἀπὸ τῆς ναυμαχίας τῆς πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους.

Others were honour'd with Leave to raise Pillars, or erect Statues to the Gods, with Inscriptions declaring their Victories; which Plutarch supposeth to have been a Grant rarely yielded to the greatest Commanders: Cimon indeed was favour'd therewith, but Miltiades and Themistocles could never obtain the like; nay, when Miltiades only desir'd a Crown of Olive, one Sochares stood up in the midst of the Assembly, and reply'd, when thou shalt conquer alone, Miltiades, thou shalt triumph so too; which Words were so agreeable to the Populace, that his Suit was rejected. The Reason why Cimon was more respected than the rest, our Author (a) thinks, was because under other Commanders they stood upon the Defensive; but by his Conduct they not only repuls'd their Enemies, but invaded them in their own Country. But perhaps a more true and real Account may be taken from the Change of Times, for the primitive Ages seem not to have been so liberal in the Distribution of Rewards as those that succeeded; for later Generations degenerating from their Ancestors, and producing fewer Instances of Magnanimity and true Valour, the Way to Honour became easier, and Men of common Performances without Difficulty obtain'd Rewards, which before were only paid to Persons of the first Rank for Virtue, and Courage (b).

Another Honour conferr'd at Athens upon the Valiant, was to have their Arms plac'd in the Citadel, and to be call'd Cecropida, Citizens of the true old Blood; to which Custom the Poet alludes,

Οὐ καλλινίκης Κεκροπίδας ἔδνηκ' ἐγώ.

Some were presented with a πανοπλία, or compleat Suit of Armour; as we find of Alcibiades, when he was very young, and return'd from the Expedition against Potidea (c).

(a) Plutarchus Cimone. (b) Aeschines in Ctesiphontem. (c) Plutarchus Alcibiade.

Others

Of the Military Affairs of Greece. 119

Others were complimented with Songs of Triumph, the first of which were compos'd in Honour of *Lyfander* the Spartan General (a).

They who lost any of their Limbs in the War, whom they call'd ἀδυνάτοι, were maintain'd at the publick Expence, provided they had not an Estate of three Attick Pounds yearly. On which Account they were examin'd by the Senate of Five Hundred. Their Allowance was an Obolus by the Day. Some affirm they had two Oboli every Day. Others relate, that they receiv'd nine Drachmae, that is Fifty-four Oboli, every Month. And it is probable, that their Maintenance was rais'd or diminish'd according to the Exigency of Affairs, as hath been elfewhere observ'd concerning the Military Stipend. This Custom of maintaining disabled Soldiers was introduced by *Solon*, who is said to have given an Allowance to one *Thersippus*: Afterwards it was establish'd by a Law during the Tyranny of *Pisistratus* (b).

Many other Honours were paid to such as deserv'd well of their Country; but I shall only mention one more, which consisted in the Care of the Children of such as valiantly sacrific'd their Lives for the Glory and Preservation of the Athenian Common-wealth (c): They were carefully educated at the publick Charge, 'till they came to Maturity, and then presented with a compleat Suit of Armour, and brought forth before the People, one of the publick Ministers proclaiming before them; "That hitherto in Remembrance of their Fathers Merits the Common-wealth had educated these young Men, but now dismiss'd them so arm'd, to go forth and thank their Country by imitating their Fathers Examples". For their farther Encouragement they had the Honour of ἀποδεία, or having the first Seats at Shews, and all publick Meetings.

The Laws of *Solon* made a farther Provision for the Parents of those that died in the Wars, it being extremely reasonable that they should be maintain'd at the publick Expence, who had lost their Children, the Comfort and Support of their declining Age, in the Service of the Publick (d).

It may not be improper to add something concerning their Way of sending Intelligence: This was done several Ways, and by several Sorts of Messengers; such were their ἡμεροδρόμοι, who were lightly arm'd with Darts, Hand-granadoes, or Bows and Arrows (e); one of these was *Phidippides*, famous in the Story of *Miltiades*, for his Vision of *Pan* (f).

But the Contrivance of all others the most celebrated for close Conveyance of Intelligence, was the Lacedaemonian σκυτάλη, which was a white Roll of Parchment wrap'd about a black Stick: it was about four Cubits in length (g), and so call'd from σκύτης, i.e. Skin. The Manner and Use of it was thus; when the Magistrates gave Commis-

(a) *Plutarchus Lyfandro*. (b) *Plutarchus Solone*, *Lyfias περὶ ἀδυνάτου*, *Hesychius*, *Harpocration*, *Suidas* v. *Ἀδυνάτοι*. (c) *Aeschines in Cresiphontem*. (d) *Plato Menexenus*, *Diogenes Laertius Solone*. (e) *Suidas*. (f) *Cornelius Nepos Miltiades*. (g) *Pindari Scholiastes Olymp. Od. VI*.

sion to any General or Admiral, they took two round Pieces of Wood exactly equal to one another; one of these they kept, the other was deliver'd to the Commander, to whom when they had any thing of Moment to communicate, they cut a long narrow Scrowl of Parchment, and rowling it about their own Staff, one Fold close upon another, they wrote their Business upon it; then taking it off, dispatch'd it away to the Commander, who applying it to his own Staff, the Folds exactly fell in one with another, as at the Writing, and the Characters, which, before 'twas wrap'd up, were confusely disjoyn'd, and unintelligible, appear'd very plain (a).

C H A P. XIV.

Of the Invention, and different Sorts of Ships.

MOST of those useful Arts, and admirable Inventions, which are the very Support of Mankind, and supply them with all the Necessaries and Conveniencies of Life, have at first been the Productions of some lucky Chance, or from slight and contemptible Beginnings, have been by long Experience, curious Observations, and various Improvements matur'd, and brought to Perfection: Instances of this Kind are every where frequent and obvious, but none can be produc'd more remarkable than in the Art of Navigation, which, though now arriv'd to a Pitch of Perfection beyond most other Arts, by those successful Additions it has receiv'd from almost every Age of the World, was in the Beginning so mean and imperfect, that the Pleasure or Advantage of those who first apply'd themselves to it, was very small and inconsiderable.

Those who adventur'd to commit themselves to the liquid Element, made their first Essays in shallow Waters, and trusted not themselves at any considerable Distance from the Shoar; but being embolden'd by frequent Tryals, proceeded farther by degrees, 'till at length they took Courage, and launch'd forth into the main Ocean: To this Purpose *Claudian* (b);

*Inventa secuit primus qui nave profundum,
Et rudibus remis sollicitavit aquas,
Tranquillis primum trepidus se credidit undis,
Littora securo tramite summa legens;
Mox longos tentare sinus, & linquere terras,
Et leni cœpit pandere vela Noto:
Ast ubi paulatim præceps audacia crevit,
Cordaque languentem dedidicere metum,*

(a) *Plutarchus* *Lyfandro*, *Aristophanis Scholiastes* in *Avibus*, *A. Gellius*, &c.

(b) *Præfat. in Rap. Proserpina.*

Of the Military Affairs of Greece. 121

*Jam vagus irrupit pelago, cœlumque secutas;
 Ægeas hyemes, Ioniasque domat.*

Whoever first with Vessels cleav'd the Deep,
 And did with uncouth Oars the Water sweep,
 His first Attempt on gentle Streams he made,
 And near the Shoar affrighted always staid;
 He launch'd out farther next, and left the Land,
 And then erected Sails began to stand,
 'Till by Degrees, when Man undaunted grew,
 Forgetting all those Fears before he knew,
 He rush'd into the Main, and harmless bore,
 Guided by Stars, the Storms that loudly roar
 In the Ægean and Ionian Seas. —————

E. D.

To whom the World is oblig'd for the Invention of Ships, is, like all Things of such Antiquity, uncertain: There are divers Persons, who seem to make equal Pretensions to this Honour; such are *Prometheus*, *Neptune*, *Janus*, *Atlas*, *Hercules*, *Jason*, *Danaus*, *Erytheus*, &c. but by common Fame it is given to *Minerva*, the happy Mother of all Arts and Sciences: Some, who leaving these antiquated Fables of the Poets, pretend to something more of Certainty in what they deliver, ascribe it to the Inhabitants of some of those Places that lie upon the Sea-coasts, and are by Nature design'd, as it were, for harbouring Ships, such as the *Æginetians*, *Phœnicians* (a), &c. The Reason of this Disagreement seems to have proceeded partly from the different Places where Navigation was first practis'd, (for it was never peculiar to any one People, and from them communicated to the rest of the World, but found out in Countries far distant from one another) and in part from the various Sorts of Ships, some of which being first built by the Persons above-mention'd, have entitl'd them to the whole Invention.

The first Ships were built without Art or Contrivance, and had neither Strength nor Durableness, Beauty nor Ornament; but consisted only of Planks laid together, and just so compacted as to keep out the Water (b): In some places they were nothing else but Hulks of Trees made hollow, which were call'd *παλῖν μόν' ξύλα*, as consisting only of one Piece of Timber; of these we find mention in *Virgil* (c),

*Tunc alnos fluvii primum sensere cavatas,
 Navita tum sellis numeros, & nomina fecit.*

Then hollow Alders first on Rivers swam,
 Then to the Stars both Names and Numbers came,
 Impos'd by Mariners. —————

(a) *Plin. Lib. V. c. XI. Strabo lib. XVI. Mela lib. I. c. XII. (b) Maximus Tyr. Dissert. XL. Isidorus. (c) Georg. lib. I. v. 136.*

122 *Of the Military Affairs of Greece.*

In later Ages also they were made use of at some Places, being the same with those call'd *oudon*, in the strict and most proper Acceptation of that Word (a), from *ouda* *Sea*, as made by hollowing, and, as it were, digging in a Tree. Nor was Wood alone apply'd to this Use, but any other Materials that float upon the Water without sinking, such as the Egyptian Reed *Papyrus*, or (to mention no more) Leather, of which the primitive Ships were frequently compos'd, and call'd *παλῶα δισδρεῖνα*, or *δισδρεῖνα*; these were sometimes begirt with Wickers, and frequently us'd in that manner upon the Rivers of *Ethiopia*, *Aegypt*, and *Sabaan Arabia*, even in later Times; but in the first of them we find no mention of any Thing but Leather, or Hides sew'd together: In a Ship of this sort *Dardanus* secur'd his Flight to the Country afterwards call'd *Troas*, when by a terrible Deluge he was forc'd to leave *Samothrace*, his former Place of Residence (b). *Charon's Infernal Boat* was of the same Composition, according to *Virgil* (c),

————— *Gemuit sub pondere cymba*

Sutilis, & multam accepit rimosa paludem.

Under the Weight the Boat of Leather groan'd,

And leaky grown, th' impetuous Water found

An easy Passage thro'. —————

When Ships were brought to a little more Perfection, and encreas'd in Bigness, the sight of them struck the ignorant People with Terror and Amazement; for it was no small Surprize to behold great floating Castles of unusual Forms, full of living Men, and with Wings, (as it were) expanded flying upon the Sea (d); What else could have given Occasion to the Fiction of *Perseus's* Flight to the *Gorgons*, who, as *Aristophanes* (e) expressly tells us, was carry'd in a Ship;

Περσῶς περὶ Ἀργῷ ναυτολῶν τὸ Γοργόνῳ ὠδρακομίζων.

What other Original could there be for the famous Story of *Triptolemus*, who was feign'd to ride upon a wing'd Dragon, only because in a Time of Dearth at *Athens*, he sail'd to more fruitful Countries to supply the Necessities of his People; or to the Fable of the wing'd Horse *Pegasus*, who, as several *Mythologists* (f) report, was nothing but a Ship of that Name with Sails, and for that Reason feign'd to be the Offspring of *Neptune* the Emperor of the Sea (g)? Nor was there any other Ground for the Stories of Gryffons, or of Ships transform'd into Birds and Fishes, which we frequently meet with in the ancient Poets.

(a) *Polyannus* Lib. V. (b) *Lycophronis Cassandra*. eiusque *Scholias* v. 75. (c) *Aeneid*. VI. 414. (d) *Apollonius*, eiusque *Scholias*. (e) *Thestophor*. (f) *Palapharnus*, *Artemidorus*. (g) *Vossius* *Idol*, Lib. III. cap. XLIX.

Of the Military Affairs of Greece. 123

So acceptable to the first Ages of the World were Inventions of this Nature, that whoever made any Improvements in the Art of Navigation, built new Ships of Forms better fitted for Strength or Swiftneſs than thoſe before us'd, render'd the old more commodious by any additional Contrivance, or discover'd Countries untrac'd by former Travellers, were thought worthy of the greateſt Honours, and (like other common Benefactors to Mankind) aſcrib'd into the Number of the deify'd Heroes; they had their Inventions alſo conſecrated, and fix'd in the Heavens: Hence we have the Signs of *Aries* and *Taurus*, which were nothing but two Ships, the former transported *Phryxus* from Greece to *Colchus*, the latter *Europa* out of *Phœnicia* into *Crete*; *Argo* likewiſe, *Pegasus*, and *Perſeus's* Whale were new Sorts of Ships, which being had in great Admiration by the rude and ignorant Mortals of thoſe Times, were, in Memory of their Inventors, tranſlated amongſt the Stars, and metamorphos'd into Conſtellations by the Poets, of thoſe, or the ſucceeding Ages. Thus much concerning the Invention of Ships.

At their firſt Appearance in the World, all Ships, for whatever uſe design'd, were of the ſame Form; but the various Ends of Navigation, ſome of which were better answer'd by one Form, ſome by another, ſoon gave Occaſion to fit out Ships, not in Bigneſs only, but in the Manner of their Conſtruction and Equipment, differing from one another. Not to trouble you with a diſtinct Enumeration of every little Alteration, which would be endleſs, they were chiefly of three Sorts, Ships of *Burden*, of *War*, and of *Paſſage*. Ships of *Paſſage* were diſtinguiſh'd by ſeveral Names, taken uſually from their Carriages; thoſe that ſerv'd for the Transportation of Men, being call'd by the general Names of *πλεῖν* and *ἐπιβάδες*, or, when fill'd with arm'd Men, by the particular Titles of *ὀπλιταγωγοί*, and *στρατιώτιδες*; thoſe in which Horſes were transported, were nam'd *ἵππηγοί*, *ἵππαχωγοί*, and *Hippagines*, to mention no more.

Ships of *Burden* were call'd *ὀγκάδες*, *οορτηγοί*, and *πλοῖα*, to diſtinguiſh them from Ships of *War*, which were properly term'd *νῆες*. They were uſually of an orbicular Form, having large and capacious Bellies to contain the greater Quantity of Victuals, Proviſions, and other Neceſſaries, with which they were laden; whence they are ſometimes call'd *εὐροφυλάει*, as on the contrary, Ships of *War* we find nam'd *μακροί* (a), being extended to a greater Length than the former, wherein they agreed in part with the Transport-Veſſels, which were of a Form betwixt the Ships of *War* and *Burthen*, being exceeded by the latter in Capaciouſneſs, by the former in Length. There was likewiſe another Difference amongſt theſe Ships; for Men of *War*, tho' not wholly deſtitute of Sails, were chiefly row'd with Oars, that they might be the more able to tack about upon any Advantage, and approach the Enemy on his weakeſt Side, whereas Veſſels govern'd by Sails, being left to the Mercy of the Winds, could not be manag'd by ſo ſteady a Conduſt; hence the Ships of *War* are uſually ſtil'd *ἐπικωποί*, and *κωπήρη*.

(a) *Ulpianus in Demosth. Orat. adv. Leptinem,*

124 *Of the Military Affairs of Greece.*

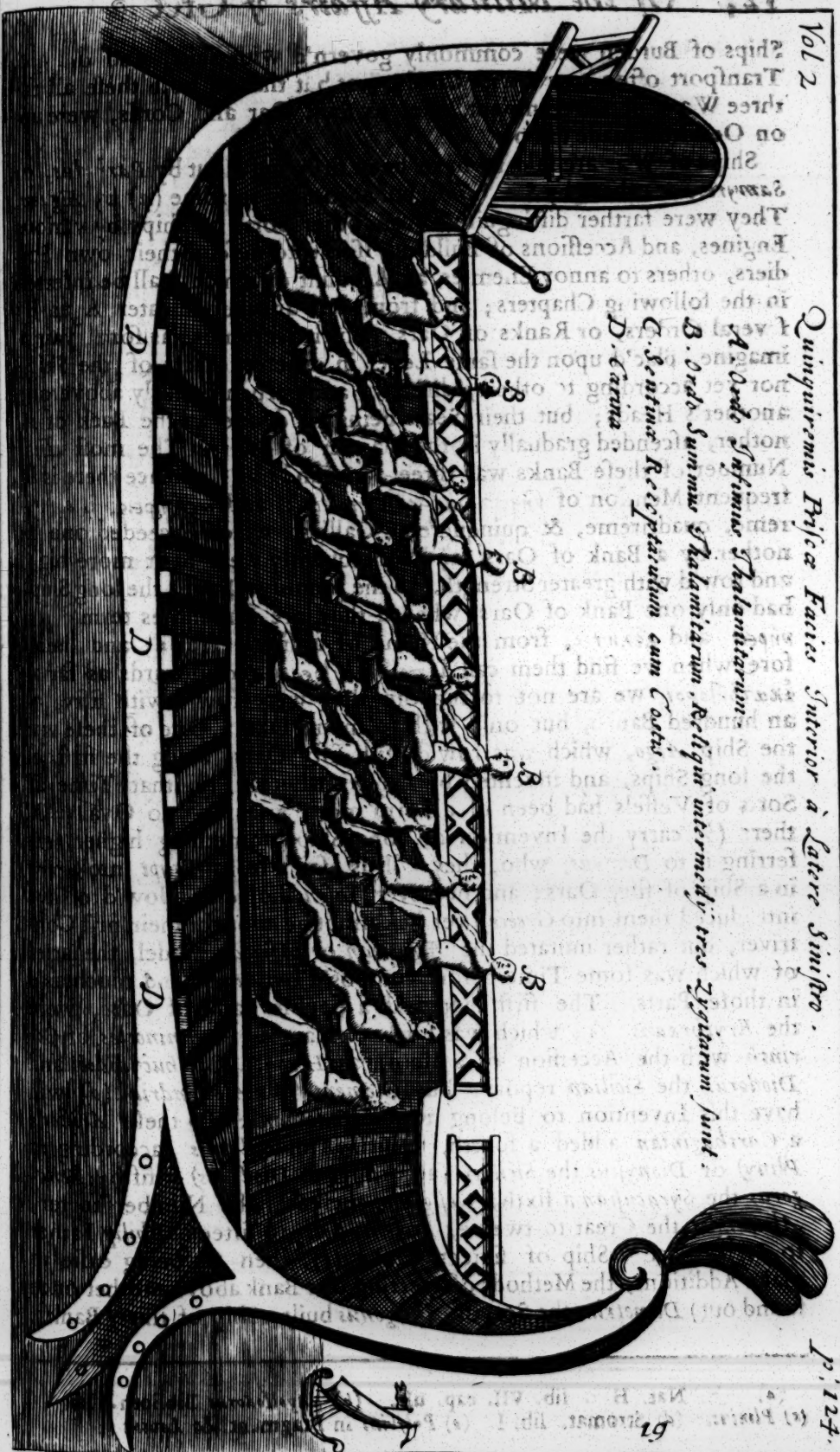
Ships of Burden were commonly govern'd with Sails, and those of Transport often tow'd with Cords, not but that in both these all the three Ways of Government, viz. by Sail, Oar and Cords, were upon Occasion made use of.

Ships of War are said to have been first rigg'd out by *Parhalus*, or *Samyres*, as others by *Semiramis*, but according to some (a) by *Ægeon*. They were farther distinguish'd from other Sorts of Ships by various Engines, and Accessions of Building, some to defend their own Soldiers, others to annoy Enemies, an Account of which shall be insert'd in the following Chapters; and from one another in later Ages by several Orders, or Ranks of Oars, which were not, as some vainly imagine, plac'd upon the same Level in different Parts of the Ship; nor yet according to others, directly, and perpendicularly above one another's Heads; but their Seats being fix'd one at the Back of another, ascended gradually in the manner of Stairs. The most usual Number of these Banks was three, four, and five; whence there is so frequent Mention of τριῆρης τετράρης, and πεντήρης, i. e. trireme, quadrireme, & quinquereme Gallies, which exceeded one another by a Bank of Oars, and consequently were built more high, and row'd with greater Strength. In the primitive Times the long Ships had only one Bank of Oars, whence they are sometimes term'd μόνηρης, and κέλντες, from the Name of a single Horse; and therefore when we find them call'd πεντήροισι, and upwards as far as ἑκατόροισι, we are not to suppose they were row'd with fifty, or an hundred Banks, but only with so many Oars: One of these was the Ship *Argo*, which was row'd with fifty Oars, being the first of the long Ships, and invented by *Jason*, whereas 'till that Time all Sorts of Vessels had been of a Form more enclining to Oval: Others (b) carry the Invention of long Ships something higher, referring it to *Danaus*, who, they tell us, sail'd from *Ægypt* into *Greece* in a Ship of fifty Oars; and however *Jason* should be allow'd to have introduced them into *Greece*, yet he cannot be thought their first Contriver, but rather imitated the *Ægyptian* or *African* Model, the latter of which was some Time before compos'd by *Atlas*, and much us'd in those Parts. The first that us'd a double Bank of Oars, were the *Erythraans* (c); which was farther enlarg'd by *Aminocles* of *Corinth* with the Accession of a third, as *Herodotus*, *Thucydides* and *Diodorus* the *Sicilian* report; but *Clement* of *Alexandria* (d) will have this Invention to belong to the *Sidonians*: To these *Aristotle* a *Carthaginian* added a fourth, *Nesiotho* of *Salamis* (according to *Pliny*) or *Dionysius* the *Sicilian* (according to *Diodorus*) a fifth; *Xenagoras* the *Syracusan* a sixth; *Nesigiton* encreas'd the Number to ten, *Alexander* the Great to twelve, *Ptolemy Soter* to fifteen, *Philip* Father to *Perseus* had a Ship of sixteen Banks (e), then (it being easie to make Additions, the Methods of erecting one Bank above another once found out) *Demetrius* the Son of *Antigonus* built a Ship of thirty Banks,

(a) *Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. VII. cap. ult.* (b) *Apollodorus Biblioth. lib. II.*
(c) *Plinius.* (d) *Stromat. lib. I.* (e) *Polybius in Fragment. & Livius.*

Quinquebris Trifca Facie Interior à Latere Sinistro.

A Ordo Infimus Thalantiarum.
 B. Ordo Summus Thalantiarum, Reliqui intermedij tres Zygitarum sunt.
 C. Sentina Receptaculum cum Costis.
 D. Carina



and probably oblique, out of a vain glorious Humour of out-doing
the World besides, farther enlarging the Number to forty (40) which
all other Parts bearing a just Proportion) raised the Ship to that Prodi-
gious Height, that it a Year's at a Distance like a floating Mountain,
at Island, and upon a near View seem'd like a huge Castle upon the
Tops; it contain'd four thousand Rowers, four hundred Mariners
employ'd in other Services, and almost three thousand Soldiers. But this
and such-like Fabricks serv'd only for Show and Ostentation, being by
their great Bulk render'd unweildy, and unfit for Use. Strabo tells us
the common Names they were known by, were Cyclopes, or Cyclops,
a Islands or Mountains, to which they seem'd almost equal in Sig-
nals, consisting, as some report, of many Materials as would have
been sufficient for the Construction of at least fifty Towns.

Aside those already mention'd, there were other Ships with half
Banks of Oars, such as *Araxes* or *Araxi*, which seem'd to have been
deserv'd an Honour, and being compos'd of a Bank and an half,
likewise to be reckon'd, betwixt a Bireme and a Trireme, having two
Banks and an half. These, that perhaps still in other respects, and the
Model of the Ship, or Men of War, were not so much esteem'd
under that Name, and sometimes in the Ship, and in the
Several other Ships, mention'd by ancient Writers, and in the
those already mention'd, being fitted for different Services, and
Sails, employ'd upon different Occasions. The *Araxes*, or *Araxi*, com-
monly as it was call'd, serv'd for the Transporting of Goods, and
main Fleet, with Provisions, and for other such like Expedition in
early Expeditions, and otherwise the Bireme, or *Dieme*, was
of being less than the heavier, and more difficult to be man-
tagu'd, and from its former use by the Mariner, for the Construction, and
equipment, being the part like the Ship, of the ancient, resembling
the Ships of the present, and in the Ship of the present, and in the
various Expeditions, they serv'd in, and in the Ship of the present, and in the

Of the *Araxes*, or *Araxi*,
HAVING said of the different Sorts of Ships, and of the
the ancient, I shall in the next Chapter, endeavour
to shew the different Parts whereof they consist, and the
of which has occasion'd many Mistakes, and much Confusion in those
I have convers'd with Authors of Antiquity. Here I shall briefly

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and *Ptolemy Philopator*, out of a vain-glorious Humour of out-doing all the World besides, farther enlarg'd the Number to forty (a), which (all other Parts bearing a just Proportion) rais'd the Ship to that Prodigious Bigness, that it appear'd at a Distance like a floating Mountain, or Island, and upon a near View seem'd like a huge Castle upon the Floods; it contain'd four thousand Rowers, four hundred Mariners employ'd in other Services, and almost three thousand Soldiers. But this, and such-like Fabricks serv'd ony for Shew and Ostentation, being by their great Bulk render'd unweildy, and unfit for Use. *Athenaus* tells us the common Names they were known by, were *Cyclades*, or *Ætna*, i. e. Islands or Mountains, to which they seem'd almost equal in Bigness, consisting, as some report, of as many Materials as would have been sufficient for the Construction of at least fifty *Triremes*.

Beside those already mention'd, there were other Ships with half Banks of Oars; such as *ἡμιολία* or *ἡμίολοι*, which seems to have been betwixt an Unireme and Bireme, consisting of a Bank and an half; likewise *τεμνιμολία*, betwixt a Bireme and Trireme, having two Banks and an half: These, tho' perhaps built in other Respects after the Model of the long Ships, or Men of War, are seldom comprehended under that Name, and sometimes mention'd in Opposition to them. Several other Ships are mention'd by Authors, which differ'd from those already enumerated, being fitted for particular Uses, or certain Seas, employ'd upon urgent Necessities in Naval Fights, but more commonly as *ὑπηρετικά*, *Tenders*, and victualling Ships, to supply the main Fleet with Provisions, and sometimes built for Expedition to carry Expresses, and observe the Enemy's Motions without Danger of being seiz'd by the heavier, and arm'd Vessels. These were distinguish'd from the former by the Manner of their Construction and Equipment, being in part like the Men of War, partly resembling the Ships of Burden, and in some Things differing from both, as the various Exigencies they serv'd in, seem'd to require.

CHAP. XV.

Of the Parts, Ornaments, &c. of Ships.

HAVING treated of the different Sorts of Ships us'd amongst the ancient *Grecians*, I shall in the next Place endeavour to describe the principal Parts whereof they consisted, the Ignorance of which has occasion'd many Mistakes and much Confusion in those who have convers'd with Authors of Antiquity. Herein I shall chiefly

(a) *Plutarchus Demetrio*, *Athenaus* lib. V.

126 Of the Military Affairs of Greece.

follow the Account of *Scheffer*, who hath so copiously treated on this Subject, and with such Industry and Learning collected whatever is necessary to its Illustration, that very little Room is left for farther Enlargement.

Now the principal Parts of which Ships consisted, were three, viz. the *Belly*, the *Prow*, and the *Stern*: These were again compos'd of other smaller Parts, which shall briefly be describ'd in their Order.

1. In the *Belly*, or middle Part of the Ship, there was *τοῦπις*, *carina*, or the *Keel*, which was compos'd of Wood, and therefore from its *Strength* and *Firmness* call'd *σάρα*: It was plac'd at the Bottom of the Ship, being design'd to cut, and glide thro' the Waves (*a*), and therefore was not broad, but narrow and sharp; whence it may be perceiv'd that not all Ships, but only the *μακραί*, whose Bellies were strait, and of a small Circumference, were provided with Keels, the rest having usually flat Bottoms (*b*). Round the Keels were plac'd Pieces of Wood to save it from receiving Damage, when the Ship was first launch'd into the Water, or bulg'd against Rocks; these were call'd *χελύσματα*, in *Latin*, *cunei*, according to *Ovid* (*c*),

Jamque labant cunei, spoliataque tegmine cera

Rima patet. —————

The Wedges break, and loosing all its Wax,

A Hole lets in the Water. —————

Next to the Keel was *θάλλις* (*d*), within which was contain'd the *αἰγλία*, or Pump, thro' which Water was convey'd out of the Ship (*e*).

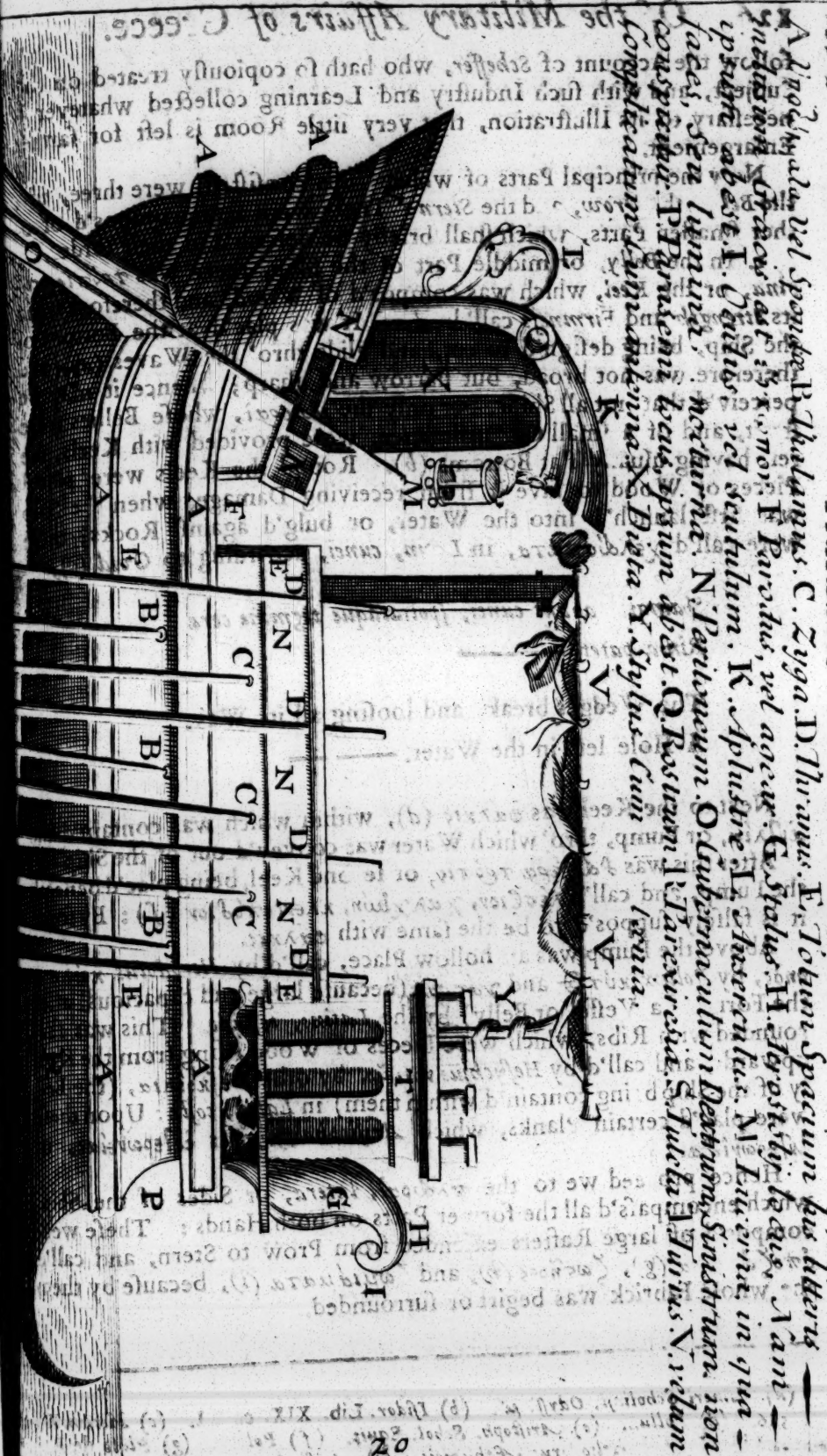
After this was *σάτερρα τρίπις*, or second Keel, being plac'd beneath the Pump, and call'd *λέσσιον*, *χαλχλῶν*, *κλειτοπόδιον* (*f*): By some it is falsely suppos'd to be the same with *θάλλις*.

Above the Pump was an hollow Place, call'd by *Herodotus* *κοίλη ἡ γῆς*, by *Pollux* *κῦτ* and *γάτρα*, (because large and capacious, after the Form of a Vessel or Belly) by the *Latins*, *testudo*. This was surrounded with Ribs, which were Pieces of Wood rising from the Keel upwards, and call'd by *Hesychius* *θυμέαι*, by others *ἐσκοίλια*, (the Belly of the Ship being contain'd within them) in *Latin*, *costa*: Upon these were plac'd certain Planks, which *Aristophanes* calls *ἐπιστρωμένα*, or *ἐπιστρωμένα*.

Hence proceed we to the *πλευραί*, *latera*, or Sides of the Ship, which encompass'd all the former Parts on both Hands: These were compos'd of large Rafters extended from Prow to Stern, and call'd *ὑποζώματα* (*g*), *ζωσῆδες* (*h*), and *ῥωμιάματα* (*i*), because by them the whole Fabrick was begirt or surrounded.

(a) *Homeri Scholiast. Odyss. μ'*. (b) *Isidor. Lib. XIX. cap. I.* (c) *Metam. XL. v. 516.* (d) *Pollux.* (e) *Aristoph. Schol. Equit.* (f) *Pollux.* (g) *Plato de Republic. Lib. X.* (h) *Heliodorus Ethiopis.* (i) *Aristophanes Equitibus.*

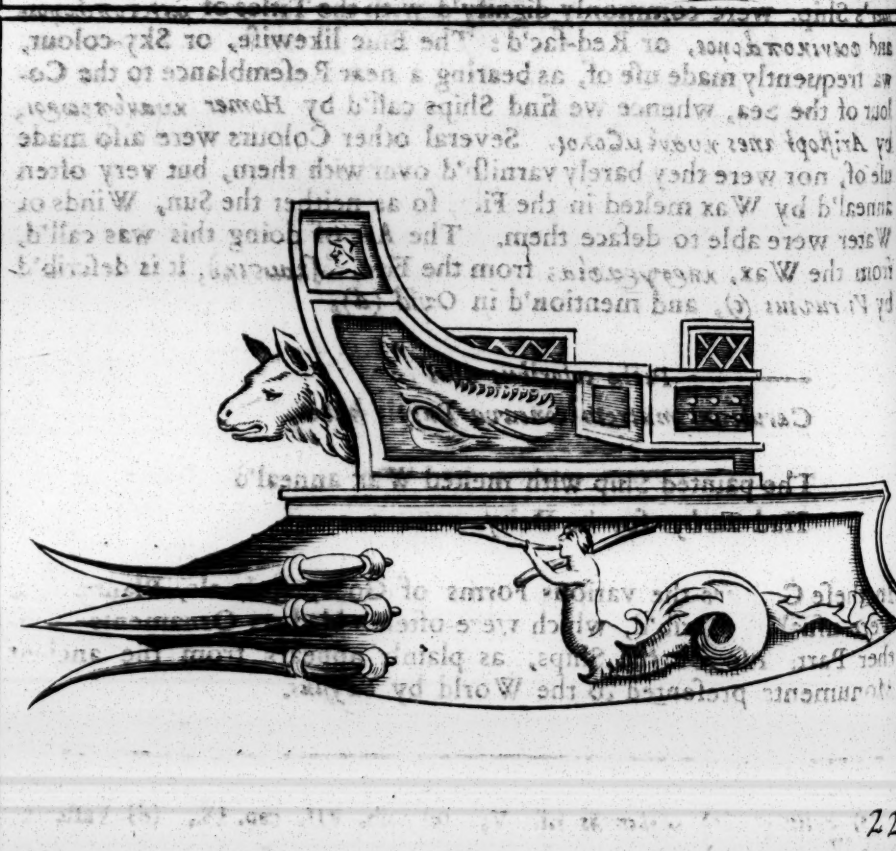
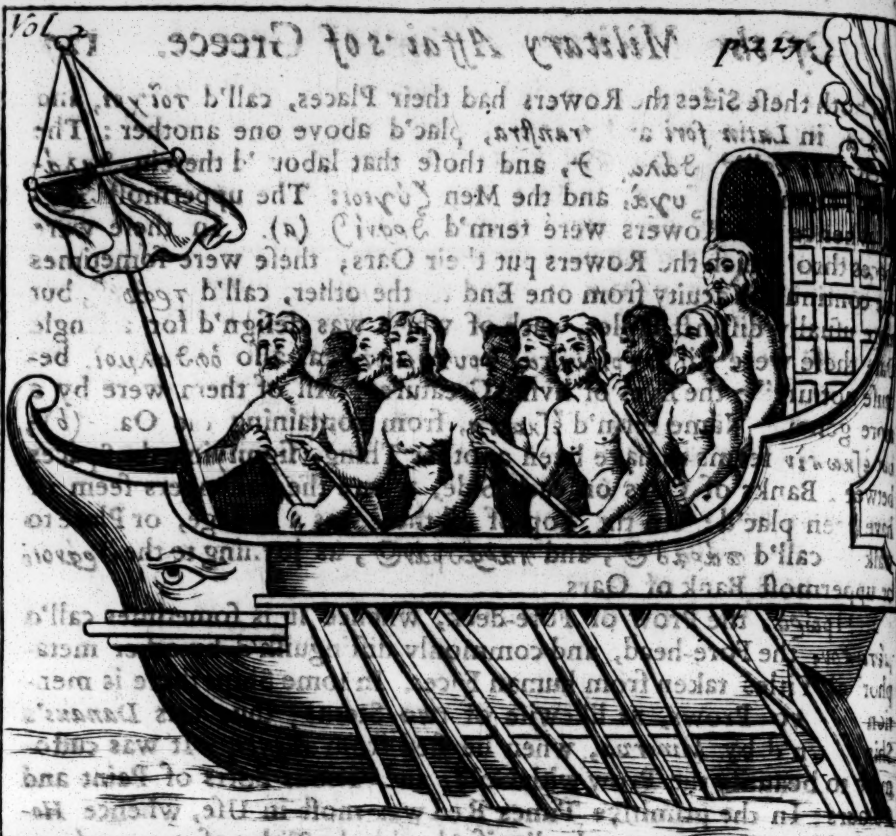
TIREMIS PRISCA EFFIGIES.



A. Propulsiua, vel Sponte. B. Thalamus. C. Zyga. D. Thymus. E. Totum Spacium his litteris —
 includitur. F. Panchus, vel aere. G. Stabus. H. Jussus. I. Jussus. K. Jussus. L. Jussus. M. Jussus. N. Jussus. O. Jussus. P. Jussus. Q. Jussus. R. Jussus. S. Jussus. T. Jussus. U. Jussus. V. Jussus. W. Jussus. X. Jussus. Y. Jussus. Z. Jussus.







In both these Sides the Rowers had their Places, call'd *τοῖχοι*, and *πύλαι*, in Latin *fori* and *transra*, plac'd above one another: The west was call'd *δωδεκα*, and those that labour'd therein *δωδεκα*: The middle *ζυγά*, and the Men *ζύγιοι*: The uppermost *δεξι*, whence the Rowers were term'd *δεξι* (a). In these were spaces thro' which the Rowers put their Oars; these were sometimes the continu'd Vacuity from one End to the other, call'd *τερόνη*, but more usually distinct Holes, each of which was design'd for a single Oar; these were stil'd *τρήματα*, *τροπήματα*, as also *ὀφθαλμοί*. Because not unlike the Eyes of living Creatures: All of them were by a more general Name term'd *ἔσκαπα*, from containing the Oars (b); but *ἔσκαπιν* seems to have been another Thing, signifying the Spaces between Banks of Oars on each Side; where the Passengers seem to have been plac'd: On the Top of all these was a Passage, or Place to walk in, call'd *παράδρομος*, and *παράδρομος*, as joyning to the *δεξι* or uppermost Bank of Oars.

2. *Πρόρος*, the Prow or Fore-deck, whence it is sometimes call'd *μέτωπον*, the Fore-head, and commonly distinguish'd by other metaphorical Titles taken from human Faces. In some Ships there is mention of two Prows, as likewise of two Sterns; thus was *Danaus's* Ship adorn'd by *Minerva*, when he fled from *Egypt*. It was customary to beautify the Prow with Gold, and various Sorts of Paint and Colours: In the primitive Times Red was most in Use, whence *Homer's* Ships were commonly dignify'd with the Titles of *μυρτοπόρροισι* and *ορεινοπόρροισι*, or Red-fac'd: The Blue likewise, or Sky-colour, was frequently made use of, as bearing a near Resemblance to the Colour of the Sea, whence we find Ships call'd by *Homer* *κυανέπρωροι*, by *Aristophanes* *κυανέμυλοι*. Several other Colours were also made use of, nor were they barely varnish'd over with them, but very often anneal'd by Wax melted in the Fire, so as neither the Sun, Winds or Water were able to deface them. The Art of doing this was call'd, from the Wax, *κηροποιία*; from the Fire, *ἑσκαυστική*, it is describ'd by *Viruvius* (c), and mention'd in *Ovid* (d).

——— *Picta coloribus ustis*
Caruleam matrem concava Puppis habet.

The painted Ship with melted Wax anneal'd,
Had *Tethys* for its Deity. ———

In these Colours the various Forms of Gods, Animals, Plants, &c. were usually describ'd, which were often added as Ornaments to other Parts also of the Ships, as plainly appears from the ancient Monuments presented to the World by *Bayjus*.

(a) Pollux, (b) *Athenæus* Lib. V. (c) Lib. VII. cap. 1K. (d) *Fastorum* Lib. IV.

128 Of the Military Affairs of Greece.

The Sides of the Prow were term'd *πτερεῖς*, or Wings, and *πτερεῖς* according to *Scheffer*, or rather *πτερεῖς*; for since the Prow is commonly compar'd to an human Face, it will naturally follow that its Sides should be call'd Cheeks. The Top of these, as likewise of the Stern, was call'd *πρυμναία* (a), because void of Rowers.

3. *Πρύμνη* the Hind-deck or Stern, sometimes call'd *ῥαβδος*, the Tail, because the hindmost part of the Ship: It was of a Figure more inclining to round than the Prow, the Extremity of which was sharp, that it might cut the Waters; it was also built higher than the Prow, and was the Place where the Pilot sat to steer: The Bow of it was call'd *ἐπισκήνη*, the Planks of which that was compos'd, *τὰ περὶ ἐπισκήνη*. There was another Place something below the Top call'd *ἀσάνδρον*, the interior Part of which was term'd *ἐνδέρμιον*.

Some other Things there are in the Prow and Stern that deserve our Notice; as those Ornaments wherewith the Extremities of the Ship were beautify'd, commonly call'd in general *ἀκρόγεια* (b), or *νεῶν κορυμβίδες* (c), in *Latin*, *Corymbi*; which Name is taken from the *Greek* *κόρυμβος* us'd in *Homer*,

— *νεῶν κορυμβίδες ἀκρόγεια* —

Tho' this Word in *Greek* is not, as in the *Latin*, apply'd to the Ornaments of both Ends, but only those of the Prow (d): These are likewise call'd *ἀκρόγεια*, because plac'd at the Extremity of the *ῥαβδος*, which was a long Plank at the Head of the Prow, and therefore sometimes term'd *ἀκρόγεια* (e); the Form of them sometimes resembled Helmets, sometimes living Creatures, but most frequently was winded into a round Compass, whence they are so commonly nam'd *Corymbe* and *Corona*.

To the *ἀκρόγεια* in the Prow answer'd the *ἀσάνδρα* in the Stern, which are often of an orbicular Figure, of fashion'd like Wings, to which a little Shield, call'd *ἀσπίς*, or *ἀσπίδιον* was frequently affix'd: Sometimes a Piece of Wood was erected, whereon Ribbands of divers Colours were hung, and serv'd instead of a Flag (f) to distinguish the Ship, and of a Weather-cock to signify the Quarters of the Wind.

Χλυσίον was so call'd from *χλυσίον*, a Goose, whose Figure it resembled, because Geese were look'd on as fortunate Omens to Mariners, for that they swim on the Top of the Waters, and sink not. This Ornament, according to some, was fix'd at the Bottom of the Prow, where it was joyn'd to the foremost Part of the Keel; and was the Part to which Anchors were fasten'd when cast into the Sea: But others carry it to the other End of the Ship, and fix it upon the Extremity of the Stern (g).

Παράσημον was the Flag whereby Ships were distinguish'd from one another: It was plac'd in the Prow, just below the *ῥαβδος*, being

(a) *Thucydidis Scholiastes*. (b) *Suidas*. (c) *Homerus*. (d) *Etymologici Αὐτοῖς*. (e) *Pollux*. (f) *Pollux, Eustathius*. (g) *Etymologici Αὐτοῖς*.

Of the Military Affairs of Greece. 129

Sometimes carv'd, and frequently painted, whence it is in *Latin* term'd *pictura*, representing the Form of a Mountain, a Tree, a Flower, or any other Thing; wherein it was distinguish'd from what was call'd *tutela*, or the Safeguard of the Ship, which always represented some of the Gods, to whose Care and Protection the Ship was recommended: for which Reason it was held sacred, and had the Privilege of being a Refuge, and Sanctuary to such as fled to it; Prayers also and Sacrifices were offer'd, and Oaths confirm'd before it, as the Mansion of the tutelard and presiding Deity of the Ship: Now and then we find it taken for the *παιδώνιον* (a), and perhaps some few Times the Image of the God might be represented upon the Flags: By some it is plac'd also in the Prow (b), but by most Authors of Credit assign'd to the Stern: Thus *Ovid*, (to omit more Instances) in his Epistle of *Paris*,

Accipit & pictos puppis adunca Teos.

The Stern with painted Deities richly shines;

Farther, the *tutela* and *παιδώνιον* are frequently distinguish'd in express Words, that being always signify'd by the Image of a God; this usually of some Creature, or feign'd Representation: Hence the same Author (c),

*Est mihi, sitque, precor, flava tutela Minervæ,
Navis & à pictâ casside nomen habet.*

*Minerva is the Goddess I adore,
And may she grant the Blessings I implore;
The Ship its Name a painted Helmet gives.*

Where the tutelard Deity was *Minerva*, the *παιδώνιον* the Helmet. In like manner the Ship wherein *Europa* was convey'd from *Phœnicia* into *Crete*, had a Bull for its Flag, and *Jupiter* for its tutelard Deity; which gave Occasion to the Fable of her being ravish'd by that God in the Shape of a Bull. It was customary for the Ancients to commit their Ships to the Protection of those Deities, whom they thought most concerned for their Safety, or to whom they bore any sort of Relation or Affection: Thus we learn from *Euripides* (d), that *Theseus's* whole Fleet, consisting of sixty Sail, was under the Care of *Minerva*, the Protectress of *Athens*; *Achilles's* Navy was committed to the *Nereids*, or Sea-Nymphs, because of the Relation he had to them on the Account of his Mother *Thetis*, who was one of their Number; and (to mention no more) the *Ææolian* Ships had for their tutelard God *Cadmus* represented with a Dragon in his Hand, because he was the Foun-

(a) *Laſtantiuſ* lib. I. cap. I. *Serviuſ* *Æneid*. V. *Gloſſa veteres*. (b) *Procopiuſ* in *Eſaie* cap. II. *Cyriſtuſ* in catena ad eundem Prophetam. (c) *De Triſtibuſ*. (d) *Iphigenia*.

130 Of the Military Affairs of Greece.

der of *Thebes*, the principal City in *Bœotia*. Nor were whole Fleets only, but single Ships recommended to certain Deities, which the Ancients usually chose out of the Number of those who were reputed the Protectors of their Country or Family, or presided over the Business they were going about; thus Merchants committed themselves and their Ships to the Care of *Mercury*, Soldiers to *Mars*, and Lovers to *Venus* and *Cupid*; so *Paris* tells his Mistress in *Ovid*,

*Qua tamen ipse vehor, comitata Cupidine parvo
Sponsor conjugii stat Dea picta sui.*

Venus, who has betroth'd us, painted stands
With little *Cupid* on my Ship. —

On the Prow of the Ship, about the $\sigma\omicron\lambda\Theta$, was plac'd a round Piece of Wood call'd $\pi\acute{\iota}\nu\chi\iota\varsigma$, and sometimes $\delta\phi\theta\alpha\lambda\mu\omicron\varsigma$, the Eye of the Ship, because fix'd in its Fore-deck (a); on this was inscrib'd the Name of the Ship, which was usually taken from the Flag, as appears in the fore-mention'd Passage of *Ovid*, where he tells us his Ship receiv'd its Name from the Helmet painted upon it; hence comes the frequent Mention of Ships call'd *Pegasi*, *Scylla*, *Bulls*, *Rams*, *Tygers*, &c. which the Poets took Liberty to represent as living Creatures that transported their Riders from one Country to another; nor was there (according to some) any other Ground for those known Fictions of *Pegasus*, the wing'd Horse of *Bellerophon*, or the Ram that is reported to have carried *Phyxus* to *Colchos*, with several others, that occur every where in the Poets.

The whole Fabrick being compleated, it was fortified with Pitch to secure the Wood from the Waters; whence it comes that *Homer's* Ships are every where mention'd with the Epithet of $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\iota\nu\alpha\iota$, or Black. The first that made use of Pitch, were the Inhabitants of *Phaacia* (b), call'd afterwards *Corfica*. Sometimes Wax was employ'd in the same Use; whence *Ovid* (c),

Cerula ceratas accipit unda rates.

The azure Sea receives the waxy Ships.

Now and then it was apply'd with a Mixture of Rosin, or other Materials fit for the same Purpose; whence the Colour of Ships was not always the same, and the Epithets ascrib'd to them in the Poets are various.

After all, the Ship being bedeck'd with Garlands and Flowers, the Mariners also adorn'd with Crowns, she was launch'd into the Sea with loud Acclamations, and other Expressions of Mirth and Joy (d); and

(a) Pollux, *Eustathius*, *Apollonii Scholiastes Argon. Lib. I. v. 1089.* (b) *Suidas V. Ναυσικά.* (c) *Epist. Orn. v. 42.* (d) *Athenans Lib. V.*

being purify'd by a Priest with a lighted Torch, an Egg and Brimstone (a), or after some other Manner, was consecrated to the God whose Image she bore.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the Tackling, and Instruments requir'd in Navigation.

THE Instruments us'd in Navigation were of divers Sorts, being either necessary to all sorts of Navigation, or only some Form of it, as that by Sails, by Oars, &c. The chief of the former Sort were as follow :

Πηγάδιον, *gubernaculum*, the Rudder, plac'd in the hindmost Deck, whereby the Pilot directed the Course of the Ship. The smaller sort of Ships had only one Rudder, but those of greater Bulk, as often as Occasion requir'd, had more, insomuch that sometimes we read of four Rudders in one Vessel : The Places of these are uncertain, being perhaps not always the same ; but it seems probable, that when there were only two Rudders, one was fix'd to the Fore-deck, the other to the hindmost ; whence we read of ὡς ἀμφίπλευροι, or Ships with two Sterns ; when there were four Rudders, one seems to have been fix'd to each Side of the Vessel.

Ἄγκυρα, an Anchor, the first Invention of which some ascribe to the *Tyrrhenians* (b) ; others to *Midas* the Son of *Gordius*, whose Anchor, *Pausanias* tells us, was preserv'd in one of *Jupiter's* Temples till his Days : Since there were divers sorts of Anchors, it is not improbable that both these may justly lay claim to Part of the Invention. The most ancient Anchors are said to have been of Stone (c) and sometimes of Wood, to which a great Quantity of Lead was usually fix'd : In some Places Baskets full of Stones (d), and Sacks fill'd with Sand, were employ'd to the same Use : All these were let down by Cords into the Sea, and by their Weight stay'd the Course of the Ship. Afterward Anchors were compos'd of Iron, and furnish'd with Teeth, which being fasten'd to the bottom of the Sea, preserv'd the Vessel immoveable ; whence ὀδόντες, and *Dentes*, are frequently taken for Anchors in the Greek and Latin Poets. At first there was only one Tooth, whence Anchors were call'd ἐτερόδομοι (e) ; but in a short Time a second was added by *Eupalamus* (f), or *Anacharsis* the *Scythian* Philosopher (g) : The Scholiast upon *Apollonius* (h) confidently affirms, that this sort of Anchors was us'd by the *Argonauts*, yet herein he seems to deserve no

(a) *Apuleius* *Afin.* Lib. XI. (b) *Plin.* Lib. VIII. cap. ult. (c) *Apollonius* *Argonaut.* *Arrianus* in *Periplo Ponti Euxini.* (d) *Iosephus* & *Suidas* v. Ζεύμα. (e) *Pollux.* (f) *Plin.* Lib. VII. cap. ult. (g) *Strabo* Lib. X. ex *Ephoro.* (h) *Argon.* I. v. 1271.

132 Of the Military Affairs of Greece.

great Credit, for that he runs contrary to the Testimonies of other Writers, and his own Author *Apollonius* makes mention of none but those of Stone. The Anchors with two Teeth were call'd ἀμφίβαλοι, or ἀμφίσομοι. and from ancient Monuments appear to have been much what the same with those us'd in our Days, only the transverse piece of Wood upon their Handles is wanting in all of them. Every Ship had several Anchors, one of which surpassing all the rest in Bigness and Strength, was peculiarly term'd ἱερόν, in Latin, *sacra*, and was never us'd but in extreme Danger; whence *sacram anchoram solvere* is proverbially apply'd to such as are forc'd to their last Refuge.

Ἑρμα. θεμέλιον, ἔεισμα, *faburra*, Ballast, wherewith Ships were pois'd, whence it is call'd ἀσφάλισμα πάλιν. It was usually of Sand, but sometimes of any other ponderous Matter: *Diomedes*, in his Voyage from *Troy*, is said to have employ'd the Stones of that City's Walls to this Use (a). It is sometimes call'd κεφαλός and κεφάλον (b).

Βόλις. call'd by *Herodotus* καταπερηνην (c), by *Lucilius*, *Catapirata* (d), was an Instrument wherewith they sounded the Depth of the Sea, and discover'd whether the Bottom was firm and commodious for anchoring, or dangerous by reason of Quick-sands, or other Obstructions. It was commonly of Lead or Brass, or other ponderous Metals, and let down by a Chain into the Deep (e).

Κοντοί. call'd by *Sophocles* πλῆκτρα (f), in Latin *Conti*; long Poles, us'd to sound the Depth of shallower Water, to thrust the Ship from Rocks and Shelves, and to force her forwards in Fords and Shallows where the Waters had not Strength enough to carry her.

Αποβάθραι, ἐπιβάθραι, or κλίμακες, were little Bridges or Stairs joining the Land to Ships, or one Ship to another.

Αντλίον, ἄντλον, in Latin, *haustrium*, *tolleno*, or *tollena*, &c. a Swipe or Engine to draw up Water.

To some of the above-mention'd Instruments certain Ropes were requir'd, and distinguish'd according to their several Uses; as,

Πέσματα, *ancoralia*, or *ancorarii*, the Cables wherewith Anchors were cast into the Sea, call'd sometimes κάμιλοι (g), or κάμηλοι (h): Whence in the Place of St. *Matthew*, where *Christ* speaking of the Difficulty of a rich Man's entring into Heaven, tells his Disciples, it is harder than for a Camel to pass thro' the Eye of a Needle: *Theophylact* and some others interpret the Word κάμηλον, not of the Animal call'd a Camel, but a Cable (i).

Ρύματα, ὀλκοί, or πείραι, *parolcones*, *remulci*, Ropes by which Ships are tow'd.

Απόγεια, ἐπίγεια, πέσματα, πρυμνήσια, *retinacula*, Cords wherewith Ships were ty'd to the Shoar. In most Harbours Stones were erected for this purpose, being bor'd thro' like Rings; and thence call'd δακτύλιοι, to these the Cords cast out of the Stern were bound: This Custom was always observ'd when Ships came into Port; and

(a) *Lycophronis Cassandr. v. 618.* (b) *Hesychius.* (c) *Euterpe.* (d) *Lib. XIX. cap. IV.* (e) *Glossa in A& Apost. cap. XXVII.* (f) *Pollux.* (g) *Aristophanis Scholiastes.* (h) *Phavorinus.* (i) *Matthaei Evangel. cap. XIX.*

therefore when they put to Sea, it is usually said they did *solvere funes*, loose their Cords: Instances of this are every where frequent, but I shall only give you one out of *Ovid* (a), who speaks thus of *Æneas's* Followers,

*Æneada gaudent, casoque in littore tauro,
Torta coronata solvunt retinacula navis.*

A Bull the joyful Trojans sacrific'd
Upon the Shoar, then loos'd the Rope that ty'd
The Ship all crown'd with Garlands. ———

The End of doing this was, that the Ships might be secur'd from the Violence of the Winds and Waves: for which Reason in those commodious Harbours that lay not expos'd to them, Ships remain'd loose and untty'd; whence *Homer* (b),

Εν δὲ λιμῶν εὐορμος, ἴν' ἔχρεώ πείσματις ὄσιν.

So still the Port, there was no need of Ropes.

I proceed to the Instruments, which were only necessary to some sort of Navigation; where I shall first treat of those requir'd in Rowing, which were as follow:

Κῶπαι, *remi*, Oars, so call'd from one *Copas*, by whom, 'tis said, they were first invented. Πλάτη, in *Latin*, *Palmula*, or *Tonsa*, was the Blade, or broad Part of the Oar, which was usually cover'd with Brass, that it might with greater Strength and Force repel the Waves, and endure the longer. There were several Banks of Oars plac'd gradually above one another; the Oars of the lowest Bank were shorter than the rest, and call'd θαλάμιαι, or θαλαμίδαι: Those of the middle Banks were term'd ζύγαι; those of the uppermost θρανιτικάι and θρανιτίδες, and were the longest, being at the greatest Distance from the Water; wherefore that the Rowers might be the better able to weild and manage them, it was customary to put Lead upon their Handles (c), lest the Bottom should out-poise the Top.

Σκαλμοί, were round pieces of Wood whereon the Rowers hung their Oars when they rested from their Labours: Hence ναὺς τρεῖςκαλμος, i. e. a Ship with three Rows of *Scalmi*, or a *Trireme*.

Τέβποι, τροπῶτῆρες, *strophæ*, or *struppi*, were Leathern Thongs (d), wherewith the Oars were hung upon the *scalmi*; those also, with which the Rudder was bound. Leather, and Skins of Beasts were apply'd also to several other Uses; as to cover the *scalmi*, and the Holes thro' which the Oars were put forth, to preserve them from being worn (e). There were Skins under the Rowers, call'd ὑπηρέσια, and some-

(a) *Metam.* lib. XV. v. 695. (b) *Odyss.* i. v. 136. Vide *Annotationes nostras* in *Lycophronis Cassandr.* v. 20. (c) *Athenaus* lib. V. (d) *Etymologicus* Auctor. *Homeri Scholiast.* *Odyss.* δ'. (e) *Suidas* v. Διοθέρα.

times ὑπαγκώνια, or ὑποπύγια ἢ ἑρετῶν, from saving the *Elbow* or *Breeches* of the *Rowers*.

Ἐδάλια, σέλαατα, ζυγά; in *Latin*, *transstra* and *juga*, were the *Seats* of the *Rowers*.

The Instruments us'd in *Sailing* were as follow :

Ἰσία, πῶας, *ves*, ἄρμυρα, *vela*, *Sails*, which are by some thought to have been first invented by *Dædalus*, and to have given Original to the Fable of his using *Wings* : Others refer this Invention to *Icarus*, making *Dædalus* the Contriver of *Masts* and *Sail-yards* (a) : At first there was only one *Sail* in a *Ship*, but afterwards a greater Number was found convenient ; the Names of which were these :

Ἀρτέμων, by some taken for *supparum*, or the *Top-sail*, which hung on the *Top* of the *Mast*.

Ἀκάτια, the great *Sails* (b).

Δόλων, the *Trinket*, or small *Sail* in the *Fore-deck* (c) : Others make ἀκάτιον and δόλων the same.

Ἐπίδρομος, the *Mizen-sail*, which was larger than the former, and hung in the *Hind-deck* (d).

Sails were commonly of *Linnen*, sometimes of any other Materials fit for receiving and repelling the *Winds* : In *Dio* (e) we have mention of *Leathern Sails* ; it was likewise usual for want of other *Sails* to hang up their *Garments* ; whence came the Fable of *Hercules*, who is feign'd to have sail'd with the *Back* of a *Lyon*, because he us'd no other *Sail* but his *Garment*, which was a *Lyon's Skin* (f).

Κεραία, κέρατα, *antenna*, the *Sail-yards*, Pieces of *Wood* fix'd upon the *Mast*, to which the *Sails* were ty'd (g) : The Name signifies an *Horn*, whence its Extremities are call'd ἀκροκέρατα, its Arms inclining to an orbicular Figure, are term'd ἀσκύλαι. The *Latin* Poet hath us'd *cornua* in the same Sense (h),

————— *Veloque superba capaci*

Cum rapidum hauriret Boream, & cornibus omnes

Colligeret flatus. —————

Other Parts it had close to the *Mast* call'd ἄμβολα, and σύμβολα, being those by which it was mov'd.

Ἴσος, *malus*, the *Mast*. Every *Ship* had several *Masts*, but we are told by *Aristotle*, that at first there was only one *Mast*, which being fix'd in the *Middle* of the *Ship*, the *Hole* into which the *Foot* of it was inserted, was nam'd μεσόδμη (i), in *Latin*, *modius*. When they landed, the *Mast* was taken down, as appears every where in *Homer*, and plac'd on a Thing call'd ἰσοδόκη, which, according to *Suidas*, was a *Case* wherein the *Mast* was reposit'd ; but *Eustathius* will have it to be nothing but a Piece of *Wood*, against which it was rear'd. The Parts of the *Mast* were these : Πτέρνα, or the *Foot*. Λινὰς, or, according

(a) *Plin. Lib. VII. cap. LVI.* (b) *Hesychius.* (c) *Suidas v. Δόλων. Isidorus.* (d) *Hesychius, Isidorus.* (e) *Lib. XXXIX.* (f) *Servius Æn. VIII.* (g) *Homeri Scholiastes. Iliad. σ.* (h) *Silius Italicus Lib. XIV.* (i) *Homeri Scholiastes ὁ μυστ. ε'.*

to Athenæus, λινός, or τεράχνη, to which the Sail was fix'd. Καρ-
χίσιον, the Pulley, by which the Ropes were turn'd round. Θωρά-
χιον, built in the manner of a Turret, for Soldiers to stand upon, and
cast Darts: Above this was a Piece of Wood call'd ἰκείον, the extremi-
ty of which was term'd ἡλακτική, on which hung a Ribband call'd,
from its continual Motion, ἐπισείων, turning round with the Wind.

The Names of the Ropes, requir'd to the Use of the above-mention'd
Parts, were these that follow, as enumerated by Scheffer:

Ἐπίτονοι were the Ropes, call'd in Latin *anquina*, wherewith the
Sail-yards were bound to the Main-Mast (a): Others will have them to
be the same with the Latin *rudentes*, which were those that govern'd
the Sail-yards, so as one Part of the Sails might be hois'd, the other
lower'd (b), according to the Pleasure of the Pilot. Others will have
the Cord wherewith the Sail-yards were ty'd to the Mast, to be term'd
κάλων, *ceruchus*, *anchonis*, and *rudens*; that whereby they were con-
tracted or dilated, ὑπέρα (c), in Latin, *opifera* (d).

Πόδες, in Latin *pedes*, were Cords at the Corners of the Sails (e),
whereby they were manag'd as Occasion requir'd. Πεποδες were
small Cords below the *pedes*, which were so contriv'd as to be loos'd
and contracted by them: The Use of both these was in taking the
Winds, for by them the Sails were contracted, dilated, or chang'd from
one side to another, as there was Occasion.

Μεσεῖαι were those whereby the Mast was erected, or let down
(f); others will have them to belong to the Sails.

Πρότονοι were Cords, which passing thro' a Pulley at the Top of
the Mast, were ty'd on one side to the Prow, on the other to the Stern,
to keep the Mast fix'd and immoveable.

The Materials of which these and other Cords were compos'd, were
at first seldom any Thing but Leathern Thongs; afterwards they us'd
Hemp, Flax, Broom, Palm-leaves, Philyry, the Bark of Trees, as the
Cherry, Teil-tree, Vine, Maple, Carpine, &c.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the Instruments of War in Ships.

WHAT I have hitherto deliver'd concerning the Parts and
Construction of Ships, has been spoken of in general, with-
out respect to any particular sort of them; it remains there-
fore, that in the next Place I give you a brief Account of what was
farther necessary to equip a Man of War.

Ἐμβολον, *rostrum*, was a Beak of Wood fortify'd with Brass, whence
it is call'd χάλκωμα νεῶν in Diodorus (g), and Ships have sometimes

(a) Suidas. (b) Phavorinus. (c) Suidas. (d) Isidorus. (e) Aristophanis Schol.
Equir. Act. I. Scen. I. Apollonii Scholiastes. Vide meum, & Meursii Comment. in
Lycophronis Cassandr. v. 1015. (f) Apollonii Scholiastes. (g) Lib. XX.

the Epithet of *χαλκέμβολοι*: One or more of these was always fasten'd to the Prow to annoy the Enemy's Ships, and the whole Prow was sometimes cover'd with Brass to guard it from Rocks and Assaults. The Person that first us'd these Beaks is said to have been one *Pisces* an Italian (a); for it will not be allow'd that the primitive Greeks had any Knowledge of them, since no such Thing is mention'd in *Homer*, which could scarce have happen'd, had they been invented at the Time of the *Trojan War*: Yet *Æschylus* (b) gives *Nestor's Ship* the Epithet of *δεκάμβολοι*, or arm'd with ten Beaks, and *Iphigenia* in *Euripides* speaks of Brazen Beaks,

Μή μοι χαλκεμβολάδων
Πρύμνας ἄδ' Αὐλὶς δέξασθαι
Τέσδ' εἰς ὅρμυς. —

O! that these Ships with Brazen Beaks
Had never enter'd *Aulis* Ports.

But it may justly be question'd, whether these Beaks do not take their Description from the Practice of their own Times, a Thing frequent enough with Men of that Profession. These Beaks were at first long and high, but afterwards it was found more convenient to have them short and firm, and plac'd so low as to pierce the Enemy's Ships under Water; this was an Invention of one *Aristo* a *Corinthian*, who communicated it to the *Syracusians* in their War with the *Athenians*, against whom it prov'd a considerable Advantage; for by these new Beaks several of the *Athenian Men of War* were overturn'd, or torn in Pieces at the first Shock (c). Above the Beak was another Instrument call'd *παραμβολίς*, and it appears from ancient Medals, that the Beaks themselves were usually adorn'd with various Figures of Animals, &c.

Επωτίδες were Pieces of Wood plac'd on each side of the Prow (d) to guard it from the Enemy's Beaks; because Prows are usually compar'd to Faces, these were thought to resemble Ears, whence their Name seems to have been deriv'd: For those are mistaken that would have them belong to the Hind-deck (e).

Κατασρώματα, *σανιδώματα*, or Hatches, sometimes call'd *καταφράγματα*, whence we meet with *νῆες πεφραγμέναι, κατάφρακτοι*, and *τεκτα*, cover'd Ships, or Men of War; which are frequently oppos'd to Ships of Passage or Burden, which were *ἄφρακτοι*, and *απερτα*, uncover'd, or without Hatches: This Covering was of Wood, and erected on purpose for the Soldiers, that they standing, as it were, upon an Eminence, might level their missive Weapons with greater Force and Certainty against their Enemies. In the primitive Ages, particularly about the Time of the *Trojan War*, we are told by *Thucydides*, that the Soldiers us'd to fight upon the foremost and hindmost Decks (f), and therefore whenever we find *Homer* speak of *ἰκεῖα νηὸς*, which his

(a) *Plin. Lib. VII. cap. LVI.* (b) *Μοχιδέστιν.* (c) *Diodorus Siculus Lib. XIII.*
(d) *Thucydides Scholiastes Lib. VII.* (e) *Etymologici Auctor.* (f) *Lib. I.*

Of the Military Affairs of Greece. 137

Scholiasts interpret *Hatches*, we are only to understand him of these Parts, which alone us'd to be cover'd in those Days. Thus he tells us of *Ajax* defending the *Grecian* Ships against the Attack of the *Trojans* (a),

——— ἦσαν ἱκεῖ ἐπ' ὤχετο μακρὰ βιβάδων.

He march'd upon the Hatches with long Strides.

And of *Ulysses* preparing himself for the Encounter with *Scylla*, he speaks thus (b),

——— εἰς ἱκεῖα νηὸς ἔβαινε

Πρώρης. ———

Upon the Hatches of the foremost Deck

He went. ———

The other Parts of the Ship are said to have been first cover'd by the *Thasians* (c).

Beside the Coverings of Ships already mention'd, and call'd *κατασφάλματα*, there were other Coverings to guard the Soldiers from their Enemies, call'd *παροσφάλματα*, *πειροσφάλματα*, *παρετετάσματα*, *παραβλήματα*, *περκαλύσματα*, in Latin, *Plutei*; and sometimes *Propugnacula*: These were commonly Hides, or such-like Materials, hung on both Sides of the Ship, as well to hinder the Waves from falling into it, as to receive the Darts cast from the adverse Ships, that under these, as Walls on both Sides, the Soldiers might without Danger annoy their Enemies.

Δελφίν, a certain Machine, which being usually a Part of these Ships, cannot be omitted in this Place: It was a vast and massy Piece of Lead or Iron cast in the Form of a *Dolphin*, and hung with Cords and Pullies to the Sail-yards or Mast, which being thrown with great Violence into the adverse Ships, either penetrated them, and so open'd a Passage for the rising Floods, or by its Weight and Force sunk them to the Bottom of the Sea (d).

Another Difference betwixt Men of War and other Ships was, that the former commonly had an Helmet engraven on the Top of their Masts (e).

(a) *Iliad*. δ. (b) *Odysseus*. μ'. (c) *Plin. Lib. VII. cap. LVII.* (d) *Aristophanis Scholiastes, Suidas.* (e) *Gyrardus de Navigat. cap. XII.*

C H A P. XVIII.

Of the Mariners and Soldiers.

WE are told by *Thucydides*, that amongst the Ancients there were no different Ranks of Sea-men, but the same Persons were employ'd in those Duties, which were in later Ages executed by divers, to whom they gave the several Names of Rowers, Mariners and Soldiers; whereas at first all these were the same Men who laid down their Arms to labour at the Oar, and perhaps what was farther necessary to the Government of their Ships, but, as often as Occasion requir'd, resum'd them to assault their Enemies; This appears every where in *Homer*, out of whom I shall observe this one Instance;

—— ἐρέται δ' ἐν ἐκάσῃ πεντήκοντα
Εμβέβασαν τόξων εὖ εἰδότες.——;

Each Ship had fifty Rowers that were skill'd
Well in the shooting Art, ——

These were term'd *ἀντερέται* (a). This was the Practice of those Times, wherein no great Care was taken, no extraordinary Preparations made for equipping Men of War, but the same Vessels were thought sufficient for Transportation and Fight: Afterwards, when the Art of Naval War began to be improv'd, it was presently understood that any one of the fore-mention'd Occupations was enough to require the whole Time and Application of the Persons employ'd therein; whence it became customary to furnish their Ships of War with the three following Sorts of Men:

Φρέται, *κωπηλάται*, call'd by *Polybius* (b) οἱ ὑπάρχοντες, and by the same Author (c), with *Xenophon* (d), τὰ πληρώματα, tho' we are told by the *Scholiast* upon *Thucydides*, that this is a Name of very large Extent, comprehending not only those that row'd, but all other Persons in the Ship, and sometimes apply'd to any Thing else contain'd therein. When Ships had several Banks of Oars, the uppermost Rowers were call'd *θρανῖται*, and their Bank *θρανὸς* (e): The lowest *θαλάμιοι*, *θαλομίται*, and *θαλάμακες*, and their Bank *θάλαμος*; Those in the Middle *ζυγῖται*, and *μεσοζύγιοι*, and all their Banks, how many soever in Number, *ζυγά*. Every one had a distinct Oar, for except in Cases of Necessity one Oar was never manag'd by above one Person, as *Scheffer* hath prov'd at large; yet their Labour and Pay

(a) *Suidas*, *Pollux* Lib. I. cap. IX. *Thucydides*. (b) *Histor. Lib. X.* (c) *Lib. I.*
(d) *Histor. Lib. I.* (e) *Pollux*, *Aristophanis Scholiastes*, *Suidas*,

were not the same; for such as were plac'd in the uppermost Banks, by reason of their Distance from the Water, and the Length of their Oars, underwent more Toil and Labour than those in the inferior Banks, and therefore were rewarded with greater Wages. The Rowers in Ships of Burden were call'd *ροσγυλοναῦται* (a), those in Triremes *τριημέται*, and the rest seem to have had different Appellations from the Names of the Ships they labour'd in. Those that were foremost in their respective Banks, and sat nearest the Prow, were call'd *πρόκωποι*; and on the other Side, those who were plac'd next the Stern were term'd *επίκωποι*, as being *behind* their Fellows. Their Work was esteem'd one of the worst and most wretched Drudgeries, and therefore the most notorious Malefactors were frequently condemn'd to it; for, beside their incessant Toil in Rowing, their very Rest was uneasie, there being no Place to repose their weary'd Bodies, beside the Seats whereon they had labour'd all the Day; therefore whenever the Poets speak of their ceasing from Labour; there is Mention of their lying down upon them: Thus *Seneca* (b),

—— *credita est vento ratis,*
Fususque transfris miles.——

Unto the Wind the Ship was left,
The Soldiers lay along their Seats.

To the same Purpose *Virgil* (c),

—— *placida laxarant membra quiete*
Sub remis fusi per dura sedilia nauta.

And now along their Seats the Rowers laid,
Had eas'd their weary'd Limbs with Sleep.

The rest of the Ship's Crew usually took their rest in the same manner, only the Masters (d), or Persons of Quality were permitted to have Cloaths spread under them: so we read of *Ulysses* in *Homer* (e),

Κάδ' δ' ἄρ' Ὀδυσῆϊ σόρεσαν ῥῆγός τε, λίνον τε
Νηὸς ἐπ' ἱκείσφιν γλαφυρῆς (ἵνα νήγρετον εὖδοι)
Πρύμνης· ἂν δ' καὶ αὐτὸς ἐβήσατο, καὶ κατέλεχτο
Σιγῇ. ———

But Cloaths the Men for great *Ulysses* spread,
And plac'd an easie Pillow for his Head,
On these he undisturb'd securely slept,
Lying upon the Stern. ———

(a) *Pollux* Lib. VII. (b) *Agamemnon* v. 437. (c) *Æneid*. V. v. 836. (d) *Theophrastus* περὶ ἀνελισθερίας. (e) *Odysseus*. v. v. 74.

140 *Of the Military Affairs of Greece.*

Such as would not be contented with this Provision, were look'd upon as soft and delicate, and unfit to endure the Toil and Hardships of War; which Censure the *Athenians* pass'd upon *Alcibiades*, because he had a Bed hung on Cords, as we read in *Plutarch* (a).

Ναῦται, Mariners, were exempt from drudging at the Oar, but perform'd all other Duties in the Ship; to which end, that all Things might be carry'd on without Tumult and Confusion, every one had his proper Office, as appears from *Apollonius*, and *Flaccus's Argonauticks*, where one is employ'd in rearing the Mast, another in fitting the Sail-yards, a third in hoisting the Sails, and the rest are bestow'd up and down the Ship, every one in his proper Place: Hence they had different Titles, as from *ἄρβυρα*, Sails, the Persons appointed to govern them were call'd *ἄρβυρισταί*; those that climb'd up the Ropes to descry distant Countries or Ships, were term'd *χοινολόγισται*, and the rest in like manner: There were a sort of Men inferior to the former, and call'd *μεσσηναῖται*, who were not confin'd to any certain Place or Duty, but were ready on all Occasions to attend on the rest of the Seamen, and supply them with whatever they wanted (b). The whole Ship's Crew were usually wicked and profligate Fellows, without any Sense of Religion or Humanity, and therefore reckon'd by *Juvenal* (c) amongst the vilest Rogues;

*Invenies aliquo cum percussore jacentem,
Permixture nautis, aut furibus, aut fugitivis.*

You'll surely find his Company, some Tarrs,
Cut-throats, or rogy Vagabonds.——

The Soldiers that serv'd at Sea, were in *Latin* term'd *classarii*, in *Greek* *ἐπιβάται*, either because they did *ἐπιβαίνειν τὰς νῆας*, ascend into Ships; or *ἐκ τῆς ἐπιβαίνειν τὰ κατασπάσματα*, from ascending the Hatches where they fought. They were arm'd after the same Manner with those design'd for Land-Service, only there seems always to have been a greater Number of heavy-arm'd Men than was thought necessary by Land; for we find in *Plutarch* (d), that of *Themistocles's* Ships, only four were light-arm'd: Indeed it highly import'd them to fortifie themselves in the best manner they could, since there was no possibility of retiring, or changing Places, but every Man was oblig'd to fight Hand to Hand, and maintain his Ground till the Battel was ended; wherefore their whole Armour, tho' in Form usually the same with that employ'd in Land-service, yet exceeded it in Strength and Firmness. Beside this we find also some new Instruments of War never us'd on Land, the principal of which are these that follow:

(a) *Alcibiade.* (b) *Cælius Rhodiginus Lib. XXV. cap. XL.* (c) *Satir. VIII.*
(d) *Themistocle.*

Of the Military Affairs of Greece. 141

Δόρατα ναύμαχα (a), Spears of an unusual Length, sometimes exceeding twenty Cubits, whence they are call'd in *Latin* (b) *hasta longa*, and by *Homer* ξυστά ναύμαχα, and μακροί (c);

Οἱ δ' ἀπὸ νηῶν ὤψι μελαινέων ἐπιβάντες
Μακροῖσι ξυστοῖσι, τὰ ρά σφ' ἐπὶ νηυσὶν ἔκειτο
Ναύμαχα, κολλήεντα. —————

With Spears, that in the Vessels ready lay,
These strove to make the Enemy give way;
Long Spears, for Sea-fights only made, compos'd
Of sev'ral Pieces. —————

Again in another Place (d),

Ναῦμα δὲ ξυστὸν μέγα ναύμαχον ἐν παραλήμῃσι
Κολλητὸν βλήτεσι, δυνάμει κοσίπηνχῳ.

A Spear with Nails compacted and made strong,
That was full two and twenty Cubits long,
He brandish'd. —————

Δρήπανον (e), call'd by *Appian* δρυδρέπανον, by *Diodorus* (f) δρυπανοφόρος κεραία, was an Engine of Iron, crooked like a Sickle (g), and fix'd to the Top of a long Pole, wherewith they cut in sunder the Cords of the Sail-yards, and thereby letting the Sails fall down, disabled the light Ships. Not unlike this was another Instrument, arm'd at the End with a broad Iron Head edg'd on both Sides, wherewith they us'd to cut the Cords that ty'd the Rudder to the Ship.

Κεραῖαι (h) were Engines to cast Stones into the Enemies Ships.

We find another Engine mention'd by *Vegetius*, which hung upon the Main-mast, and resembled a Battering Ram; for it consisted of a long Beam and an Head of Iron, and was with great Violence push'd against the Sides of adverse Ships.

Χειρ σιδερέα, in *Latin*, manus ferrea; was a Grappling-Iron, which they cast out of an Engine into the Enemies Ship: It is said to have been first us'd in Greece by *Pericles* the Athenian (i), at Rome by *Dulius* (k). Different from these were the ἀπαγες, harpagines, said to be invented by *Anacharsis* (l) the Scythian Philosopher; which as *Scheffer* collects out of *Athenaeus*, were Hooks of Iron hanging on the Top of a Pole, which, being secur'd with Chains to the Mast, or some other lofty Part of the Ship, and then cast with great Force into the Enemies Vessel, caught it up into the Air. The Means us'd to defeat these Engines, was to cover their Ships with Hides; which cast off, or blunted the Stroke of the Iron (m).

(a) *Herodotus*. (b) *Histor. lib. XXVIII. cap. XLV.* (c) *Iliad. ó. v. 387.* (d) *Iliad. ó. v. 677.* (e) *Pollux.* (f) *Lib. XXII.* (g) *Vegetius lib. IV. cap. ult.* (h) *Diodorus Siculus lib. XII. Athenaeus.* (i) *Plin. lib. VII. cap. LXI.* (k) *Julius Frontinus lib. II. cap. III.* (l) *Plin. lib. VII. cap. LVII.* (m) *Thucydides lib. VIII. Pollux.*

142 *Of the Military Affairs of Greece.*

The Dominion of the Seas was not confin'd to any one of the *Grecian* States; they were continually contending for Empire, and by various Turns of Fortune sometimes possess'd, and again in a few Months or Years were dispossest of it: The Persons that enjoy'd it longest, and maintain'd it with the greatest Fleet after *Greece* had arriv'd to the Height of its Glory, were the *Athemans*, who first began seriously to apply themselves to Naval Affairs, about the Time of *Xerxes's* Invasion: The first that engag'd them in this Enterprize was *Themistocles*, who considering their Inability to oppose the *Persians* by Land, and the Commodiousness of their Situation for Naval Affairs, interpreted the Oracle that advis'd to defend themselves with Walls of Wood to this Purpose, and prevail'd upon them to convert their whole Time and Treasure to the building and fitting out a Fleet. The Money employ'd on this Design, was the Revenue of the Silver-Mines at *Laureotis* which had formerly been distributed among the People, who, by *Themistocles's* Persuasion, were induc'd to part with their Income, that Provision might be made for the publick Security. With this an hundred Triremes were rigg'd out against *Xerxes's* numerous Fleet, over which, by the Assistance of their Allies, they obtain'd an entire Victory. Afterwards the Number of their Ships were encreas'd by the Management of *Lycurgus* the Orator to four hundred (a); and we are told by *Isocrates* (b), that the *Athenian* Navy consisted of twice as many Ships as all the rest of the *Grecians* were Masters of: It was made up of two Parts, one being furnish'd out by the *Athenians* themselves, the other by their Confederates.

The Fleet equip'd at *Athens* was maintain'd after the manner prescrib'd by *Themistocles* 'till the Time of *Demosthenes*, who, to ingratiate himself with the Commonalty, restor'd to them their ancient Revenues, and devis'd a new Method to procure Money for the Payment of Seamen, and the Construction of new Men of War: This he effected by dividing the richer sort of Citizens into *συμπαιαί*, or Companies, which were oblig'd, according to their several Abilities, to contribute largely out of their own Substance; and in Times of Necessity it was frequent for Men of Estates to rig out Ships at their own Expence, over and above what was requir'd of them, there being a generous Contention between the leading Men in that Common-wealth, which should out-do the rest in serving his Country.

The remaining Part of the Fleet was compos'd of Allies; for the *Athenians* understanding how necessary it was to their Affairs to maintain their Dominion of the Seas, would enter into no Leagues or Confederacies with any of their Neighbours, but such as engag'd themselves to augment their Navy with a Proportion of Ships; which became a double Advantage to the *Athenians*, whose Fleet was strengthen'd by such Accessions, whilst their Allies were held in Obedience, as it were, by so many Hostages, all which upon any Revolt must needs fall into the Hands of the *Athenians*: Those States that were remote from Sea, or unable to fit out Vessels of War, were oblig'd to send their Propor-

(a) *Plutarchus*. (b) *Panegyrica*.

tion in Money (a). These Customs were first brought up after the second Persian War, when it was agreed by the common Consent of all the Grecians; that they should retaliate the Injuries receiv'd from the Barbarians, by carrying the War into their own Country, and invading them with the whole Strength of Greece, under the Conduct of the Athenians, who at that Time rais'd themselves a very high Reputation by their mighty Naval Preparations, and the singular Courage, Wisdom, and Humanity of their two Generals, Themistocles and Aristides. Afterwards, being grown great in Power, and aiming at nothing less than the Sovereignty of all Greece, they won some by Favours and specious Pretences, others by Force of Arms to comply with their Desires; for their manner of treating the Cities they conquer'd, was to oblige them either to furnish Money, paying what Tribute they exacted, or to supply them with Vessels of War, as Thucydides reports of the Chians, when subdu'd by the Athenians (b); Xenophon also (c), and Diodorus (d) mention the same Custom: Thus by one Means or other the greatest Part of the Grecian Cities were drawn in to augment the Athenian Greatness.

C H A P. XIX.

Of Naval Officers.

THERE were two Sorts of Officers in all Fleets, one govern'd the Ships and Mariners, the other were entrusted with the Command of the Soldiers, but had likewise Power over the Ship-Masters and their Crew; these were,

Στράτορχος, ναύαρχος, or στρατηγός, *Præfectus classis*, the Admiral, whose Commission was different according to the Exigency of Times and Circumstances, being sometimes to be executed by one alone, sometimes in Conjunction with other Persons, as happen'd to Alcibiades, Nicias, and Lamachus, who were sent with equal Power to command the Athenian Fleet in Sicily: Their Time of Continuance in Command was likewise limited by the People, and, as they pleas'd, prolong'd or shorten'd. We read of Epaminondas (e), that finding his Country like to be brought into great Danger upon the Resignation of his Office, he held it four Months longer than he was commission'd to do; in which Time he put a new Face upon the Theban Affairs, and by his wise Management dispell'd the Fears they lay under; which done, he voluntarily laid down his Power, but was no sooner divested thereof, than he was called to account for holding it so long, and narrowly

(a) Xenophon. *Histor. Græc.* lib. VI. (b) Lib. VII. (c) *Histor.* lib. I. (d) Lib. XIII. & in aliis locis. (e) Cornelius Nepos in Epaminonda.

144 *Of the Military Affairs of Greece:*

escap'd being condemn'd to Death; for it was fear'd that such a Precedent might some Time or other be a Pretence to ambitious Spirits, having so great Power entrusted in their Hands, to enslave the Common-wealth. The same Reason seems to have been the Cause of the *Lacedæmonian* Law, whereby it was forbidden, that any Person should be Admiral above once (a), which nevertheless stood them in no good stead, it thereby often happening that they were forc'd to commit their Fleet to raw and unexperienc'd Commanders.

Επιστολεύς (b), sometimes call'd *ἐπιστολιάρχος*, was Vice-Admiral, or Commander in Chief under the Admiral.

Τεινέερχος, Captain of a Trireme, who commanded all the other Soldiers therein. The Captains of other Men of War were dignify'd with Titles taken from the Vessels they commanded, as *πτηνότοπος*, &c.

The Officers that had Care of the Ships, were the following:

Αρχικυβερνήται those who were entrusted with the Care and Management of all Marine Affairs, to provide commodious Harbours, to direct the Course of the Fleet, and order all other Things concerning it, except those which related to War.

Κυβερνήτης, the Master or Pilot had the Care of the Ship, and Government of the Sea-men therein, and sat at the Stern to steer: All Things were manag'd according to his Direction, 'twas therefore necessary that he should have obtain'd an exact Knowledge of the Art of Navigation, which was call'd *κυβερνητική τέχνη*, and chiefly consisted in these three Things: 1. In the right Management of the Rudder, Sails, and all the Engines us'd in Navigation. 2. In the Knowledge of the Winds and celestial Bodies, their Motions and Influences. 3. In the Knowledge of commodious Harbours, of Rocks, Quick-sands, and other Occurrences on the Sea: All these *Accetes* in *Ovid* tells us he furnish'd himself with, in order to become an accomplish'd Pilot (c),

*Max ego, ne scopulis hærerem semper in isdem,
Addidici regimen, dextra moderante, carina
Flectere; & Oleniæ fidus pluviale capella,
Taygetemque, Hyadasque oculis, Arctumque notavi,
Ventorumque domos, & porius puppibus aptos.*

Lest struck against a Rock, I there should stay,
Of Steering well I learnt the useful Way,
Observ'd the *Arctos*, and the *Hyades* too,
The Stars that round *Taygetes* glitt'ring shew,
Have mark'd th' *Olenian* Goat that Rain portends,
And how a noisy Wind each Quarter sends

(a) *Plutarchus Lysandro. Xenophon. Histor. lib. II.* (b) *Xenophon. Histor. lib. II. & V. Pollux lib. I. cap. IX.* (c) *Metamorphos. lib. III. in Fab. Bacchi.*

Of the Military Affairs of Greece. 145

I learn'd the safest Ports, and best Retreats

For tatter'd Vessels. ———

E. D.

As to the heavenly Bodies, they were observ'd by Sailors upon a two-fold Account, being of Use to them in prognosticating the Seasons, and Guides which way to shape their Course. The principal of those us'd in foretelling, were *Arcturus*, the *Dog-star*, *Ara*, *Orion*, *Hyades*, *Hædi*, *Castor* and *Pollux*, *Helena*, &c. It was likewise customary to take notice of various Omens offer'd by Sea-fowls, Fishes, and divers other Things, as the Murmuring of the Floods, the shaking and buzzing Noise of Trees in the Neighbouring Woods, the dashing of the Billows against the Shoar, and many more, in all which good Pilots were nicely skill'd. As to the Direction in their Voyage, the first Practitioners in the Art of Navigation, being unacquainted with the rest of the celestial Motions, steer'd all the Day by the Course of the Sun, at Night betaking themselves to some safe Harbour, or resting on the Shoar, and not daring to venture to Sea 'till their Guide was risen to discover their Way: That this was their constant Custom may be observ'd from the ancient Descriptions of those Times, whereof I shall only observe this Instance (a),

Sol ruit interea, & montes umbrantur opaci,

Sternimur optata gremio telluris ad undam,

Sortiti remos, passimque in littore sicco

Corpora curamus, fesses sopor irrigat artus.

The hast'ning Sun had reach'd his wat'ry Bed,

And Night the gloomy Mountains had o'erspread,

When Lots resolving who shou'd Rowers be,

Upon the Shoar we lie just by the Sea,

With Sleep our drooping Eyes we quickly close,

And give our weary'd Bodies sweet Repose.

E. D.

Afterwards the *Phœnicians*, whom some will have to be the first Inventors of Navigation, discover'd the Motions of some other Stars, as may be observ'd in *Pliny* (b), and *Propertius* (c),

Quaritis & cælo Phœnicum inventa sereno,

Quæ sit stella homini commoda, quæque mala.

————— led by the Art,

The wise *Phœnicians* found, and did impart,

You mind what Stars are Signs of Good or Harm.

The *Phœnicians* we find to have been directed by *Cynosura*, or the lesser *Bear-star* (d), which was first observ'd (as some are of Opinion)

(a) Virgil. *Aeneid*. III. v. 508. (b) Lib. VII. (c) Lib. II. v. 990. (d) *Estathius Iliad* d. *Arrianus Exped.* lib. VI.

146 Of the Military Affairs of Greece.

by *Thales the Milesian*, who was originally a *Phœnician* (a); where-
as the *Mariners of Greece*, as well as other Nations, steer'd by the
greater *Bear* call'd *Helice*; whence *Aratus*,

Ἑλίκη γέ μ' ἀνδρες Ἀχαιοὶ
Εἰν' ἀλὶ τεκμαίροντο ἵνα χρὴ νῆας ἀγινεῖν.
Helice always is the *Grecians* Guide,
Whene'er they take a Voyage. —

For the first Observation of this they were oblig'd to *Nauplius*, if we
may believe *Theon*, or, according to the Report of *Flaccus* (b), to *Ti-
phys*, the Pilot of the famous Ship *Argo*. But of these two, we are
told by *Theon*, the former was the securer Guide, and therefore was
follow'd by the *Phœnicians*, who for Skill in Marine Affairs outstript
not only all the rest of the World, but even the *Grecians* themselves.

Πρωρεύς, or *πρωρετής*, was next under the Master, and had his
Place in the Head of the Ship, as his Name imports. To his Care
was committed the Tackling of the Ship (c), and the Rowers who
had their Places assign'd by him, as appears of *Phœar*, who perform'd
this Office in *Theseus's* Ships (d). We find him every where assisting
the Master at Consultations concerning the Seasons, Places and other
Things (e).

Κελδύνης, *portifculus*, *agitator*, or *hortator remigum*, is by some
interpreted the Boat-swain; his Office was to signify the Word of
Command to the Rowers (f), and to distribute to all the Crew their
daily Portion of Food (g).

Τεινεσίλης was a Musician, who by the Harmony of his Voice
and Instrument rais'd the Spirits of the Rowers, when weary with
Labour (h), and ready to faint, as we read in *Statius* (i);

*Acclinis malo mediis interfonat Orpheus
Remigiis, tantosque jubet nescire labores.*

Against the Mast the tuneful *Orpheus* stands,
Plays to the weary'd Rowers, and commands
The Thought of Toil away. —

Another, it may be the chief, Use of this Musick was to direct the
Rowers, that they *keeping Time* therewith, might proceed in a regular
and constant Motion, lest by an uncertain Impulse of their Oars the
Course of the Ship should be retarded (k): Hence *Flaccus* in his *Ar-
gonautics*;

(a) *Hyginus* lib. II. *Poet. Astron. Eustathius* II. 6. *Theon. in Aratum.* (b) *Ar-
gon.* I. (c) *Xenophon Administ. dom.* lib. V. (d) *Athenæus* lib. XV. (e) *Sui-
das, Plutarchus, Agide, Xenophon Administ. dom.* I. b. V. *Pollux.* (f) *Arrian-
nus Exped. Alex.* lib. VI. (g) *Suidas.* (h) *Censorinus* cap. XII. (i) *Ihebid.* V.
v. 343. (k) *Maximus Tyrius Dissert.* XXIII.

——— *carmine tonsas*

Ire docet, summo passim ne gurgite pugnent.

His Notes direct how ev'ry Oar shou'd strike;
How they should Order keep. ———

Silius also speaks to the same purpose (a);

——— *media stat margine puppis,*

Qui voce alternos nautarum temperet ictus,

Et remis dictet sonitum, pariterque relatis

Ad numerum plaudat resonantia carula tonsis.

One ready stands to sing a charming Song

Unto the Sea-men as they row along,

Whose lively Strains a constant Movement keep,

And shew when ev'ry Oar shou'd brush the Deep,

Who, as the beaten Water still resounds,

Applauds their Labour with his Voice. ———

F. D.

This Musick was call'd *νίγλαο* (b), or *τὸ τειρικὸν μέλ* (b).

Δίοιοι, ναυκύλακες, custodes navis, were oblig'd to take care that the Ship receiv'd no Damage by bulging upon Rocks, or otherways (c); whence, in the Night especially, we find them employ'd in founding, and directing the Ship with long Poles;

Ὡς ναυκύλακες νυκτέρη ναυκληρίας

Πλήρεις ἀπὸ δυνάσιν ἕλειαν τέπειν (d).

As those who in the Night-time mind the Ship,

Direct and guide it with long Poles. ———

Τοίχαρχοι, were either those who had the Charge of the *τοῖχοι* τῆς νηὸς, or Sides of the Ship, according to *Turnebus* (e); or of the *τοῖχοι*, or *κοῖχοι* τῆς ἑρετῶν, i. e. the Bank of Rowers.

Several other Names of Officers occur in Authors; as *ταυίας*, who distributed to every Man his Share of Victuals, being usually the same with the *κελεύς*, but sometimes it may be distinct from him. *Homer* mentions this Officer (f);

Καὶ ταυίαὶ δὲ νηυσὶν ἔσαν σίτοιο δοτῆρες.

And Officers embark'd, whose Care it was

To give each Man his Victuals. ———

(a) Liv. VI. v. 361. (b) *Aristophanes*, εἰς τὰς *Scholias* Ran. Act II. Sc. V. *Pollux*. (c) *Ulpian*, lib. LIII. cap. VI & VII. *Pollux* lib. VII. cap. XXXI. *Eusebius*, *Il. ad. B.* (d) *Sophocles* *Αἰακῶν* συλλόγῳ. (e) *Advers.* lib. XXVIII. cap. XLIII. (f) *Iliad*, τ'.

148 *Of the Military Affairs of Greece!*

Ἐξαρκὺς (a), was a Person whose Business lay περὶ τὴν ἐχάρακιν, about the Fire, and therefore is by some thought to have been the Cook; by others the Priest who offer'd Sacrifices.

Λογιστὴς, or γραμματεὺς, was the Bursar who kept the Accounts, and registred all the Receipts and Expences of the Ship.

C H A P. XX.

Of their Voyages, Harbours, &c.

WHEN it was design'd the Fleet should put to Sea, the Signal being given by the Admiral, the Mariners hal'd the Ships into the Water; for it was customary, when they came into Harbour, to draw the Sterns to dry Land, to prevent their being toss'd and dissipated by the Waves. Hence *Virgil*;

——— *stant littore puppes.*

The Sterns stand on the Shoar.

It was frequent also for Sea-men, underpropping their Ships with their Shoulders, to thrust them forwards into the Sea; so we read of the *Argonauts* in *Valerius Flaccus* (b),

*At ducis imperiis Minyæ monituque frequentes
Puppem humeris subeunt, & tento poplite proni
Decurrunt.* ———

The Prince commands that they no longer stay,
His Orders strait the *Minyæ* obey;
And kneeling down, their Shoulders heave the Ship
Into the Main. ———

This was sometimes perform'd by Leavers and Spars of Wood, over which Ships were roul'd into the Deep; these were call'd φαλάσγες, φαλάσγια (c), and according to *Homer* μοχλοὶ (d);

Μοχλοῖσιν δ' ἄρ' ἐπ' ἑλκὺς κατέρυσεν εἰς ἄλα δ' ἴαν.

The heavy Ship into the Sea they thrust
With Leavers. ———

But to remedy the great Trouble and Difficulty of these Methods, *Archimedes* the *Syracusan* oblig'd his Country-men with the Ingeni-

(a) *Pollux.* (b) *Argon. I.* (c) *Hesychius, Pollux.* (d) *Odysf. σ'.*

Of the Military Affairs of Greece. 149

ous Contrivance of an Engine call'd *Helix*, whereby the Ships were with great Facility remov'd from the Shoar (a). To do this they call'd *τῶν πρύμνων κινεῖν*, or *νῆας κατερύειν εἰς ἄλλα*.

Before they embark'd, the Ships were adorn'd with Flowers and Garlands, which were Tokens of Joy and Mirth (b), and Omens of future Prosperity: Hence *Virgil*,

——— *vocat jam carbasus curas,*
Puppibus & lati nauta imposuere coronas.

Now's a fair Wind, and all the Sea-men crown
The Ship with Garlands. ———

Because no Success could be expected in any Enterprize without the Divine Blessing and Assistance, they invok'd the Protection of their Gods by solemn Prayers and Sacrifices, which as they offer'd to other Deities, so more especially to those who had any Concern or Command in the Sea, to the Winds and Tempests, to the whole Train of marine Gods and Goddeses, but above all to *Neptune* the great Emperor of the Sea. Thus *Anchises* in *Virgil* (c) dares not adventure himself to Sea, 'till he has first address'd himself to *Neptune* and *Apollo*;

——— *meritos aris maſtavit honores,*
Taurum Neptuno, taurum tibi, pulcher Apollo.

A Bull to *Neptune*, and a Bull to you
He sacrific'd, *Apollo*, as your due.

A great Number of Instances to the same Purpose may be met with in ancient Writers. Nor was it enough for themselves alone to petition the Gods for Safety and Success, but all the Multitudes that throng'd on such Occasions to the Shoar, earnestly recommended them to the Divine Protection, and joyn'd their fervent Prayers for their Deliverance from all the Dangers they were going to encounter (d).

This done, we are told by the *Scholiast* upon *Apollonius*, that it was usual to let fly a Dove; which, no doubt, was look'd on as an Omen of safe Return, because that Bird is not easily forc'd to relinquish its Habitation, but when driven away, delights to return. Then they put to Sea, the Signal being given by a Shout, by Sound of Trumpet, and several other Ways; in the Night it was usually given by Torches lighted in the Admiral-Galley; an Instance whereof we have in *Seneca's Agamemnon* (e);

Signum recursus regia ut fulsit rate,
Et clara lentum remigem emovit tuba,
Aurata primas prora secavit vias.

(a) *Plutarchus Marcello, Athenæus.* (b) *Aristophanis Scholiaſtes Acharn. Act. II. Sc. V.* (c) *Æneid. III. v. 118.* (d) *Diodorus Siculus lib. XIII. (e) V. 427.*

The Torches being lighted, which, to guide
Us home more safely, in the King's Ship stood,
And summon'd by the Trumpet's noisy Sound,
When ev'ry Man his proper Oar had took,
The Admiral march'd first, and cut the Waves.

E. D.

The Ships were usually rang'd in this Order: In the Front went the lighter Vessels, after these follow'd the Men of War led on by the Admiral, which was commonly distinguish'd from the rest by the Richness of her Ornaments; thus we find *Agamemnon's* Ship in the fore-mention'd Place of *Seneca* going before the rest;

*Aurata primas prora secavit vias,
Aperitque cursus, mille quos puppes secant.*

The Admiral went first, and cut the Waves,
Prepar'd the yielding Deep, which afterwards
A thousand Vessels cleav'd, ———

Last of all the Vessels of Burden came up. If the Winds were high, or Seas dangerous, they were extended out at Length, sailing one by one: but at other Times they went Three or more in a Breast.

When they arriv'd at any Port where they design'd to land, the first Thing they did was to run their Ships backwards upon their Hind-decks in order to tack about; this they call'd ἐπὶ πρύμνῳ, or πρὸς πύμῳ (a), which Phrase is by *Thucydides* elegantly apply'd to those that retreat fighting, and still facing their Enemies: Then they tack'd about, which they term'd ἐπιστρέφειν (b), turning the Heads of their Ships to the Sea, according to *Virgil*;

Obvertunt pelago proras. ———

To the Sea they turn'd their Prows.

Now the Rowers ceas'd from their Labours, and rested their Oars, which the Greeks call'd ἐπάχεν ἢ ναῦν, the *Latins*, *inhibere remos*: These they hung upon Pins, as we find in *Statius* (c);

*Quinquaginta illi trabibus de more revinctis
Eminus abrupto quatiunt nova littora saltu.*

Their fifty Oars hung up, they rudely leap'd
Upon the new-found Shoar. ———

(a) *Aristoph. Schol. Vesp. p. 457.* (b) *Grotius Arateis.* (c) *Thebaid. V. 344.*

Of the Military Affairs of Greece. 151

For fear their Oars should be in Danger of being broken by the Floods, they hung them not so as to reach the Water, but upon the Sides of their Ships; whence Ovid (a);

Obvertit lateri pendentes navita remos.

To the Ship's Sides the Sea-men hung their Oars.

Being safely landed, they discharg'd whatever Vows they had made to the Gods, beside which they usually offer'd a Sacrifice call'd *σπκα-τῆλον*, to Jupiter firmam'd *σπκατίειθ*, for enabling them *σπκαί-νεν* *ἀπὸ τῶ νηῶν*, to quit their Ships, and recover the Land. Their Devotions were sometimes paid to Nereus, Glaucus, Ino and Melicertes, the Cabiri, and other Gods of the Sea, but more especially to Neptune, who was thought to have a peculiar Care of all that travell'd within the Compass of his Dominions: Thus the Heroes in Homer (b);

Οἱ δὲ Πύλον, Νηληϊῶν ἐὺκλίμενον πολίεθρον,
Ἰξον τοὶ δ' ἐπὶ Διὶ θαλάσσης ἱερὰ ῥέζον,
Ταύρας παμμέλανας ἑνὸς ἱεροῦ κυανοχαίτη :

Landed at Pylus, where King Neleus reign'd,
With blackest Bulls they sev'ral Altars stain'd,
A Sacrifice to Neptune. —————

They who had escap'd a Shipwreck, or any other Danger at Sea, were more particularly oblig'd to offer a Present to the Gods as a Testimony of their Gratitude. To this they sometimes added the Garment in which they had escap'd, and a Tablet containing an Account of their Deliverance. To which there is the following Allusion in Horace (c),

————— *me tabula sacer*
Votiva paries indicat uvida
Suspendisse potenti
Vestimenta maris Deo.

If nothing else remain'd, they did at least shave their Hair, and consecrate it to their Protectors. Thus Lucilius affirms of himself in the Epigram (d);

Γλαῦκω, καὶ Νηρηΐ, καὶ Ἰνοΐ, καὶ Μελικέρτῃ,
Καὶ βυδίῳ Κερνίδῃ, καὶ Σαμόθρηξι θεοῖς,
Σωθεὶς ἐκ πελάγους Λυκίλλιθ, ὧδε κέκαρμα
Τὰς τείχας ἐκ κεφαλῆς, ἄλλο γ' ἔδεν ἔχω.

(a) *Metamorph.* XI. 25. (b) *Odys.* γ'. v. 4. (c) *Lib.* I. *Od.* V. (d) *Anthol.* lib. VI, cap. XXI, Epigr. I,

152 Of the Military Affairs of Greece.

Hence *Petræus Arbiter* calls shaving their Hair, *naufragorum ultimum votum*, the last Vow of Men in Shipwreck (a). It was also customary for those who had escap'd any other Danger, particularly in *μεγάλη σωθέντες νόσος*, for such as had recover'd from any dangerous Sickness, to shave off their Hair (b). The *Ægyptians* us'd to shave their own Hair when they paid their Acknowledgments to the Gods for the Recovery of their Children (c).

Harbours were Places render'd, either by Nature or Art, commodious for the Entertainment of Ships, and to defend them against the Insults of Winds and Waves: The former sort were usually at the Mouth of a River, or in a Creek of the Sea, under the Cover of some lofty Promontory: The latter were vast Piles, or Heaps of Earth and other Materials cast up in the Form of a Semicircle, with Arms of a vast Length extended into the Sea; these were call'd *χηλαι* (d), from their Resemblance to Crabs-Claws, or *ἀλγαι* (e); or *ἀλλαι*, as in *Homer*, who speaks thus of the *Phorcyan Harbour* (f);

— δύο δὲ περὶ ἡντὲς ἐν αὐτῷ
Ἀλλαι σπορῶγες, λιμὴν ποτὲ πεπληνῆαι.

— There two great Piles stood out,
 Which made a Haven. —

Cicero terms them *Cornua* (g). For the Security of the Ships enclos'd therein, we find it usual to fix to the two Ends vast Chains or Booms, as appears of the *Syracusan Harbour* mention'd in *Frontinus* (h): Nor was it unfrequent to guard them with great Pales fortify'd against the Water with Pitch: Hence Havens are sometimes term'd in *Latin*, *Claustura*, in *Greek*, *κλέσται* (i). On both sides of the Mole were strong Towers (k), which were defended in the Night, and all Times of Danger, by Garrisons of Soldiers (l). Not far distant from hence was a Watch-tower with Lights to direct Mariners; this was call'd *Pharos*, which Name originally belong'd to a little Island in the Mouth of the River Nile, where the first of these Towers was built, but afterwards was naturaliz'd both in *Greece* and at *Rome*.

The second Part of the Harbour was term'd *στόμα*, in *Latin*, *ostium* and *fauces*, being the Mouth or Entry between the Arms of the Semicircle.

Μυχός was the inmost Part of the Harbour nearest to the Shoar, and most secure from the Waves, insomuch that their Ships were often suffer'd to lie loose, whereas in other Parts of the Harbour they were usually either chain'd to the Land, or lay at Anchor: It

(a) Cap. LXIII. (b) Conf. *Artemidorus Oneirocrit.* lib. I. cap. XXIII. (c) *Dionysius Siculus Bibliothec. Hist.* lib. I. (d) *Diodorus Siculus* lib. XII. *Thucydides* Scholiast. (e) *Polyanus Strateg.* lib. V. (f) *Odys.* v. (g) *Epist. ad Attic.* lib. IX. Ep. XIX. (h) *Strateg.* lib. I. (i) *Thucyd.* lib. II. (k) *Vegetius* lib. V. cap. II. (l) *Thucydides, Curtius, Polyanus.*

Of the Military Affairs of Greece. 153

was distinguish'd into several Partitions by Walls, erected for the most part of Stone, under the Covert of which the Vessels had Protection; these Places were call'd ὄρμοι (a), whence Homer (b),

ἐντοθε δ' ἀνδρῶν δεσμοῖο μένεσι

Νῆες ἐὺσελμοι, ὅταν ὄρμος μέτρον ἴκωνται.

The Ships that far within the Harbour lodge,

Without a Chain are safe. —————

They were also term'd ναύλοχοι, and all together compos'd what was call'd ναυσάδμος. Here were likewise the Docks, in which Ships were built, or careen'd, and dragg'd to Land; these were nam'd νεώσοικοι (c), ὀπίσια (d), νεώεια (e), &c.

The adjacent Places were usually fill'd with Inns and Stews (f) well-stock'd with Females that prostituted themselves to the Mariners, Merchants, and Artificers of all sorts, who flock'd thither in great Numbers. Most Harbours were adorn'd with Temples, or Altars, where Sacrifices were offer'd to the Tutelar Deities of the Place, and Presidents of the Sea; Mention of which we find as in other Places, so particularly in Homer (g), who speaks of a Cave in the Haven of *Ithaca* dedicated to the *Naiades*.

Scheffer will have *stationes navium* to differ from the former, in this, that here Ships were laid up for a considerable Time, but remain'd only 'till they were supply'd with Water or other Necessaries, or on some other short Occasions. They had several Names, being call'd ὄρμοι (h), ὑφορμοι (i), ἐνορμίσματα (k), σάλοι (l), κατάρσεις (m), and frequently at some Distance from the Shoar; whence ὄρμων in Plutarch (n) is term'd σπασαλεύειν, which imports their being among the Waves; and by Thucydides ἀγεν ἐπ' ἀσχυρεῖν, which answers in some Measure to the Latin Phrase in Livy, *in anchoris stare*, to ride at Anchor.

In Times of War they defended themselves with Fortifications on both sides, but made after a different Manner; towards the Land they fortify'd themselves with a Ditch and Parapet, or Wall built in the Form of a Semicircle, and extended from one Point of the Sea to another: This was sometimes defended with Towers, and beautify'd with Gates, thro' which they issued forth to attack their Enemies. Homer hath left us a remarkable Description of the Grecian Fortifications in the Trojan War (o);

ποτὶ δ' αὐτὸν τῆχ' ἔδεμαν,

Πύργους δ' ὑψηλὰς, εἰλαρ νηῶν τε, καὶ αὐτῶν·

Ἐν δ' αὐτοῖσι πύλας ἐνεποίηον εὖ ἀραρήας,

Ὅρεα δὲ αὐτῶν ἱππηλασίη ὁδὸς ἔειπ'.

(a) Eustathius *Odyss.* v. *Iliad.* d. (b) *Odyss.* v. (c) *Diodorus Siculus* lib. XIV. *Suidas.* (d) *Homeri Odyss.* c. (e) *Demosthen. Schol. Orat. de Corona.* *Suidas.* *Homeri Schol.* (f) *Pollux* lib. IX. cap. V. (g) *Odyss.* v. v. 103. (h) *Hezychius.* (i) *Strabo.* lib. VIII. (k) *Appianus* lib. V. (l) *Polyb.* lib. I. (m) *Thucydides* lib. IV. *cujusque Scholiast.* (n) *Pompeio.* (o) *Iliad.* ii. v. 436.]

Ἐκίσθεν ὃ βαθεῖαν ἐπ' αὐτῷ τάφρον ὄρυξαν,
 Εὐρεῖαν, μεγάλῃ, ἐν ᾧ σκόλοπας κατέπηξαν.

A bulky Wall, and lofty Towers, to shield
 Their Navy and themselves, the *Grecians* build;
 On these great Gates for Passages they make,
 Convenient Ways that all their Horse should take,
 And all around they dug a spacious Ditch,
 Fixing great Pales of Wood —————

E. D.

Toward the Sea, or within it, they fix'd great Pales of Wood, like those in Harbours; before these the Vessels of Burden were plac'd in such Order, as they might be instead of a Wall, and give Protection to those within; in which manner *Nicias* is reported by *Thucydides* to have encamp'd himself: But this seems only to have been practis'd when the Enemy was thought superior in Strength, and rais'd in them great Apprehensions of Danger. At other Times all they us'd to do, was to appoint a few of their Ships to observe their Enemy's Motions: these were term'd *προφυλακίδες* (a), and the Soldiers *πίρστροι*, or *πυρσκριφαι*, from *πυρσός*, a Torch, wherewith they signify'd the Approach of their Enemies (b). When their Fortifications were thought strong enough to secure them from the Assault of their Enemies, it was frequent to drag their Ships to Shoar, which the *Greeks* call'd *ἐνελκεῖν*, the *Romans*, *subducere* (c). Around the Ships the Soldiers plac'd their Tents, as appears every where in *Homer*, *Thucydides* (d), and others; but this seems only to have been practis'd in Winter, when their Enemy's Fleet was laid up, and could not assault them; or in long Sieges, and when they lay in no Danger from their Enemies by Sea, as in the *Trojan War*, where the Defenders of *Troy* never once attempted to encounter the *Grecians* in a Sea-fight; at other Times the Ships only lay at Anchor, or were ty'd to the Shoar, that upon any Alarm they might be ready to receive the Enemy.

C H A P. XXI.

(1) *Of their Engagements, &c. by Sea.*

IN preparing for an Engagement at Sea, the first Business was to disburthen their Ships of War of all Provisions, and other Lumber not necessary in the Action, left by too heavy a Load they should be render'd unweildy, and unfit for Service, being neither able with Force and Vigour to assail their Enemies, nor by lightly tacking

(a) *Thucyd.* lib. I. (b) *Polyanus* lib. III. (c) *Livius* lib. XXII. cap. XXVIII. *Cicero de Offic.* lib. III. (d) *Lib.* VI,

about

about to avoid their Onsets. This done, when the Enemy appear'd in View, they took down their Sails, lower'd their Masts, and secur'd whatever might expose them to the Winds, chusing rather to be govern'd by Oars, which they could manage at their Pleasure. On this Account we read that *Hanno* the *Carthaginian* being pursu'd by a Fleet of *Dionysius* the *Sicilian*, to which he was much inferior in Strength and Number, and having no Way to make his Escape, took down his Sails as preparing to fight; whereby decoying the *Sicilians* to do the like, whilst they were busie and observ'd him not, he unexpectedly hois'd again his Sails, and made away (a).

As to their Order of Battel, that was vary'd as Time, Place and other Circumstances requir'd; being sometimes form'd like an Half-moon, and call'd *σολῶν μωοειδής*, the Horns jutting out towards the Enemy, and containing the ablest Men and Ships; sometimes, on the contrary, having its Belly nearest the Enemy, and its Horns turn'd backwards, whence it was term'd *κυρτὴ παρόταξις*: Nor was it unusual to range them in the Form of a Circle, which they call'd *κύκλον τάττειν*; or (to mention no more) in the Figure of the Letter V (b), with the Horns extended in a direct Line, and meeting at the End; which Order was nam'd *ἐπικαμπὴς παρόταξις*, in Latin, *Forceps*; and was usually encounter'd by the Enemies rang'd into the same Order inverted, whereby they resembled the Figure of a Wedge or Beak, whence it was call'd *cuneus* or *rostrum*; this enabled them to penetrate into the Body of the adverse Battel.

Before they join'd Battel, both Parties invok'd the Gods to their Assistance by Prayers and Sacrifices; and the Admirals going from Ship to Ship in some of the lighter Vessels, exhorted their Soldiers in a Peroration to behave themselves like Men: Then all Things being in Readiness, the Signal was given by hanging out of the Admiral's Galley a gilded Shield, as we read in *Plutarch*; or a red Garment or Banner (c); which was term'd *ἄρην σημαία*. During the Elevation of this the Fight continu'd, and by its Depression, or Inclination towards the right or left, the rest of the Ships were directed in what manner to attack their Enemies, or retreat from them (d). To this was added the Sound of Trumpets, which was begun in the Admiral's Galley (e), and continu'd round the whole Navy (f); it was likewise usual for the Soldiers before the Fight to sing a *Paan*, or Hymn to *Mars* (g), and after the Fight another to *Apollo*.

The Fight was usually begun by the Admiral-galley, as we find done at the Battel of *Salamis* (h), and another Time by *Attalus's* Ship (i): It was carry'd on in two different Manners, for not only the Ships engag'd one another, and by their Beaks and Prows, and sometimes their Sterns endeavour'd to dash in Pieces, or over-set and sink their Opposers; but the Soldiers also annoy'd their Enemies with Darts and Slings, and upon their nearer Approach with Swords and Spears: Thus *Lucan* (k);

(a) *Polyanus* lib. V. (b) *Vegetius*. (c) *Diodorus Siculus* lib. XIII. *Polyanus* lib. I. (d) *Leo* Tract. (e) *Plutarchus* *Lyfandro*. (f) *Diodorus* lib. XIII. (g) *Suidas*. (h) *Diodorus* lib. III. (i) *Polybius* lib. XVI. (k) *Lib. III.*

156 *Of the Military Affairs of Greece.*

*Ut primum rostris crepuerunt obvia rostra,
In puppim rediere rates, emissaque tela
Aera texerunt, vacuumque cadentia pontum.*

The Ships first meeting shew their fiercest Rage,
And furiously with clashing Beaks engage;
These turn about, and then the Javelins fly,
And Show'rs of Arrows darken all the Sky,
The Sea is cover'd o'er.——

E, D,

Afterwards he goes on in this Manner ;

*Jam non excussis torquentur tela lacertis,
Nec longinqua cadunt jaculato vulnera ferro;
Misceturque manus, navali plurima bello
Ensis agit; stat quisque sua de robore puppis
Pronus in adversos ictus.*——

They throw no longer Darts, no longer try
With missive Arms to kill the Enemy;
Both close together come, their Swords they draw,
Each stoutly keeps his Post.——

Nor can it be wonder'd how they approach'd so near one another, when we find it usual to link their Vessels together with Chains or Grappling-Irons, of which I have spoken in one of the fore-going Chapters; whence *Silius* (a),

*Injecta ligant hinc vincula ferri
Atque illinc naves, steteruntque ad praelia nexæ;
Net jaculo, aut longe certatur arundine fusa,
Cominus & gladio terrestria praelia miscent.
Chain'd fast with Irons both the Navies stand,
No Blood the Darts and flying Weapons spill,
With Swords, they closely join'd, begin to kill.*

Sometimes for want of Irons they so fix'd their Oars, as thereby to hinder their Enemies from retreating; so we read in *Lucan* (b);

Seque tenent remis, toto stetit aquore bellum.

The Ships they hold with Oars, and all around
The Face of horrid War appears.——

This sort of Combat was not unlike a Siege, where the stronger Party prevailing over their Enemies, enter'd their Vessels by laying

(a) Lib. XIV. (b) Lib. III.

Bridges between them, and having kill'd, or taken Prisoners all they found in Arms, seiz'd and dragg'd away their Ships.

When a Town was besieg'd by Sea, they us'd to environ its Walls and Harbour with Ships rang'd in Order from one side of the Shoar to the other, and so closely join'd together by Chains and Bridges on which arm'd Men were plac'd, that without breaking their Order, there could be no Passage from the Town to the Sea; this Leaguer *Diodorus* calls *ζεύγυα* (a). The better to prevent any Attempts of the Besieg'd, *Demetrius* is said to have invented a sort of Boom arm'd with Spikes of Iron which swam upon the Waters; this he plac'd at the Mouth of the Harbour of *Rhodes*, when he besieg'd that City (b). Sometimes they block'd up the Harbour, or made a Passage to the Town by raising a vast Mole before it, as we read of *Alexander* in the Siege of *Tyre* (c); or by sinking Ships fill'd with Stones and Sand, as we find practis'd by the *Romans*.

The Attacks were usually carry'd on by Men standing upon Bridges between the Ships, and thence with Darts and Stones forcing the Besieged from their Walls: Thus *Alexander* in the Siege of *Tyre* so order'd his Gallies, that two of them being joyn'd at the Heads, and the Sterns somewhat distant, Boards and Planks were laid over in the Fashion of Bridges, for Soldiers to stand upon, who were in this manner row'd close to the Wall, where without any Danger they threw Darts at their Enemies, being shelter'd behind the Foredecks of their own Gallies (d). Here also, that they might throw their missive Weapons with greater Advantage, and batter the Walls with their Rams and other Engines, they erected Towers so high as to command the City-walls, from which having repell'd the Defenders, they by this Means had Opportunity to descend by Ladders.

The Besieged were not at a loss for ways of defeating these Stratagems; the Ships linked together they pull'd asunder with Iron Hooks, the Passage to the Town they block'd up in the same manner the Enemies had done that of the Harbour, or other ways (e); if they could not hinder their Approach, they fail'd not to gall them with Darts, Stones, Fire-balls, melted Pitch or Metals, and many other Things; and lastly, to trouble you no farther, it was frequent for those in the Town to destroy the Vessels and Works of the Besiegers by Fire-ships, as we find done by the *Tyrians* (f), who taking a large Vessel, put a great Quantity of Ballast into the Stern, cover'd the Head with Pitch, Tar and Brimstone, then by the Help of Sails and Oars brought her close to the *Macedonian* Fortrefs, where having set the combustible Matter on Fire, they retreated into Boats prepar'd for that purpose; the Fire immediately seiz'd the Towers of the Fortification, and by the Help of Torches and Fire-brands cast by those in the Boats, the Work itself took Fire, and that vast Pile on which so much Time and Labour had been bestow'd, was in a few Moments quite demolish'd. The Use of Fireships we likewise meet with amongst the *Rhodians* in *Diodorus* the *Sicilian* (g).

(a) Lib. XIII. (b) *Diodorus* lib. XX. (c) *Curtius* lib. IV. (d) *Idem* ibidem.
(e) *Thucydides* lib. VII. (f) *Curtius* lib. IV. (g) lib. XX.

C H A P. XXII.

Of the Spoils, Military Rewards, Punishments, &c.

Victory being obtain'd, the Conquerors rode Home triumphant, laden with the Spoils of their Enemies, and dragging after them the captive Ships, as appears from the Instances of *Alcibiades* in *Plutarch*, and *Lysander* in *Xenophon* (a): The latter of these had Crowns or Garlands presented him by all the confederate Cities of *Sparta*, as he pass'd by them, which Custom was constantly practis'd by the *Grecians*, from whom it seems to have been deriv'd to *Rome*: Nor was the Admiral, or the Soldiers and Mariners (b) only adorn'd with Garlands, but their Ships were likewise bedeck'd with them (c); whereby the *Rhodians* were once reduc'd to extreme Danger; for their Enemies having made themselves Masters of their Ships, crown'd them with Lawrel, and entering them, were receiv'd with great Joy into *Rhodes* (d); which Stratagem was frequently practis'd in *Greece* (e). Nor were they beautify'd with Garlands only, but hung likewise about with Wrecks and broken Pieces of the Ships destroy'd in Battel, especially the ἀλασα, ἀκροβλία κόρυμβα, and other ornamental Parts, which the Conquerors were industrious in procuring, to grace their Triumphs; whence of *Hector* threatening the *Grecian* Fleet with Destruction, *Homer* says,

Στεῦται γδ νηῶν ἀποκόψεν ἄκρα κόρυμβα.

These they call'd ἀκρωτήριον, and to deprive a Ship of them ἀκρωτήριον (f). In this Manner the Victors return'd Home, filling the Sea with their Shouts, Acclamations and Hymns; which were sweeten'd by the Harmony of Musical Instruments, as appears from the Example of *Lysander* in *Plutarch*.

Being receiv'd into the City, they went straightway into the Temples of the Gods, where they dedicated the choicest of their Spoils: Thus we read, that the *Syracusians* having defeated the *Athenians*, and the *Rhodians* after a Victory over *Demetrius*, fill'd the Temples of their Gods with Wrecks of Ships. Nor was it unusual to present entire Vessels to them; for we find that *Phormio* having overcome the *Lacedemonians*, consecrated a Ship to *Neptune* (g); and the *Grecians* after their great Victory over the *Persians* at *Salamis*, are reported to have dedicated three *Phœnician* Triremes (h).

Having paid their Complement to the Gods, the Remainder of their Spoils they bestow'd in the Portico's, and other publick Places

(a) *Histor. lib. II.* (b) *Polyanus lib. IV.* (c) *Diodorus lib. XIII.* (d) *Vitruvius lib. II. cap. VIII.* (e) *Polyanus.* (f) *Xenophon Hist. lib. VI.* (g) *Diodorus lib. XII.* (h) *Herodotus lib. VIII.*

Of the Military Affairs of Greece. 159

of their City, to preserve the Memory of their Victory: To which End they were likewise honour'd with Statues, Inscriptions, and Trophies, the last of which were sometimes erected in their own Country, but more frequently near the Place where they had overthrown their Enemies, and were adorn'd with Arms, and broken Wrecks of Ships, which for that Reason were look'd on as a Sign and Testimony of Victory; thus we are told by *Thucydides* (a), that in a Fight between the *Athenians* and *Corinthians*, where both Parties made Pretensions to Victory; the former were by most esteem'd to have the justest Title to it, as having possess'd themselves of their Enemy's Wrecks; and King *Philip*, tho' worsted by *Attalus*, yet because he made a shift to keep his Fleet amongst the adverse Party's Wrecks, would have perswaded the World that the Day was his own (b).

These were the Principal of the Rewards peculiar to those who had serv'd their Country by Sea; others they seem also to have been frequently honour'd with, which being common to those who had been useful in other Stations, may be more properly referr'd to other Places, where I have already treated of them. The chief of their Punishments was whipping with Cords, which was sometimes inflicted on Criminals having their lower Parts within the Ship, and their Heads thrust out of Port-holes, and hanging into the Sea. Thus one *Scylax*, Master of a *Myndian* Vessel, was treated by *Megabates* for not being careful to keep Watch and Ward (c).

There seems to have been a Punishment by which Offenders were ty'd with Cords to a Ship, and dragg'd in the Waters 'till they were drown'd; in which manner *Scylla* was treated by *Minos*, after she had betray'd to him her Father and Kingdom.

Others were thrown alive into the Sea, as we read of *Jonas* the Prophet.

Αναμάρχῃ, or such as refus'd to serve at Sea after a lawful Summons, were at *Athens* themselves and their Posterity condemn'd to *ἀτιμία*, Ignominy or Disfranchisement (d), of which Punishment I have spoken in one of the former Books.

Ἀποσώτης, Deserters, were not only bound with Cords and whipp'd, as *Demosthenes* reports, but had their Hands likewise cut off, as we are inform'd by *Suidas*.

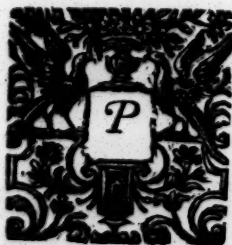
(a) Lib. VII. (b) *Polybius* Hist. lib. XVI. cap. III. (c) *Herodotus* *Terpsichore*.
(d) *Suidas*.

Archæologia Græca:
OR, THE
ANTIQUITIES
OF
G R E E C E.

B O O K IV.

C H A P. I.

*Of the Care the Grecians had of Funerals, and
of Persons destitute thereof.*



*P*LUTO was the first who instructed the Grecians (a) in the Manner of performing their last Offices to the Deceas'd, which gave Occasion to the Inventors of Fables to assign him a vast and unbounded Empire in the Shades below, and constitute him supreme Monarch of all the Dead. And since there is scarce any useful Art, the Inventor whereof was not reckon'd amongst the Gods, and believ'd to patronize and preside over those Artificers he had first instructed; no Wonder if he who taught the rude and unciviliz'd Ages

(a) *Diodorus Siculus* lib. V. cap. XV.

Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece. 161

what Respect, what Ceremonies were due to the Dead, had the Honour to be number'd amongst the Deities of the first Quality, since the Duties belonging to the Dead were thought of far greater Importance, and the Neglect of them a Crime of a blacker Character than those requir'd by the Living: For the Dead were ever held sacred and inviolable even amongst the most barbarous Nations; to defraud them of any due Respect was a greater and more unpardonable Sacrilege, than to spoil the Temples of the Gods; their Memories were preserv'd with a religious Care and Reverence, and all their Remains honour'd with Worship and Adoration; Hatred and Envy themselves were put to Silence, for it was thought a Sign of a cruel and inhuman Disposition to speak evil of the Dead, and prosecute Revenge beyond the Grave; no Provocation was thought sufficient to warrant so foul an Action, the highest Affronts from themselves whilst alive, or afterwards from their Children, were esteem'd weak Pretences for disturbing their Peace. Offenders of this kind were not only branded with Disgrace and Infamy, but by *Solon's* Laws incurr'd a severe Penalty (a).

But of all the Honours paid to the Dead, the Care of their Funeral Rites was the greatest and most necessary; for these were look'd upon as a Debt so sacred, that such as neglected to discharge it, were thought accurs'd; hence the *Romans* call'd them *justa*, the *Grecians* *δίκαια*, νόμιμα, νομιζόμενα, ἐθιμα, ὅσια, &c. all which Words imply the inviolable Obligations which Nature has laid upon the Living to take Care of the Obsequies of the Dead. And no Wonder if they were thus solicitous about the Interment of the Dead, since they were strongly possess'd with an Opinion, that their Souls could not be admitted into the *Elysian* Shades, but were forc'd to wander desolate and without Company, till their Bodies were committed to the Earth (b); and if they never had the good Fortune to obtain human Burial, the Time of their Exclusion from the common Receptacle of the Ghosts was no less than an hundred Years; whence in most of the Poets we meet with passionate Requests of dying Men, or their Ghosts after Death, for this Favour: I will only give you one out of *Homer* (c), who introduces the Soul of *Elpenor* earnestly beseeching *Ulysses* to perform his Funeral-Rites,

Νῦν δέ σε τ' ὅπιθεν γυνάζομαι ἔπαρέοντων,
 Πρὸς τ' ἀλόχε, καὶ πατέρι, ὃς ἔτρεφε τυτθὸν ἐόντα,
 Τηλεμάχῃ δ' ὃν μῆνιν ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἔλειπες,
 Μή μ' ἀκλαυτον ἄδαπλον ἰὼν ὅπιθεν καταλείπειν
 Νοσσοειδὲς, μή τοι τι θεῶν μῆνιμα γένωμαι.
 When homewards bound th' infernal Shades you quit,
 Don't me unhappy Wretch, my Friend, forget.
 If ought of dear Concern you've left behind,
 With Zeal tow'rd me, let that affect your Mind:
 If aged Sire, your Wife, or hopeful Heir can bind,

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(a) *Demoſthen.* Orat. in *Leptin.* *Plutarchus Solone.*
 (c) *Odyſſ.* λ'. v. 66, 72.

(b) *Homerus Iliad.* 4'.

162 *Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece.*

Let Dirge and Burial solemnize my Fate,
 Left I shou'd prove to th' Gods a Reprobate:
 This, this I beg, this earnestly implore,
 Thus will my Soul to Blifs be wafted o'er.

J. 4.

This was the Reason why of all Imprecations, the greatest was to wish that a Person might ἀταφῶς ἐκπίπτειν χθονός, i. e. die destitute of Burial; and of all Forms of Death the most terrible was that by Shipwrack, as wherein the Body was swallowed up by the Deep; whence *Ovid*, tho' willing to resign his miserable Life, yet prays against this Death;

Demite naufragium, mors mihi munus erit.

Death would my Soul from anxious Troubles ease,
 But that I fear to perish by the Seas.

Wherefore, when they were in Danger of being cast away, it was customary to fasten to some Part of their Body the most precious of all their Stores, with a Direction to the first that found their dead Corpses, if the Waves chanc'd to rowl them to the Shoar, entreating of him the Favour of an human Burial, and proffering what they carry'd about them as a Reward, or desiring to expend some Part of it upon their Funeral (a) Rites, and accept the rest himself. But tho' the Carcase brought no Reward along with it, yet was it not therefore lawful to pass it by neglected, and deny it what was look'd on as a Debt to all Mankind; for not only the *Athenian* Laws forbade so great an Act of Inhumanity (b), but in all Parts of *Greece* it was look'd upon as a great Provocation to the Infernal Gods, and a Crime that would call up certain Vengeance from the Regions below (c), nor could the guilty Person be freed from the Punishment of his Offence, or admitted to converse with Men, or worship the Gods, but was look'd upon as profane and polluted, till he had undergone the accusom'd Purifications, and appeas'd the incens'd Deities. Yet it was not always requir'd that all the Funeral Solemnities should be nicely perform'd, which the Haste of Travellers that should light upon the Carcase might oftentimes not permit, but it was sufficient to cast Dust or soft Earth upon it three Times together, according to *Horace* (d);

*Quaquam festinas, non est mora longa, licebit
 Injecto ter pulvere curras.*

—Over the Corpse thrice sprinkle Sand,
 Th' officious Deed will not retard your Haste.

Of these three Handfuls, one at least was thrown upon the Head.

This, in Cases of Necessity, was look'd upon as enough to gain the Ghost's Admission into *Pluto's* Dominions, and to free such as happen'd

(a) *Synesius* Epist. Interpretes *Historiæ Apollonii Tyrii*, *Meursius* in *Lycophronis* *Cassandram* v. 367. (b) *Ælian* Var. Hist. lib. V. cap. XIV. (c) *Sophocles* *Scholiastes* *Antigone*. (d) Lib. I. Od. XXVIII. v. 36. *Quintillianus* *Declam.* V. VI. *Calpurnius Rhodiginus* lib. XVII. cap. XX.

upon

Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece. 163

upon their Bodies from the Fear of being haunted, yet was far from affording them entire Satisfaction; wherefore, such as had been interr'd clandestinely, or in haste and without the customary Solemnities, if afterwards good Fortune discover'd them to any of their Friends, were honour'd with a second Funeral, as appears from the Story of *Polydorus* in *Virgil*, who being murder'd and interr'd by *Polymnestor*, does yet make his Complaint to *Aeneas* at his Arrival in *Thrace*, that his Soul could not rest till his Obsequies were celebrated according to Custom; wherefore the pious Hero

——— *Instaurat funus, animamque sepulchro*

Candit (a). ———

Attends the Rites, and gives the Soul Repose
Within a wish'd-for Tomb. ———

Nor was it sufficient to be honour'd with the solemn Performance of their Funeral Rites, except their Bodies were prepar'd for Burial by their Relations, and interr'd in the Sepulchres of their Fathers; the Want of which was look'd upon by themselves and their surviving Friends, as a very great Misfortune, and not much inferior to Death it self, as appears from innumerable Testimonies, of which I shall only trouble you with the following; the first taken from the Epitaph of *Leonidas* the *Tarentine*, which runs thus (b);

Πολλὸν ἂν Ἰταλίνης καὶ μακρὸν χρόνος, ἔκ τε Τάραντος

Πάτρης, τῶτο δέ μοι μικρότερον θανάτου.

I from *Tarentum* far remote do lie,

My native Soil, than Death oh worse Anxiety!

The second from *Electra* in *Sophocles*, who having preserv'd *Orestes* from *Clytemnestra*, by sending him into a foreign Country, and many Years after hearing he had ended his Days there, wishes he had rather perish'd at first, than after so many Years continuance of Life have dy'd from Home, and been destitute of the last Offices of his Friends. Her Words are these (c);

Δόμων δέ σ', ὦ παῖ, λαμπρὸν ἔξεπεμψ' ἐγώ.

Ὡς ὄφελον πάροιθεν ἐκλιπεῖν βίον.

Πεῖν ἐς ξένῳ σὲ γαῖαν ἐκπέμψαι χεροῖν

Κλέψασα ταῖνδ', ἀνασώσασθαι φόνε·

Ὡπως θανὼν ἔκεισο τῇ πόδι' ἡμέρᾳ.

Τύμβε πατρός κοινὸν εἰληχῶς μέρῳ.

Νῦν δ' ἐκτὸς οἴκων, κατὰ γῆς ἄλλης στυγερῆς

Κακῶς ἀπώλε, σῆς κασιγνήτης δίχαι &c.

Oh! could I wish thou hadst, unhappy Youth,

Been slain before I sent thee thus away,

(a) *Aeneid*. III. v. 62, & 67. (b) *Antholog. Epigram. lib. III. cap. XXV. Ep. LXXV.* (c) *V. 1136.*

164 *Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece.*

Then thou hadst ne'er these doleful Mis'ries felt,
But dy'd in th' Innocence of Infancy;
Then thou hadst had one common Sepulture
With thy dear Father, then thy Sister's Love
And Pity ne'er wou'd thus have heap'd up Woe:
Now thou art in a foreign Land depriv'd
Of those blest Rites thy Friends could once bestow,
And as thy Life unhappy was, so is alike thy Death. *J. A.*

For this Reason, such as dy'd in Foreign Countries had usually their Ashes brought Home and interr'd in the Sepulchres of their Ancestors, or, at least, in some Part of their native Country; it being thought that the same Mother which gave them Life and Birth, was only fit to receive their Remains, and afford them a peaceable Habitation after Death. Whence ancient Authors afford us innumerable Instances of Bodies convey'd sometimes by the Command of Oracles, sometimes by the good Will of their Friends, from foreign Countries to the Sepulchres of their Fathers, and with great Solemnity deposited there. Thus *Theseus* was remov'd from *Scyrus* to *Athens*; *Orestes* from *Tegea*, and his Son *Tisamenus* from *Helice* to *Sparta*, and *Aristomenes* (to mention no more) from *Rhodes* to *Messene*. How far this Custom extended to Soldiers, and by whom it was first introduc'd into *Greece*, has been related in the precedent Book.

Nor was this pious Care limited to Persons of free Condition, but Slaves also had some Share therein; for we find the *Athenian* Law-giver commanding the Magistrates call'd *Demarchi*, under a severe Penalty, to solemnize the Funerals not so much of Citizens, whose Friends seldom fail'd of paying their last Honours, as of Slaves, who frequently were destitute of decent Burial (a).

But if any Person was backward in paying his dead Friends due Respect, or but sparing in his Expences upon their Obsequies and Monuments, the Government look'd upon him as void of Humanity and natural Affection, and thereupon excluded him from bearing any Office of Trust and Honour; for one special Enquiry concerning the Lives and Behaviour of such as appear'd Candidates for the Magistracy at *Athens*, was, whether they had taken due Care in celebrating the Funerals, and adorning the Monuments of their Relations (b). Farther, to appear gay and pleasant before the ordinary Time of Mourning expir'd, was Matter of no small Scandal; for we find it objected by *Æschines* to *Demosthenes* as a Crime of a very heinous Nature, that after the Death of his only Daughter he sacrific'd to the Gods in white Apparel, and adorn'd with Garlands, before due Respect was paid to the Memory of such a Relation.

The great Concern they had about Funerals may farther appear from the Respect paid to Persons officiating therein: For we find the Cre-

(a) *Demost. Orat. in Macart.* (b) *Xenophon de Di&. Socratis lib. II.*

Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece. 165

ταυ κατακαύται, who had the Care of Funerals, to have been reverenc'd equally with their Priests; and when their Laws permitted to steal from others, as was likewise customary at *Sparta*, those Men were exempted from the common Calamity, to convey away any Part of their Goods being look'd on as a kind of Sacrilege (a).

Notwithstanding all this, there were some so unhappy as by their Actions while alive, or the aggravating Circumstances of their Death, to be unworthy of all Title to the common Funeral Rites, and some to any Funeral at all: Such were these that follow;

1. Publick or private Enemies; for tho' it was look'd upon as inhuman to deny an Enemy the common Privilege of Nature; yet upon some extraordinary Provocations we find it practis'd by the ancient *Grecians*. *Homer* has introduc'd *Ulysses* threatening *Socus* therewith (b); *Hector* likewise promising the same Treatment to *Patroclus* (c), and *Achilles* revenging his Cruelty by the like Usage of him (d). The same Poet hath furnish'd us with several Instances of Heroes made *κνσὶ μέλπηθρας* and *κύνεσσιν οἰωνοῖσιν τε ἐλάεια*, a Prey to Birds and Beasts. No better Treatment had the Bones of *Pyrrhus*, *Achilles*'s Son, treacherously murder'd by *Orestes* (e),

Sparsa per Ambracias quæ jacuere vias.

Which lay dispers'd about th' *Ambracian* Roads.

And however this may be thought the Practice of those primitive and unciviliz'd Mortals, yet there want not Instances hereof in more refin'd Ages; for *Lyfander* the *Spartan* Admiral having routed the *Athenian* Fleet, caus'd *Philocles* one of their Commanders, and to the Number of four thousand *Athenian* Prisoners, to be put to Death, and refus'd to give them human Burial (f).

2. Such as betray'd, or conspir'd against their Country (g). On which Account *Aristocrates* being convicted of Treason against the *Arcadians*, was ston'd to Death, and cast out of the Bounds of their Country unbury'd (h); for it was thought but reasonable that Villians conspiring the ruin of their Country, should be depriv'd of all Privilege in it. *Pausanias* likewise after he had deliver'd *Greece* from the *Persians*, being found upon some Discontent to maintain a Correspondence with them, was pin'd to Death, and deny'd Burial (i); and the famous *Phocion* being unjustly condemn'd by the *Athenians*, as conspiring to deliver the *Piræus* into their Enemy's Hands, had his Body cast out of *Attica*, and a severe Penalty was decreed against any that should honour it with Interment (k). So exact they were in the Observation of this Custom, that when the Pestilence rag'd at *Athens*, and the Oracle gave

(a) *Plutarchus Græc. Quæst.* XXI. (b) *Iliad.* v. (c) *Iliad.* π'. (d) *Iliad.* χ'.
 (e) *Ovid. in Ibin.* v. 3c4. (f) *Pausanias Bæoticis* p. 591. Edit. Hanov. (g)
Diodorus Siculus lib. XVI. cap. VI. (h) *Pausanias Messenicis.* (i) *Plutarchus*
Pausania. (k) *Plutarchus, Cornelius Nepos Phocione, Valerius Maximus lib. V.*
cap. III.

166 Of the Miscellaneous Customs of Greece.

out, that the only Remedy was to fetch *Themistocles's* Bones from *Myræia*, they refus'd to do it publickly, but conveying them privately, and as it were by stealth, hid them in the Ground. Amongst the Betrayers of their Country, we may reckon those who were not active in defending it; for they were likewise frequently deny'd human Burial, Hence *Hector* is introduc'd by the Poet, threatening this Punishment to all who would not help him in destroying the *Grecian Fleet* (a),

Ὅνδ' ἂν ἐγὼν ἀπάνδρε νεῶν ἐτέρωδι νοήσω,
 Αὐτὲς οἱ θάνατον μπιτάσσομαι, ἔδ' ἐν τὸν γε
 Γνωτοὶ τε γνωταὶ τε περὶς κελάχῃσι θανόντα,
 Ἀλλὰ κύνας ἐρύσσι περὶ ἄσπετον ἡμετέροιο.

He that for Spoil and Plunder of the War
 Dares lag behind, and not in haste repair
 To th' *Argive Fleet*, as soon as known, shall die;
 His Carcase deny'd Fun'ral Rites shall lie
 A Prey for rav'nous Currs, a Mark of Infamy.

J. A.

Some *Scholiasts* would have this the first Example of the Practice I am speaking of; but *Homer* sufficiently refutes this Opinion by making *Agamemnon* threaten the same Punishment to the *Grecians* in the second *Iliad* (b);

Ὅν δ' ἐκ' ἐγὼν ἀπάνδρε μάχης ἐδέλοντα νοήσω
 Μιμνάζειν παρὰ νηυσὶ κορωνίσιν, ἃ οἱ ἔπειτα
 Ἄρκιον ἐσθῆται φυγέειν κύνας, ἢ δ' οἰωνός.

When to the Fight brisk Cornets sound Alarms,
 That sneaking Soul who then lays down his Arms,
 And sculks about the Navy out of Fear
 Of any Danger from th' impending War,
 Shall be an Outcast for the Birds of Prey,
 And hungry Dogs, as merciless as they.

J. A.

Before this Instance, *Palamedes*, being condemn'd as a Traytor by the Treachery of *Ulysses*, had wanted Burial, had not *Achilles* and *Ajax* adventur'd to pay him that Office in Opposition to *Agamemnon's* Commands. Nor was the Custom begun here, for in the former Age we find *Antigone* bury'd alive by *Creon* for interring her Brother *Polynices*, by whose Means the famous War against *Thebes* was carry'd on, which is the Subject of *Sophocles's Antigone*.

3. To these we may subjoyn Tyrants, who were always look'd on as Enemies of their Country, and us'd in the same manner with those that endeavour'd to betray it to foreign Powers, there being no Difference between a Domestick and Foreign Slavery. So the *Phereans*

(a) *Iliad*. i. v. 348. (b) V. 391.

having slain *Alexander*, who had cruelly oppress'd them, threw his Carcase to the Dogs; and *Plutarch* observes that this was not a late or modern Custom, but practis'd in the most early Ages, speaking of the Passage of *Homer* (a), where *Nestor* tells *Telemachus*, that had *Menelaus* found *Ægisthus* alive after his Murder of *Agamemnon*, and Tyranny over the *Myceneans*, he would not have vouchsaf'd him Burial (b);

Εἰ ζώντ' Αἰγιδὸν ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἔτετρε
 Ατρείδης Τροίηνδ' ἰὼν ξανθοῖς Μενέλαοι,
 Τῷ κέ οἱ εἰδὲ θανάτῳ χυτὴν ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἔχδαν,
 Ἀλλ' ἄρα τὸν γε κύνες τε καὶ αἰῶνοι κατέδαψαν
 Κέρκυρον ἐν πεδίῳ ἑκάς ἄσεο, εἰδὲ κέ τις μιν
 Κλαύσας Ἀχαιῶδων.

If the bold Murd'rer had his Fate surviv'd,
 When *Menelaus* from *Troy's* Siege arriv'd,
 What Ills would then attend his Ghost and Name,
 When *Menelaus* swell'n with Vengeance came?
 None e'er his Fall should mourn, his Fate lament,
 But lest his Body shou'd the City taint,
 Remote on some wide Plain it should be cast,
 For Dogs and Vultures to regale and feast.

J. A.

The *Myceneans* were not insensible of the Wrongs they had suffer'd by him, and thinking him unworthy of an honourable Funeral, cast him with the Adulteress *Clytemnestra* out of the City, and there interr'd them (c).

4. On the same Account, such as were guilty of Self-murder, forfeited their Right to decent Burial, and were clancularly deposited in the Ground without the accustom'd Solemnities; for they were look'd on as Enemies to their Country, whose Service they deserted (d). For which Reason *Ajax* the Son of *Telamon* was not reduc'd to Ashes, as the Custom was, but privately interr'd; it being declar'd by *Calchas* to be a Profanation of the holy Element, to consume in it the Bodies of such as had occasion'd their own Death (e). After the Battel of *Plataea*, when the Bodies of the Slain were honour'd with the accustom'd Solemnities, *Aristodemus* alone, who was generally confess'd to have acquitted himself in the Fight with the greatest Valour of any Man in the Army, lay unregarded, because he seem'd resolv'd to sacrifice his Life as an Atonement for the Disgrace he had contracted by surviving his Fellow-Soldiers at *Thermopyla* (f). Yet to put a Period to their Lives on just Occasions, seems rather to have been the reputed Effect of a necessary and laudable Courage, than any way criminal or blame-

(a) Lib. de Homero. (b) *Odyss.* γ'. v. 256. (c) *Pausanias Corinthiacis.* (d) *Aristoteles Ethic. Nicomac.* lib. V. cap. II. (e) *Philostratus Heroicis.* (f) *Hecataeus Calliop.* cap. LXX.

worthy. *Demosthenes* and *Hannibal* are said to have been constantly provided of an effectual Poison to dispatch themselves with, before they should fall into their Enemies Hands. *Cato*, *Cleopatra*, *Brutus*, *Otho*, and several others have not at all lessen'd their Esteem and Character in the Heathen World by becoming their own Executioners. *Plato* himself, when he commands those only, who out of Cowardice and unmanly Fear butcher'd themselves, to be interr'd in lonesome and desolate Places without the ordinary Solemnities, seems to excuse others whom he thought compell'd to it by a great Disgrace, or any unavoidable and incurable Misfortune (a); and 'tis no wonder if *Epicureans*, who expected no future State, and *Stoicks* who thought all Things to lie under an irresistible Necessity, pursuant to their Principles, abandon'd themselves over to such fatal Courses. Many other Instances may be produc'd not only from the *Grecians* and *Romans*, but the *Indian* Philosophers, and almost the whole Heathen World.

5. To these we may add Villains guilty of Sacrilege (b), to inter whom was an Affront to the Deities they had robb'd. The Gods were sometimes thought to inflict this Punishment on such Malefactors; wherefore *Archidamus* the *Spartan* King being slain in *Italy*, and depriv'd of Burial, *Pausanias* (c) concludes it was a Judgment upon him for assisting the *Phocians* in pillaging the City and Temple of the *Delphians*.

6. Persons kill'd with Lightning, who being thought hateful to the Gods, were bury'd apart by themselves, lest the Ashes of other Men should receive Pollution from them. Whence *Adrastus* in *Euripides* speaking of *Capaneus*, saith,

Ἡ χεῖς, ἱερὸν ὡς νεκρὸν, θάψαι δεῖται;

Shall he apart be bury'd as accurs'd?

Some will have them to be interr'd in the Place where they dy'd (d); others collect out of *Plutarch's Symposiacks*, that they had no Interment, but were suffer'd to rot in the Place where they fell, to which it was unlawful for any Man to approach: Whence *Persius* (e),

Triste jaces lucis, evitandumque bidental.

A direful Instance of *Jove's* Wrath you lie,
And whom, being Thunder-struck, none dare come nigh.

For this Reason the Ground was hedg'd in, lest any Person should unawares contract Pollution from it. It may be observ'd in general, That all Places struck with Thunder were avoided (f), and fenc'd round,

(a) *De Legibus* lib. IX. (b) *Diodorus Siculus* Biblioth. lib. XVI. cap. VI. (c) *Laconiciæ* p. 178. Edit. Had. (d) *Artemidorus* lib. II. cap. VIII. (e) *Satir.* II. v. 27. (f) *Plutarchus Pyrrhoi*.

Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece. 169

out of a Fancy, that *Jupiter* having taken some Offence, fix'd upon them that Mark of his Displeasure.

7. Those who wasted their Patrimony, forfeited their Right of being bury'd in the Sepulchres of their Fathers: Whence we find *Democritus* to have been in Danger of wanting a Burial-place, for spending his paternal Inheritance in Travel to foreign Countries, and searching after the Mysteries of Nature (a).

8. To these we may subjoyn such as dy'd in Debt, whose Bodies belong'd at *Athens* to their Creditors, and could not claim any Right to human Burial, till Satisfaction was made. Whence 'tis reported, That *Cimon* had no other Method to redeem his Father *Miltiades*'s Body, but by taking his Debt and Fetters upon himself.

9. Some Offenders who suffer'd capital Punishment, were likewise depriv'd of Burial; those especially who dy'd upon the Cross, or were impal'd, whom they frequently permitted to be devour'd by Beasts and Birds of Prey. To which Custom there is an Allusion in *Horace* (b),

Non hominem occidi; non pasces in cruce corvos.

With impious Hands I ne'er slew th' Innocent:

Therefore to feed the Crows is not your Punishment,

Juvenal also mentioneth the same Custom (c),

Vultur jumento, & canibus, crucibusque relictis,

Ad fœtus properat, partemque cadaveris affert.

Where Crosses and contagious Murrain are,

Vultures in Flocks most greedily repair,

And to their craving Young thence Food they bear.

}

The Interpreters of Fables will have *Prometheus*'s Punishment to be an Emblem of this. If the Carcase was spar'd by the Beasts, it commonly remain'd upon the Cross or Pale, till the Weather consum'd and putrify'd it. Thus *Silius* reports of the *Scythians* (d):

At gente in Sythica suffixa cadavera truncis

Lenta dies sepelit, putri liquentia tabo.

Delinquents Carcases in *Scythia* were

Impal'd, until corrupted by the Air,

The putrid Flesh did drop and shrink away,

And the Bones moulder'd by a long Decay.

J. A.

(a) *Diogenes Laertius Democrito.* (b) *Lib. I. Epist. XVI.* (c) *Sat. XVI. v. 77.*
 (d) *Lib. XIII.*

170 Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece.

Nor was this inhuman Custom practis'd in that barbarous Nation only, but by those who made greater Pretensions to Civility and good Manners, as may appear from the Dream of *Polycrates's* Daughter, who fancy'd she saw her Father's Face wash'd by *Jupiter*, and anointed by the Sun; which was accomplish'd not long after, when he was hung upon the Cross, and expos'd to the Rain and Sunbeams (a). Hither also may be referr'd the Answer of *Theodorus* the Philosopher, who being threaten'd Crucifixion by King *Lyfimachus*, reply'd, That it was all one to him to be above or beneath the Ground (b).

10. In some Places it was customary to interr the Bodies of Infants who had no Teeth, without consuming them to Ashes (c); to which Custom *Juvenal* has this Allusion (d),

*Natura imperio gemimus, cum funus adulta
Virginis occurrit, vel terra clauditur infans,
Et minor igne rogi.*————

When a young Lady brisk and gay is dead
As soon as ripe she seems for th' nuptial Bed,
And when an Infant not yet fit to burn,
Is bury'd, who relents not, who forbears to mourn? *J. A.*

If Persons who had incurr'd publick Hatred, had the good Fortune to obtain human Burial, it was customary to leap upon their Tombs, and cast Stones at them, in token of Detestation and Abhorrence: Which Practice is mention'd by *Euripides* (e);

————— *ἐνδράσκει τὰ φῶ,
Πέτερις τε λυέει μνῆμα λείον πατρός.*

————— He leaps upon his Parent's Tomb,
And in Derision batters it with Stones.

Nor was it unfrequent to punish notorious Offenders by dragging their Remains out of their Retirement, and depriving them of the Graves to which they had no just Pretension, as may appear from several Instances.

Sacrilegious Persons were commonly thus treated. A remarkable Instance whereof we find at *Athens*, where *Cylo*, an ambitious Nobleman, having seiz'd the Cittadel, and being there straitly besieg'd, found Means to escape with his Brother, leaving his Accomplices to the Mercy of the Besiegers; they fled therefore for Protection to the Altars, whence there was no Method to draw them, but by promising them Pardon: But no sooner had they left their Sanctuaries, when the Magi-

(a) *Herod. Thal. lib. I.* (b) *Cicero Tusc. Quæst. lib. I.* (c) *Plinius Nat. Hist. lib. VII.* (d) *Satir. XV. v. 139.* (e) *Electra.*

strates, contrary to their Covenant, put them to Death; upon which
 Fast themselves were afterwards arraign'd and banish'd, the Deities
 so commanding: Nor was this alone satisfactory to Divine Ven-
 geance, till their Graves were rifled, and their Remains, which had
 been convey'd into *Attica*, cast out of the Country (a).

Traitours were condemn'd to the same Punishment; which appears
 as from several other Instances, so from *Phrynichus* the *Athenian*, who
 being arraign'd, and condemn'd for Treason, some Time after his Fun-
 eral, his Tomb was open'd, and his Reliques thrown out of *Attica* (b).

The same was sometimes practis'd upon Enemies, when their Ma-
 lice and Fury were extended beyond the ordinary Bounds of Martial
 Law, and hurry'd them on to despoil the sacred Temples, and commit
 unsufferable Villanies; otherwise thus to treat a lawful and honoura-
 ble Enemy was always censur'd as barbarous and inhuman.

But above all it seems to have been the Fate of Tyrants, who were
 esteem'd of all other savage Beasts the most hurtful and pernicious
 to Mankind: Wherefore we are told by *Plutarch* (c), that *Dio* was
 extremely censur'd for hindring the *Syracusans* from breaking up
 the Tomb of the elder *Dionysius*, and scattering his Bones: *Periander*
 the *Corinthian* Tyrant (by some reckon'd amongst the seven Wise
 Men) to prevent his incens'd Subjects from venting their Fury upon
 his Reliques, contriv'd this Method; he commanded two young Men
 to walk in the Depth of the Night in a certain Path, and killing the
 first Man they met, to bury him privately; to dispatch and interr
 these he commission'd four, after whom he sent others, and after
 these a greater Force to treat the former in the same manner; where-
 by it came to pass that the Tyrant himself, meeting the first Pair,
 was interr'd in a Place unknown to any Man (d).

Other Methods were likewise us'd to secure Peace to their Ashes,
 the Disturbance whereof was look'd on as the highest Affront, and
 the greatest Misfortune in the World: To instance, we find *Medea*
 in *Euripides* resolving to bury her Sons in *Juno Acraa's* Temple,
 hoping that the Holiness of the Place would protect them from the
 Malice of her Enemies (e),

ἐπεὶ σφας τῇδ' ἐγὼ δάψω χεῖρ,
 φέρεσ' ἐς Ἥρας τέμενος Ἀκράας δεῦ-
 ρε μή τις αὐτὲς πολεμίων καθύβριση,
 τύμβος ἀναπῶν.

Affronts and Contumelies to prevent,
 And that their Sepulchres mayn't be defac'd,
 I will my self give Burial to my Sons
 In *Juno's* Temple at th' *Acropolis*
 She presides over.

J. A.

(a) *Plutarchus de sera Numinis vindicta.* (b) *Lycurgus Orat. in Leocratens.*
 (c) *Dione.* (d) *Diogenes Laertius Periandro.* (e) *Medea v. 1378.*

C H A P. II.

Of the Ceremonies in Sickness, and Death.

WHEN any Person was seiz'd with a dangerous Distemper, it was usual to fix over his Door a Branch of *Rhamn* and *Lawrel-Trees*: Which Custom is mention'd by *Laertius* in his *Life of Bion the Boristhenite*;

Ῥάμνον τε, καὶ κλάδον δάφνης

Ἰπὲρ θύρῳ ἔθηκεν

Ἀπ᾽ Ἰα μᾶλλον, ἢ θανεῖν,

Ἐτοιμῶ ὧν ὑπεργεῖν.

Bion the Post of's Door doth grace
With *Rhamn* and *Daphne's* Plant;
For Fear of Death in his sad Case,
He nothing now will want.

J. A.

The former of these Plants seems design'd to keep off evil Spirits; against which it was reputed a sovereign Amulet; and on that account sometimes joyn'd with the Epithet *ἀλεξίκακον*, as in this Fragment of *Euphorio*,

— Ἀλεξίκακον φέρε Ῥάμνον.

Produc'd the *Rhamn*, against mischievous Ills
An Antidote. —

The *Lawrel* was joyn'd to it to render the God of Physick propitious, who, they thought, could design no Harm to any Place where he found the Monument of his beloved *Daphne*. These Boughs they term'd *ἀνίλυνες* (a).

It may not be improper to observe in this Place, that all sudden Deaths of Men were imputed to *Apollo*; whence *Hector* having lain unbury'd twelve Days, and being by the special Favour of Heaven preserv'd fresh and free from Corruption, *Hecuba* resembles him to one Dead, not of a ling'ring and wearing Distemper, but by a sudden Death; the former being thin and consum'd away, the latter fat and fleshy (b);

Νῦν δὲ μοι ἐρσῆεις καὶ πρόσφατ' ἐν μεγάροισι
Κεῖσαι, πρὶ ἱκελ', ὅκ τ' ἀργυρέτοξ' Ἀπόλλων
Οἷς ἀγανοῖς βελέεσσιν ἐποιχόμεν' κατέπεφνεν.

(a) *Etymologici Augusti.*

(b) *Iliad. φ. v. 757.*

Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece. 173

Now fresh and glowing e'en in Death thou art,
And fair as he who falls by *Phæbus*' Dart.

The sudden Death of Women was attributed to *Diana*; whence *Glaucus* in the same Poet speaking of *Hippodamia* (a),

Τὼν ὃ χολωσαμένη χρυσήνι Θ' Ἀρτεμις ἔκτα
Incens'd *Diana* her depriv'd of Life.

Again, *Achilles* wishes that *Briseis* had been snatch'd away by a sudden Death, rather than have been the Occasion of Dissension between him and *Agamemnon* (b);

Τὼν ὅφελ' ἐν νήεσσι κατακτάμεν Ἀρτεμις ἰώ,
Ἥματι πῶ, ὅτ' ἐγὼν ἐλόμην Δυρνησὸν ὀλέωας.
Oh that *Diana* her had kill'd on Board,
When first I carry'd her, *Lyrnessus* overthrow'd.

The Poet has explain'd his own Meaning in another Place (c); where *Eumæus* reports, that in the Isle of *Syria* the Inhabitants never die of lingering Distempers, but being arriv'd to a good old Age, drop into their Graves without any previous Torment;

Πένη δ' ἔποτε δῆμον ἐσέρχεται, ἐδέ τις ἄλλη
Νῆσθ' ἐπὶ συγερῇ πέλεται δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσιν.
Ἀλλ' ὅτε γηρόσκωσι πόλιν κτ' φῦλ' ἀνδράπων,
Ἐλθὼν ἀργυρότοξ' Ἀπόλλων Ἀρτέμιδι ξύν,
Οἷς ἀγανοῖς βελέεαν ἐποιχόμεν' κατέπεφνεν.

No Plague, no Famine does their Lives impair,
No pois'nous Ills those happy Mortals fear;
Healthy and strong they see the Verge of Age,
Then venerably old they quit the Stage;
Apollo and *Diana* stop their Breath,
Shooting unerring Shafts well fraught with Death. J. A.

Again; *Ulysses* enquires of his Mother in the Regions below, whether she resign'd her Life under a tedious Disease, or *Diana*'s Hand (d);

Ἀλλ' ἄγε, μοι τόδε εἰπὲ, καὶ ἀτρεκέως κατάλεξον,
Τίς νύ σε κῆρ' ἐδάμασσε τανηλεγέθ' θανάτοιο,
Ἡ δολιχὴ νῆσθ', ἢ Ἀρτεμις ἰοχέαιρα
Οἷς ἀγανοῖς βελέεαν ἐποιχόμεν' κατέπεφνεν.

(a) *Iliad*. ζ'. v. 205. (b) *Iliad*. τ'. v. 59. (c) *Odysf.* δ'. v. 405. (d) *Odysf.* λ'. v. 170.

174 *Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece.*

This I desire, dear Mother, you'd relate,
By what unhappy Destiny, what Fate
You posted hither to this gloomy Coast,
And all th' Endearments of the World have lost;
Whether *Diana* with relentless Dart,
(That sportful Deity) transfix'd your Heart;
Or else you did your vital Breath expire
By ling'ring Pain, or pestilential Fire?

J. A.

Other Instances may be produc'd to the same Purpose: The Ground of this Opinion was *Apollo's* being usually taken for the Sun, and *Diana* for the Moon; which Planets were believ'd to have a great Influence on human Life (a).

All dead Persons were thought to be under the Jurisdiction of the Infernal Deities, and therefore no Man could resign his Life, till some of his Hairs were cut to consecrate him to them: Hence *Euripides* introduces Death with a Sword going to cut off some of the Hair of *Alceſtis*, whom the Fates had adjudg'd to die instead of her Husband *Admetus* (b).

Ἡ δ' ἐν γυνὴ κατέσσω εἰς ἄδ' ὁμοῦ
Στείχω δ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ, ὡς κατὰρξωμαι ξίφος
Ἰεὺς γὰρ ἔτ' ἔχ' ἡ χ' ἡδονὴς θεῶν
Ὅτε τὸδ' ἔσχω κατὰς ἀγνίσαι τεύχεα.

I'm come to loose the brittle Tie of Life;
And send her to th' Infernal Mansions hence:
This Sword is to initiate the Rites,
By cutting off the Fatal Lock, on which
Lies the last Struggle of her panting Breath.

J. A.

Which Passage is imitated by *Virgil* (c), where he tells us that *Dido*, tiding her self out of the World before her Time, had not her Hair cut off by *Proserpina*, and therefore struggl'd some Time, as unable to resign her Life, till *Iris* was commission'd from *Juno* to do her that kind Office (d);

*Tum Juno omnipotens, longum miserata dolorem,
Difficileſque obitus, Irin demisit Olympo,
Qua luctantem animam, nexosque resolveret artus;
Nam qui nec fato, merita nec morte peribat,
Sed misera ante diem, subitoque accensa furore,
Nondum illi flavum Proserpina vertice crinem
Abstulerat, Stygioque caput damnaverat Orco:*

(a) *Heraclides* (vel potius *Heraclitus*.) Ponticus de Allegor. *Homer. Enstathius* *Iliad.* ζ'. v. 205. & *Il.* γ'. v. 59. &c. (b) *Alceſtid.* v. 74. (c) *Macrobii Saturnalia.* lib. V. cap. XIX. (d) *Æneid.* IV. v. 694.

Ergo

*Ergo Iris croceis per cælum roscida pennis,
Mille trahens varios adverso sole colores,
Devolat, & supra caput astitit; "Hunc ego Diti
" Sacrum iussa fero, teque isto corpore solvo."
Sic ait, & dextra crinem secat; omnis & una
Dilapsus calor, atque in ventos vita recessit.
Then Juno grieving that she shou'd sustain
A Death so lingering, and so full of Pain,
Sent Iris down to free her from the Strife
Of lab'ring Nature, and dissolve her Life;
For since she dy'd, not doom'd by Heav'n's Decree,
Or her own Crime, but human Casualty,
And Rage of Love, that plung'd her in Despair,
The Sisters had not cut the topmost Hair,
(Which Proserpine and they can only know)
Nor made her sacred to the Shades below;
Downward the various Goddesses took her Flight,
And drew a thousand Colours from the Light;
Then stood above the dying Lover's Head,
And said, "I thus devote thee to the Dead;
" This Off'ring to th' infernal Gods I bear.
Thus while she spoke she cut the fatal Hair,
The struggling Soul was loos'd, and Life dissolv'd in Air.*

Mr. Dryden.

What was the Ground of this Opinion, cannot be certainly defin'd; but it seems not improbable that it proceeded from a Ceremony at Sacrifices, wherein they cut some of the Hairs from the Victim's Forehead, and offer'd them to the Gods as First-fruits of the Sacrifice; whence some imagine the same was thought to be done by Death upon Men sent as Victims to the Infernal Gods.

When they perceiv'd the Pangs of Death coming upon them, they made Supplication to Mercury, whose Office it was to convey the Ghosts to the Regions below. An Instance hereof we have in a *Cean* Matron, who being about to rid her self of Life by a Draught of Poison, first call'd upon Mercury to grant her a pleasant Journey, and convey her to a commodious Habitation in Pluto's Dominions (a). These Prayers, whether offer'd to Mercury, or to any other God, were term'd *ἑὶ νέμει εὐχαί*, which is a general Name for all Prayers before any Man's Departure, whether by Death, or only to take a Journey (b).

Their Friends and Relations perceiving them at the Point of resigning their Lives, came close to the Bed where they lay to bid them farewell, and catch their dying Words, which they never repeated without Reverence. The want of Opportunity to pay this Compliment to He-

(a) Valerius Maximus lib. II. cap. VI. (b) Etymologici Auctor.

Efor,

176 Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece.

For, furnishes *Andromache* with Matter of Lamentation, which she thus expresses (a),

Οὐ γάρ μοι θνήσκων λεχέων ἐν χείρας ὄρεξας,
Οὐδέ τι μοι ἄπες πυκινὸν ἐπ' ὄ, ἔ τέ κεν αἰεὶ
Μεμνήμην, νύκτας τε καὶ ἡμέρας δακρυχέουσα.

I saw him not when in the Pangs of Death,
Nor did my Lips receive his latest Breath.

Why held he not to me his dying Hand?

And why receiv'd not I his last Command?

Something he wou'd have said had I been there,

Which I shou'd still in sad Remembrance bear;

For I cou'd never, never Words forget,

Which Night and Day I wou'd with Tears repeat. Mr. Congreve.

They kiss'd and embrac'd the dying Person, so taking their last Farewell; which Custom was very ancient, being deriv'd from the Eastern Nations; for we find in the Holy Writings, that Joseph fell upon his Father Jacob's Neck, when he lay upon his Death-bed, and kiss'd him (b). They endeavour'd likewise to receive in their Mouth his last Breath, as fancying his Soul to expire with it, and enter into their Bodies: And at the Time of its Departure it was customary to beat brazen Kettles, which was thought an excellent Method to drive away evil Spirits and Phantasms, whose airy Forms were not able to endure so harsh a Noise (c): Thus they imagin'd the dead Man's Ghost secur'd from Furies, and quietly convey'd to a peaceful Habitation in the *Elysian* Fields. For 'twas an old Opinion, that there being two Mansions in the Infernal Regions, one on the Right-hand pleasant and delightful, the other on the Left appointed for the Souls of wicked Wretches, the Furies were always ready to hurry departed Souls to the Place of Torment: *Virgil* has an Allusion to this Fancy (d),

Hic locus est, partes ubi se via findit in ambas,

Dextera, quæ Ditis magni sub mœnia tendit,

Hac iter Elysium nobis, at læva malorum

Exercet pœnas, & ad impia Tartara mittit.

'Tis here in diff'rent Paths the Way divides,

The Right to *Pluto's* Golden Palace guides,

The Left to that unhappy Region tends,

Which to the Depth of *Tartarus* descends,

The Seat of Night-profound, and punish'd Fiends. Mr. Dryden.

Death, and all Things concerning it, were ominous and ill-boding, and are therefore frequently express'd in soft'ning Terms: To die is commonly term'd *πορεύεσθαι*, to which the *Latin* *denasci* answers:

(a) *Il. d. v. 743.* (b) *Genes. cap. L.* (c) *Theocriti Scholiastes.* (d) *Æn. VI. v. 540.*

Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece. 177

Sometimes 'tis call'd οἰχεσθαι, to depart; and the Dead, οἰχομένοι; So also Chio in an Epistle to Plato saith, Ἐ ἀνθρώπων ἀπελδύσομαι, I will depart out of the World. In the same Sense we find the Latin Word *abitio*, which is a synonymous Term for Death (a); and *abiit*; as when Pliny writes, that *Virginus Rufus plenus annis abiit, plenus honoribus* (b), departed full of Years and Honours: Thus also the Greeks use βεβίωκε, i. e. he once liv'd; and the Romans, *vixit* and *fuit*; thus Virgil,

——— *Fuit Ilium, & ingens*

Gloria Teucrorum. ———

Glory did once attend the Dardan State,

Its Spires then glitter'd, and its Chiefs were great.

Tibullus, with several others, hath us'd the same Expression (c);

Vivite felices, memores & vivite nostri,

Sive erimus, seu nos fata fuisse velint.

In a blest'd Series may your Lives glide on,

If while I live, or when I'm dead and gone,

One transient Glance you'll on my Mem'ry cast,

And in soft Accents say, He's gone and past. J. A.

Sometimes they us'd κέκμηκε, and καμόντες. Thus *Homer* (d),

——— Ὅι ὑπένερθε καμόντας

Ἀνθρώπους τίννυσθον, ὅ, τις κ' ὀπώραν ὁμόσση.

Ye dire Avengers of all perjur'd Slaves,

When once they're dead, and cover'd in their Graves.

Again (e),

——— βροτῶν ἄδωλα καμόντων.

——— The Ghosts o' th' Dead.

But the most frequent are Names take from Sleep, to which Death bears a near Resemblance; whence the Poets feign them to be Brothers, and κοιμάσθαι or εὔδειν are commonly us'd for dying; thus *Callimachus* (f);

Τῇδε Σάων, ὁ Δίκωνθ, Ἀκάνθιθ, ἱερὸν ὕπνον

Κοιμάσθαι. ———

(a) *Festus*. (b) Lib. II. Epist. I. (c) Lib. III. Eleg. V. (d) *Iliad*. γ'. (e) *Odyss.* λ'. (f) Epigram, XV.

178 Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece.

Saon th' Acanthian, Dicon's Son hard by,
In everlasting Sleep wrapt up doth lie.

In another Place (a);

— — — — — Η δ' ὑπολείξει
Ενθάδε τὸν πάσαις ὕπνον ὀφειλόμενον,
The common Debt of all Mankind she sleeps.

Orpheus hath us'd the same Metaphor in his *Argonauticks*,

Εὐδεις, Αἰγνιάδην, γλυκερῷ βεβόλημύθῳ ὕπνῳ.
Agniades, thou art in soft Repose
Lock'd up. — — — — —

Many other like Passages occur both in profane and inspir'd Writers; and so common was this way of speaking with the primitive Christians, that their Burying-places were call'd κοιμητήρια, which is a Term of the same Sense with Lycophron's δνασήρια (b);

Σίδωνος εἰς θυγατρὸς δνασήριον.
To th' sleeping Place of Sishon's Daughter.

C H A P. III.

Of the Ceremonies before the Funeral.

AS soon as any Person had expir'd, they clos'd his Eyes; to do which they term'd καθαιρεῖν, συναρμόττειν, συσπλέειν τὰς ὀφθαλμούς, or τὰ βλέφαρα, &c. Which Custom was so universally practis'd, that no Person who has the least Acquaintance with ancient Writers, can be ignorant of it. Hence καταμύειν came to be us'd for θνήσκειν. The Design of this Custom seems to have been not only to prevent that Horror, which the Eyes of dead Men, when uncover'd, are apt to strike into the Living; but also for the Satisfaction of dying Persons, who are usually desirous to die in a decent Posture. Thus Polyxena in Euripides is said to have order'd her self in such a manner, that nothing unfit to be seen should appear in her Fall (c):

(a) Epigram. XXII. (b) *Cassandra*. v. 583. (c) *Euripid. Hecuba* v. 568.

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Of the Miscellaneous Customs of Greece. 179

— ἡ δὲ, καὶ θνήσκουσ' ὁμῶς
Πολλῶν περὶ νοῖαν ἔχεν εὐσχήμως πεσεῖν,
Κρύπτειν δ', αἰ κρύπτειν ὄμματ' ἀρσένων χρεῶν.

And *Augustus Caesar* upon the Approach of his Death, call'd for a Looking-glass, and caus'd his Hair to be comb'd, and his fall'n Cheeks decently compos'd (a). For the same Reasons the Mouth of the dead Person was clos'd. Hence the Ghost of *Agamemnon* in *Homer* complains that his Wife *Clytemnestra* had neglected to perform this Ceremony (b),

— ἔδ' ἐ μοι ἔτλη ἰόντι περ εἰς Αἴδαο
Χερσὶ κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐλέειν, σῶτε σὸμ' ἐρεῖσαι.

This done, his Face was cover'd: Whence *Hippolytus* in *Euripides*, being at the Point to expire, calls upon his Father *Theseus* to do him that Office (c),

Κρύψου δέ με πρόσωπον ὡς τάχ' ὦ πέπλοις.
Veil my Face over quickly with a Sheet.

Indeed almost all the Offices about the Dead were perform'd by their nearest Relations; nor could a greater Misfortune befall any Person, than to want these last Respects: *Electra* in *Sophocles* seems to prefer Death it self before it. Infinite Numbers of Instances might be produc'd to the same Purpose, were it not too commonly known to need any farther Confirmation. All the Charges expended on Funerals, and the whole Care and Management of them, belong'd also to Relations, saving that Persons of extraordinary Worth were frequently honour'd with publick Funerals, the Expences whereof were defray'd out of the Exchequer; thus we find *Democritus* at *Abdera*, *Zeno* and *Aristides* at *Athens*, *Epaminondas* at *Thebes*, *Gryllus*, *Xenophon's Son*, at *Mantineia*, with many others, to have had their Funerals celebrated at the publick Expence.

To return: Before the Body was cold, they compos'd all the Members, stretching them out to their due length; this they term'd ἐκλείπειν, or ὀρθεῖν: Whence the Maid in *Euripides's Hippolytus*, as soon as *Phaedra* had expir'd her last, cries out to some of her own Sex to perform this Office (d);

Ορθώσῃτ' ἐκλείποντες ἀδελιον νέκυιν,
Πικρὸν πᾶσι οἰκέρημα δ' ἐσπέρταις ἐμοῖς.
Tho' 'tis a Service that will bitter prove,
And grieve the Souls of my most wretched Masters,
Yet lay the Corpse of the dead Lady out.

(a) *Suetonius* in *Augusto* XCIX, (b) *Odysf.* λ'. v. 424, (c) *Euripid. Hippolyto:* v. 1458. (d) v. 786.

180 Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece.

Not long after the *Chorus* saith,

Ἦδη γὰρ ὡς νεκρὸν νιν ἐμπαύκσι δῆ.

As it is usual, they lay her out.

After this the dead Body was wash'd; hence *Alcestis* in *Euripides* (a) upon the Approach of the fatal Day, wherein she was to lay down her Life for her Husband *Admetus*, wash'd her self in the River,

Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἡδεδ' ἡμέραν τὴν κνείαν

Ἦκσαν ὕδασι ποταμίῳις λούκον χεῖρα

Ελέσατ'.

The pious Dame did in the River wash

Her beauteous Body, when the fatal Day

Of her own Exit did approach.

Plato tells us, that *Socrates* wash'd himself before his Execution, to save the Women a Trouble (b); for this Office was commonly perform'd by Women related to the Party deceas'd; only in Cases of Necessity others were employ'd therein; so we find that poor *Theagenes* having neither Wife, nor Child, nor any near Relation of his own, was wash'd by the *Cynicks* (c). At some Places there were Vessels in the Temples design'd for this Use; these were call'd in *Latin*, *labra*, whence some derive the Word *delubrum* (d).

This done, the Body was anointed; *Pliny* reports, that the *Grecians* never us'd Ointment, 'till the Time of *Alexander the Great*, when they had it convey'd out of *Persia* (e); and *Homer*, tho' frequently mentioning the Custom of anointing the Dead, yet useth no other Materials beside Oil: Thus they anointed *Patroclus* (f):

Καὶ τότε δὴ λέσαντο, καὶ ἤλειψαν λίπ' ἐλαίῳ,

As soon as wash'd, they 'nointed him with Oil.

But *Athenaus* will by no means allow *Homer's* Oil to have been distinguish'd from μύρον. or Ointment properly so call'd (g); and we find that *Solon* allow'd his Citizens the Use of Ointments, forbidding only Slaves to perfume themselves therewith (h). Whence it seems probable, that however the *Grecians* might not have any Knowledge of those costly Ointments the *Persians* furnish'd them with, yet they were not unacquainted with the Use of another Sort.

After the Body was wash'd and anointed, they wrap'd it in a Garment, which seems to have been no other than the common *pallium*,

(a) V. 156. (b) *Phadon*. (c) *Galenus de Methodo medendi lib. XIII. cap. XV.* (d) *Africanus de Divinatione.* (e) *Nat. Hist. lib. XIII. cap. I.* (f) *Iliad. b. v. 350.* (g) *Δειπνοσοφ. lib. XV.* (h) *Plutarchus Solone.*

Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece. 181

or Cloak they wore at other Times (a), as we find the Romans made use of their *Toga*. Thus *Misenus* in *Virgil*, being first wash'd and anointed, then (as the Custom was) laid upon a Bed, was wrap'd in the Garments he had usually worn (b);

*Pars calidos latices, & athena undantia flammis
Expediunt, corpusque lavant frigentis, & unguent:
Fit gemitus: Tum membra toro defleta reponunt,
Purpureasque super vestes, velamina nota,
Conjiciunt.* ———

Some being mov'd with Pity tow'rd's their Friend,
Water to boil in Caldrons do attend,
Then wash his cold and stiffen'd Limbs all o'er,
To try if quick'ning Heat they can restore;
With Essences and Oils they scent the Dead,
And then repose him on his Fun'ral Bed;
Their glowing Passion in deep Sighs they vent,
And full of Sorrow dolefully lament;
On him the Robes they cast he us'd to wear,
Which having done, they heave him on the Bier. J. A.

After this the Body was adorn'd with a rich and splendid Garment; hence we find that before *Socrates* took the fatal Draught, *Apollodorus* brought him a Cloak, with a Garment of great Value (c), it being the Philosopher's Desire to prepare himself for his Funeral before he died. 'Tis reported also, that *Philocles* the *Athenian* Admiral being overcome, and sentenc'd to Death by *Lysander* the *Spartan*, wash'd himself and put on his best Apparel, before he was executed (d). The same we read of *Alcestis* in *Euripides*,

Επεὶ γὰρ ἦδεθ' ἡμέραν τὴν κείαν
Ἠκυσαν, ὕδασι ποταμίοις λούκον χεῖρα
Ελέσατ', ἐκ δ' ἐλῦσα κεδείνων δόμων
Εἰδῆτα, κόσμον τ' εὐπρεπῶς ἡσκήσατο.

The pious Dame, before the fatal Day
Of her own Exit, bath'd her beauteous Limbs
In gentle Rivulet, then she put on
A splendid Vest, and decent Ornaments
Of rich Attire. ——— J. A.

The whole Body was cover'd with this Garment. Its Colour was commonly white, as we find in *Homer* speaking of *Patroclus* (e),

(a) *Apuleius Florid.* I. (b) *Aeneid.* VI. v. 218. (c) *Laertius Socrate, Elianus* Var. Hist. lib. I. cap. XVI. (d) *Plutarchus Lysandro.* (e) *Iliad.* σ'. v. 352.

182 *Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece.*

Εν λεχέεσσιν δὲ θέντες ἐανϙ̄ λιτὶ κάλυψαν
 Ες πόδας ἐκ κεφαλῆς, καδύπερθε ὃ φάρει λακϙ̄.
 In a white linnen Shrowd from Head to Foot
 They put the Corpse, when on a Bed laid out.

Whence *Artemidorus* reckons it an unlucky Omen, and presaging Death, for a Sick Person to have white Apparel (a): This Colour seems to have been us'd to denote the Simplicity and Harmlessness of the Dead (b). So concern'd were they about this Garment, that, as some think, they frequently prepar'd it for themselves and Friends during Life: Thus *Penelope* is introduc'd by *Homer* speaking to her Courtiers (c),

Κῆρυ, ἐμοὶ μνηστῆρες, ἐπεὶ θάνε δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς,
 Μίμνεντ' ἐπιγρόμφοι καὶ ἐμὸν γάμον, εἰσόκε φάρθ-
 Εκλέεσσω (μὴ μοι μεταμῶλια νήματ' ὀληῖ)
 Λαέρτη ἦρωϊ ταφήιον, εἰς ὅτε κέν μιν
 Μοῖς' ὅλοη καδέλῃσι τανηλεγέος θανάτοιο.

Since my *Ulysses*, as 'tis said, is slain,
 And clotted Gore won't circulate again,
 Gentlemen, you that vig'rous Rivals are
 In courting me, your hot Pursuit forbear,
 'Till I have spun this Web against grim Death
 With his cold Hands shall stop *Laertes'* Breath.

J. A.

Thus likewise *Euryalus* being slain, his Mother is brought in complain-
 ing (d),

— Nec te tua funera mater
 Produxi, pressive oculos, aut vulnera lavi,
 Veste tegens, tibi quam noctes festina diesque
 Urgebam, et tela curas solabar aniles.

What Pangs of Grief my throbbing Breast invade,
 To think thy mangled Carcase was not laid
 Forth on its Pile by me; oh, sad Surprise!
 That I wa'n't by to close thy beauteous Eyes,
 Just as th' expiring Soul did take her Flight
 Into the Regions of Infernal Night;
 Oh! had I wash'd each Wound, each sever'd Vein,
 When thou scarce cold laid'st welt'ring on the Plain,
 And had the Vest spread o'er thee, Day and Night
 Which I have spun, my Dotage to Delight.

J. A.

(a) *Oneirocrit.* lib. II, cap. III. (b) *Plutarchus Quaest. Rom.* (c) *Odys.* β'. v. 96. (d) *Virgil. Aeneid.* IX. v. 486.

But

Of the Miscellaneous Customs of Greece. 183

But it may be disputed whether these were made on purpose for Funeral-Garments, or only design'd to be worn, and apply'd to the former Use, in case the Person should die; it being usual (as hath been already observ'd) to wrap dead Bodies in the Garments they had us'd when alive: The latter Opinion seems more probable from the Words which *Penelope* adds;

Μήτις μοι χτ' ἤμουν Ἀχαιῶδων νεμεσῆση,
 Αἶκεν ἄτερ ὠίρε καὶ ὃ, πολλὰ κτεατίωας.
 Left, if my Sire without a Coat shou'd lie,
 Shame and Reproach I might incur thereby
 From *Grecian Ladies*, since this Duty he,
 Having such large Revenues, claims of me.

J. A.

And it bears no great Shew of Reason, that a Mother should comfort her self by weaving a Winding-sheet for her young Son, who at that Time was likely to have liv'd many Years. However that be, it is observable that the *Lacedemonians*, as in most other Things, so here also ran counter to the rest of the *Grecians*; for whereas in other Places the Dead were cloth'd with costly Apparel, which none, except the poorer Sort ever wanted, the *Spartan Law-giver* order'd, that Persons of the greatest Valour and Merit should be bury'd in nothing but a red Coat, which was the common Habit of Soldiers; to the rest even this was deny'd (a); for he thought it wholly absurd and unreasonable, that those who thro' the whole Course of their Lives had been accusom'd to contemn Riches and superfluous Ornaments, should be deck'd therewith when dead. Nor were any Ointments, or costly Perfumes us'd there, being look'd on as conducing nothing to the Felicity of the Dead, and unworthy of the *Lacedemonian Gravity*.

The next Ceremony was the bedecking the dead Body with Chaplets of Flowers, and green Boughs. Thus *Talthybius* puts on *Hecuba* to adorn her Grand-son *Astyanax* (b),

Πέπλοισιν ὡς θεῖσ' ἑλκὺς νεκρῶν,
 Στεφάνοις δ', ὅση σοι δωῖάμις, ὡς ἔχει τὰ σά.

That you adorn the Corpse with costly Robes,
 With Chaplets; and what other Pomp you can.

When Persons of Worth and Character died in foreign Countries, their Remains being brought home in Urns, were honour'd with the Ceremonies customary at other Funerals, but more especially with this I am speaking of. *Plutarch* reports, that all the Cities, thro' which *Demetrius's* Ashes were convey'd, sent Mourners to meet the sacred Urn,

(a) *Alianus Var. Hist. lib. V. cap. VI.* (b) *Euripid. Troad. v. 1143.*

184 Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece.

with others to perform the Rites usual on such Occasions, or at least they crown'd it with Garlands (a). The same Author reports, that *Philopæmen's* Relicks, were attended by Captives in Chains, and his Urn so cover'd with Ribbands and Chaplets, that scarce any Part of it was to be seen (b). This Ceremony was either taken from the Games, wherein the Conquerors were rewarded with Crowns of Leaves, as signifying that the Dead had *finish'd* their *Course* (c); or was design'd to express the unmix'd and never-fading Pleasures the Dead were to enjoy, upon their Removal out of this painful and troublesome World (d); for Garlands were an Emblem of Mirth and Joyfulness, and therefore usually worn at Banquets and Festivals. The same may be observ'd of Ointments and Perfumes, the constant Attendants of Gaiety and Pleasantness. To both these Ceremonies we have an ingenious Allusion of an old Poet in *Stobæus*,

Οὐ μὲν γὰρ ἔτιως ἂν ποτ' ἐσεφανώμενοι
Πρὸ κείμεθ' ἄνδρες, ἐδὲ κατακεχεισμένοι,
Εἰ μὴ καταβάντας εὐθείως πίνεν ἔδεα.
Διὰ ταῦτα γὰρ τοὶ καλῶν μακάριοι,
Πᾶς γὰρ λέγει τις, ὁ μακαίτης οἶχεθ'.

Not that we less compassionate are grown,
Do we at Funerals our Temples crown,
Or with sweet Essences adorn our Hair,
And all the Marks of pleasing Transport wear:
But 'cause we're sure of that more happy State
To which kind Death doth ev'ry Soul translate,
Which here by drinking we anticipate:
For soon as Death his fatal Shaft hath hurl'd,
And us transmitted to the other World,
We drinking sign th' immortal Beverage,
And in sweet Joys Eternity engage;
Hence they by ev'ry one are only said
To be right *happy*, that are truly dead.

H. H.

This done, they proceeded *περίθεσθαι*, *collocare*, to lay out the dead Body; sometimes they plac'd it upon the Ground, sometimes upon a Bier, call'd *λέχηρον*, *φέρετρον*, or *φέρετρον*. which they bedeck'd with various Sorts of Flowers. Some are of Opinion the Corpse was first laid out upon the Ground, afterwards lifted upon a Bier. This Office, as most of the former, was perform'd by the nearest Relations; whence *Lysias* (e) amongst other aggravating Circumstances which attended the Death of *Eratoſthenes*, who was condemn'd by the Thirty Tyrants of Athens, reckons this as none of the least, that they laid him out, assuming thereby an Office belonging of Right only to the nearest

(a) *Demetrio*. (b) *Philopæmene*. (c) *Suidas*. (d) *Clemens Alexandrin*. *Στραμ*. lib. II. cap. VIII. (e) *Orat. de Cæde Eratoſthenis*.

and

Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece. 185

and most tender Relations. *Tiberius Caesar* is likewise censur'd by *Dio*, not only as neglecting to visit *Livia* when sick; but because he laid her not out with his own Hands, when she was dead (a). The Place where the Bodies were laid out, was near the Entrance of the House, which being sometimes term'd *πρὸν πύλιν*, it came to pass that dead Men were call'd *πρὸν πύλιν*. Hence *Euripides* (b),

Ἡ δὲ πρὸν πύλιν ὅτι καὶ ψυχὸν ἔραγει.

The Reason of this Ceremony was, that all Persons might have Opportunity to search whether the Party deceas'd had any Wounds, or other Marks of an untimely and violent Death (c). It may be farther observ'd, that the Feet were always turn'd toward the Gate. Hence *Persius*,

——— Tandemque beatulus alto
Compositus lecto, crassisque lutatus amomis,
In portam rigidos calces extendit. ———

Our dear departed Brother lies in State,
His Heels stretch'd out, and pointing to the Gate.

Achilles in *Homer* speaks of *Patroclus* as laid out in the same Manner (e),

——— ἐνὶ κλισίῃ δὲ δαΐγυλῷ ὁ ξοεὶ χαλκῷ
Κεῖται, ἀνὰ πρὸ πυλὸν τετραμυλῷ:

Slain at the Entrance of the Tent he lies,

Where we are told by the *Scholiast*, that by this Ceremony they signify'd that they were never to return after their being carry'd out. Whilst the Body lay in this Place, 'twas customary to give it constant Attendance, to defend it from any Violence or Affront that might be offer'd. Whence *Achilles* adds in the fore-cited Place,

——— ἀμφὶ δ' ἑταῖροι
Μύρονται.

Round the dead Corpse his sad Companions mourn.

And a little before we find him so passionately concern'd lest Flies and Vermin should pollute the Corpse, that he could not be drawn from it to the Battel, 'till *Thetis* had promis'd to guard it (f). When any Person died in Debt at *Athens*, there was something more to be fear'd, for the Laws of that City gave leave to Creditors to seize the dead Body, and deprive it of Burial 'till Payment was made; whence the Corpse of

(a) Lib. LVIII. (b) *Alceſtide*. (c) *Pollux* lib. VIII. cap. VII. (d) Sat. III. v. 103. (e) *Iliad*. τ. v. 211. (f) *Ibid*. v. 23.

186 *Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece.*

Miltiades, who deceas'd in Prison, being like to want the Honour of Burial, his Son *Cimon* had no other means to release it, but by taking upon himself his Father's Debt and Fetters.

Some Time before Interment, a piece of Money was put into the Corpse's Mouth, which was thought to be *Charon's Fare* for wafting the departed Soul over the infernal River. This was by some term'd *καρκήδον* (a), by others *δανάη* (b), *δανάκη*, or *δανάκη*, from *δάν* Θ, a Price; or because it was given *τοῖς θανούσις*, to dead Men, so call'd from *δανά*, or dry Sticks (c). It was only a single *ὄβολος*; *Aristophanes* indeed introduces *Hercules* telling *Bacchus* he must pay two *Oboli* (d);

Εν πλοιαίῳ τῶν γετῶν σ' ἀνὴρ γέρον
 Ναύτης διάξει, δὺ' ὄβολῳ μισθὸν λαβὼν.
 Th' old Ferry-man of Hell will waft you o'er
 In his small Skiff for poor two *oboli*.

But the *Comedian* seems to speak this only by way of Jeer to the Judges in some of the *Athenian Courts*, who were presented with two *Oboli* at the End of their Session; whence *Bacchus* presently subjoyns,

Φεῦ, ὡς μέγα δυνάμειον παύλαχ' εἶ δὺ' ὄβολῳ.
 I find two *Oboli* can much prevail
 In either World.——

Meursius therefore, interpreting this Place of the common Custom towards the Dead, and adding out of the *Scholiast*, that the Price was afterwards rais'd to three *Oboli*, seems not to have reach'd the Author's Meaning; for nothing can be more plain than that the *Scholiast* is to be understood of the *δικασικὸς μισθός*, or Reward allow'd the Judges, which was two *Oboli*, and afterwards encreas'd to three. This Ceremony was not us'd in those Places which they fancy'd situate in the Vicinity of the Infernal Regions, and to lead thither by a ready and direct Road (e); *Strabo* particularly mentions that the *Hermionians* pleaded Exemption (f).

Besides this, the Corpse's Mouth was furnish'd with a certain Cake compos'd of Flower, Honey, &c. and therefore call'd *μελιτῖστα* (g). This was design'd to appease the Fury of *Cerberus* the Infernal Door-keeper, and to procure of him a safe and quiet Entrance. We have an Allusion to this in the *Comedian* (h),

——σορὸν ὠνήσει,
 Μελιτῖσταν ἐγὼ καὶ δὴ μάλα.

(a) *Suidas*. (b) *Hesychius*. (c) *Etymologicæ Auctor*. (d) *Ranis* p. 217. Edit. *Aurel. Allob.* (e) *Etymologicæ Auctor*. v. *δανάκη*. (f) *Geogr. Lib. VIII.* (g) *Suidas*, &c. (h) *Lyfistrate*.

Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece. 187

A Coffin he shall buy, and I'll prepare

A Cake for Cerberus. ———

Virgil has oblig'd us with a larger Account of this Custom, when he describes the Sibyl and Æneas's Journey to the Infernal Shades (a);

*Cerberus hac ingens latratu regna trisaudi
Personat, adverso recubans immanis in antro:
Cui vates, horrere videns jam colla colubris,
Melle soporatam & medicatis frugibus offam
Objicit; ille, fame rabida tria guttura pandens,
Corripit objectam, atque immania terga resolvit
Fusus humi, totoque ingens extenditur antro:
Occupat Æneas aditum, custode sepulto,
Evaditque celer ripam irremeabilis unda.*

—— In his Den they found

The triple Porter of the Stygian Sound,
Grim Cerberus, who soon began to rear
His crested Snakes, and arm'd his bristling Hair;
The prudent Sibyl had before prepar'd
A Sop in Honey steep'd to charm the Guard,
Which, mixt with pow'rful Drugs, she cast before
His greedy grinning Jaws, just op'd to roar;
With three enormous Months he gapes, and strait;
With Hunger prest, devours the pleasing Bait;
Long Draughts of Sleep his monstrous Limbs enslave,
He reels, and falling fills the spacious Cave.
The Keeper charm'd, the Chief without Delay
Pass'd on, and took th' irremeable Way. Mr. Dryden.

Before we conclude this Chapter, it may be observ'd, that the whole Ceremony of laying out, and cloathing the Dead, and sometimes the Interment itself, was call'd συσκομιδή (b): In the same Sense ancient Writers use συσκομίζεν, with its Derivatives; thus Sophocles (c),

Οὐτ' οὐ σε φωνῶ, τίνδε δ' νεκρὸν χερσὶν
Μὴ συσκομίζεν, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ὅπως ἔχει
Do not presume th' accursed Corpse t' inter,
But let it lie expos'd to open View.

It may farther be observ'd, that during this Time the Hair of the deceased Person was hung upon the Door, to signify the Family was in Mourning. And, 'till the House was deliver'd of the Corpse, there

(a) Æneid. VI. v. 417. (b) Æschyl's Scholiastes. (c) Ajac. v. 1067.

188 *Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece.*

stood before the Door a Vessel of Water call'd *ἄρδανιον* (a), *ἄρδανία*, *γάρφα* (b), and from the Matter it was frequently made of, *ῥεζακον*, as in *Aristophanes* (c),

Ἰδατος τε καθάτε ῥεζακον πρὸ τῆς θύρας.

An earthen Vessel full of Water place
Before the Door. ———

Part of a *Chorus* in *Euripides*, seeing neither of these Signs, could scarce be induc'd to believe *Alcestis* dead (d);

Πυλῶν πάροιθεν δ' ἔχ' ὄρῳ
Πηγαῖον, ὡς νομίζεται
Γε, χέρνιβ' ἐπὶ φθιτῶν πύλαις
Χαῖτά τ' ἔτις ἐπὶ πρὸ θυρα τομαῖ-
ος, ἃ δὲ νεκύων πένθεσι πινεῖ.

I see no purifying Water plac'd
Before the Doors, a Custom us'd of old,
Nor lock of Hair is in the Entrance fix'd,
To shew the House in Mourning. ———

H. H.

The Design of this was, that such as had been concern'd about the Corpse, might purify themselves by washing, which was call'd *ἀρδανισμός* *ἀπὸ νεκρῶ*. For not the *Jews* only (c), but the greatest Part of the Heathen World thought themselves polluted by the Contact of a dead Body; Death being contrary to Nature, and therefore abhorr'd by every Thing endu'd with Life. Hence the Cœlestial Gods, those especially who were thought to give, or preserve Light or Life, would not endure the Sight of a Corpse. *Diana* in *Euripides* professes it unlawful for her to see *Hippolytus*, her Favourite, when dead;

Καὶ χαῖρ', ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἔθ' ἐμὶς φθιτὸς ὄραϊν,
Οὐδ' ὄμμα χραίνειν θανάσιμοισιν ἐκπνοαῖς.

Farewel, for 'twere in me a sinful Act
To view the Dead, or to defile mine Eyes
With the sad Sight of an expiring Soul.

Nor was the House where the Corpse lay free from Pollution, as appears from the Words of *Helena* in *Euripides* (f),

Καθαρὰ γὰρ ἡμῖν δώματ', ἔγδ' ἐνθάδε
Ψυχὴν ἀφῆκε Μενέλεως. ———

(a) *Suidas*, *Pollux* lib. VIII. cap. VII. (b) *Hesychius*. (c) *Ἐκκλησιαζέσαις*.
(d) *Alceſtid.* 69. (e) *Numer.* cap. XIX. 11. *Ecclesi.* cap. XXXIV. 25. (f) *Helena*, v. 1446.

Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece. 189

For sacred are our Houses, not defil'd
By the Death of *Menelaus*.——

The Air proceeding from the dead Body was thought to pollute all Things into which it enter'd; whence all uncover'd Vessels which stood in the same Room with the Corpse, were accounted unclean by the *Jews*. Hence 'twas customary to have the whole House purify'd as soon as the Funeral Solemnities were over; of which Ceremony I shall have Occasion to discourse in one of the following Chapters.

C H A P. IV.

Of their Funeral Processions.

THE next Thing to be observ'd is their *Carrying the Corpse forth*, which is in *Greek* term'd ἐκκομιδὴ, and ἐκφορὰ, in *Latin*, *elatio*, or *exportatio*; whence the *Latin*, *efferre*, *exportare*, and the *Greek*, ἐκφέρειν, and ἐκκομίζειν are Words appropriated to Funerals. *Kirchman* would have παρκομίζειν to be us'd in the same Sense; but the Place he produces out of *Eunapius* (a) to that Purpose, seems rather to denote the *Pratercession* of the Body by some Place, than its *Elation* from the House wherein it was prepar'd for Burial; for παρκομίζειν is usually spoken with respect to a Place in the middle Way of any Motion; ἐσκομίζειν belongs to the End, or Place where the Motion ceases; but ἐκκομίζειν, or ἐκφέρειν are only proper when we speak of the Place whence the Motion begins, being the same with ἔξω φέρει, *carrying forth*, which Words are taken by *Theocritus* in the Sense I am speaking of (b);

Ἀῶθεν δ' ἄρμυες νιν ἄμα δρόσῳ ἀθρόαι ἔξω
Οἰσεῦμες ποτὶ κύματ' ἐπ' αἰὼνι πύοντα.

I' th' Morn when pearly Dew has overspread
The bending Grass, we will bring forth our Dead
Down to the River's Side.——

Plautus likewise for *efferre*, hath *foras ferre* (c),

Quæ cras veniat perendie foras feratur soror.

To-morrow's Sun shall see my Sister carry'd forth.

(a) *Jamblichus*. (b) *Idyll. XV. 132*. (c) *Anulularia*.

190 Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece.

The Time of Burial seems not to have been limited. The Author of the *Geniales Dies* (a) tells us, That Bodies were usually kept seventeen Days, and seventeen Nights, before they were interr'd; which he seems to have out of *Homer*, who reports, that *Achilles's* Body after seventeen Days and as many Nights of Mourning, was committed to the Flames (b),

Ἑπτακαίδεκα μὲν σε ὁμῶς νύκτας τε καὶ ἡμέρας
Κλαίοντο θάνατῳ τε θεοὶ, θνητοὶ τ' ἀνθρώποι,
Ὀκτωκαίδεκάτῃ δ' ἔδομον πυρί. —

Seventeen long Days were in sad Mourning spent,
As many Nights did Gods and Men lament,
But on the Eighteenth laid you on the Pile.

Servius was of Opinion, that the Time of burning Bodies, was the eighth Day after Death, the Time of burying the ninth (c); but this must only be understood of the Funerals of great Persons, which could not be duly solemniz'd without extraordinary Preparations; Men of inferior Rank were committed to the Ground without so much Noise and Pomp. The ancient Burials seem to have been upon the third or fourth Day after Death: Thus the Author of the *Argonautics* (d);

At vero ornantes supremo funus honore,
Tres totos condunt lugubri murmure soles,
Magnifice tumulant quarto. —

With three Days Mourning they the Fun'ral grac'd,
(The last good Office due to the Deceas'd)
But on the fourth they o'er his Body rear'd
A stately Tomb. —

H. H.

Nor was it unusual to perform the Solemnities, especially of poor Persons, upon the Day after their Death; which appears from an Epigram in *Callimachus*;

Δαίμονα τίς δ' εὖ οἶδε τ' αὔριον; ἡνίκα καὶ σε,
Χάρμι, τ' ὀφθαλμοῖς χθιζὸν ἐν ἡμετέροις,
Τῇ ἐτέρῃ κλαύσαντες ἐδάπλομεν. —

Who knows what Fortunes on to-morrow wait,
Since *Charmis* one Day well to us appear'd,
And on the next was mournfully interr'd?

Pherecydes alludes to this Custom in his Epistle to *Thales* preserv'd by

(a) Lib. III. cap. VII. (b) *Odyss.* α. v. 63. (c) *Æneid.* V. (d) Lib. II.

Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece. 191

Laertius (a), telling him he expected every Minute to breath his last, and had invited his Friends to his Funeral the Day following.

The Ceremony was perform'd in the Day, for Night was look'd on as a very improper Time; because then Furies and evil Spirits, which could not endure the Light, ventur'd abroad. Hence *Cassandra* in a Quarrel with *Talthybius* foretells, as one of the greatest Mischiefs that could befall him, that it should be his Fortune to be bury'd in the Night (b);

Ἡ κακὸς κακῶς ταφήσῃ νυκτὸς ἐκ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ.

An evil Fate attends thy Obsequies,

Thy Fun'ral Rites shall be perform'd at Night.

Young Men only, that dy'd in the Flower of their Age, were bury'd in the Morning Twilight; for so dreadful a Calamity was this accounted, that they thought it undecent, and almost impious, to reveal it in the Face of the Sun. Whence (as the Expounders of Fables tell us) came the Stories of Youths stol'n into *Aurora's* Embraces; for when beautiful and hopeful young Men suffer'd an untimely Death, it was customary to alleviate the Disaster by giving it a more pleasant and agreeable Name; whence instead of calling their Departure *Death*, they term it *ἡμέρας ἀρπαγὴ* (c): Because these Funerals were celebrated by Torch-light, it became customary to carry Torches at all other Burials, tho' perform'd in the Day; whence came that proverbial Speech, whereby old Men are said to approach ἐπὶ τῷ δ᾽ ἄδ᾽ αὖ τῷ βίῃ, *to the Torch of their Life* (d). The *Athenians* went counter to the rest of the *Grecians*, for their Laws enjoyn'd them to celebrate their Funerals before Sun-rise: Which Command *Cicero* (e) will have to be no ancients than *Demetrius* the *Phalerean*; but *Demosthenes* makes *Solon* the Author thereof (f); 'tis not improbable that it might be first instituted by *Solon*, and afterwards reviv'd by *Demetrius*: The Design seems to have been to moderate the expensive Extravagance in Funerals, which a more open and publick Celebration seem'd to require.

The Bearers usually mounted the Corpse upon their Shoulders, which *Euripides* calls ἀρδῶν φέρειν, speaking of *Alcestis* (g),

—προσώλοι

Φέρουσιν ἀρδῶν πρὸς τάφοντα, καὶ πυράν.

The Servants to the Grave the Corpse do bear

Upon their Shoulders.

The Body was sometimes plac'd upon a Bier, instead of which the *Lacedaemonians* commonly us'd their Bucklers; whence that remarkable

(a) Vita Pherecydis sub fin. (b) Eurip. Troad. v. 446. (c) Heraclides Ponticus de Allegor. Homeric. sub fin. Eusebius. (d) Plutarchus lib. An seni capeff. sit Resp. (e) De Leg. lib. II. (f) Orat. in Macartatum. (g) Alcest. v. 607.

192 Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece.

Command of one of their Matrons to her Son, ἢ τὰν. ἢ ἐπὶ τῷ δέ; i. e. either bring this (pointing to his Buckler) back, or be brought upon it. Nor was this Custom unknown in other Places. Virgil hath mention'd it in his tenth *Aeneid* (a);

——— *Socii multo gemitu lacrymisque
Impositam scuto referunt Pallanta frequentes.*

In doleful Plaints his dear Companions mourn
Their dead Friend *Pallas* on his Target born.

But the most ancient Grecians seem to have convey'd their dead Bodies to their Funerals without any Support; whence (as *Eustathius* observes) *Patroclus* being carry'd forth by the *Myrmidones*, *Achilles* went behind to support his Head (b);

——— ὀπίθεν δ' κάρη ἔχεν δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς.

Behind *Achilles* did bear up his Head.

This seems to be the Meaning of *Euripides's* φορέδω πέμπε, when speaking of *Rhesus's* Funeral, he introduces the *Chorus* uttering these Words (c),

Τίς ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς θεός, ὦ βασιλεῦ,
Τὸν νεόδμητον ἐν χερσὶν
Φορέδω πέμπε;

What God, O King, mov'd with becoming Care,
Shall with his Hand behind support thy Head?

The Persons present at Funerals were the dead Man's Friends and Relations, who thought themselves under an Obligation to pay this last Respect to their deceas'd Friend. Beside these, others were frequently invited to encrease the Solemnity, where the Laws restrain'd them not from it; which they did at some Places, either to prevent the Disorders which often happen'd at such promiscuous Meetings, or to mitigate the excessive Charges of Funerals. Thus we find that *Pittacus* establish'd a Law at *Mitylene*, that none but the Relations of the Deceas'd should appear at Funerals; *Solon* also laid some Restraint upon his *Athenians*, wholly excluding all Women under threescore Years of Age from these Solemnities; yet Relations were admitted whilst under that Age, as appears from *Lyfias's* Oration in Defence of *Eratoſthenes*, who had murder'd his Wife's Gallant, whose first Acquaintance with her, he tells us, proceeded from seeing her at a Funeral. Yet they seem not to have gone promiscuously among the Men, but in a Body by themselves; as may be collected from these Words in *Terence's Andria*;

(a) V. 506. (b) *Iliad*. ψ. (c) *Rheso*. v. 386,

Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece. 193

Effertur, imus: Interea inter mulieres,

Qua ibi aderant, forte unam adspicio adolescentulum.

The Corpse is carry'd forward, and we follow,
But 'mongst the Women 'twas my Chance to see
A beautiful young Creature. —

The Habit of these Persons was not always the same; for tho' they sometimes put on Mourning, and in common Funerals as frequently retain'd their ordinary Apparel; yet the Exequies of great Men were commonly celebrated with Expressions of Joy for their Reception into Heaven. Thus *Timoleon's* Herse was follow'd by many thousands of Men and Women in white Garments, and bedeck'd with Garlands, as in Festival Solemnities (a); *Aratus's* Funeral was likewise celebrated with *Pæans*, or Songs of Triumph and Dances (b).

When the Body was convey'd out of the House, they took their last Farewel, saluting it in a certain Form of Words, as appears from *Admetus's* Speech to the *Phereans* present at the Funeral of his Wife (c);

Τμῆς ὃ τῷ θανόντι, ὡς νομίζεται,

Προσέπατ' εἰσαν ὑσάτω ὀδόν.

Do you, since ancient Custom so requires,
Salute the Corpse, and take your last Farewel.

The Procession was commonly made on Horseback, or in Coaches, but at the Funerals of Persons to whom a more than ordinary Reverence was thought due, all went on Foot: Which Respect the *Athenians* paid to the Memory of *Theophrastus*, as an Acknowledgement of his excellent Virtues (d). The Relations went next the Corpse, the rest walk'd some distance off: Sometimes the Men went before it with their Heads uncover'd, the Women following it. *Patroclus* was carry'd to his Funeral, surrounded by the *Grecian* Soldiers,

Πρόδε μ' ἰππῆες, μὲν δὲ νέφθ' ἔπιτο πεζῶν

Μυεῖοι, ἐν δὲ μέσοισι φέρον Πάτροκλον ἑταῖροι (e).

The sad Procession by the Horsemen led,
The thronging Footmen in the Rear succeed,
And in the midst his Friends *Patroclus* bear.

But the ordinary way was for the Body to go first, and the rest to follow; which appears as from many other Instances, so from that of *Terence* (f),

(a) *Plutarchus Timolonte* (b) *Idein Arato.* (c) *Euripid. Alcest. v. 603.* (d) *Digenes Laertius Theophrasto.* (e) *Homer Iliad. ↓.* (f) *Andria.*

*Funus interim
Procedit, sequimur.*

Th' Fun'ral marches first, we follow it.

Whereby the Survivors were put in mind of their Mortality, and bid to remember they were all following in the Way the dead Person was gone before (a). At the Funerals of Soldiers, their Fellow-Soldiers attended with their Spears pointed towards the Ground, and the uppermost Part of their Bucklers turn'd downwards, as has been formerly observ'd (b). This was not done so much (as some fancy) because the Gods were carv'd upon their Bucklers, whose Faces would have been polluted by the Sight of a dead Body, as that they might recede from their common Custom; the Method of Mourning being to act quite contrary to what was usual at other Times; and therefore not only their Bucklers, but their Spears, and the rest of their Weapons were inverted. Nor was this only a Martial Custom, but practis'd likewise in Peace; for at the Funerals of Magistrates, their Ensigns of Honour were inverted, as appears from the Poet (c);

*Quos primum vidi fasces, in funere vidi,
Et vidi versos, indiciumque mali.*

The Fasces first I at a Fun'ral saw,
With Heads turn'd downwards, the sad Badge of Woe.

To perform this Ceremony they term'd *ἐκτέμνειν*, *παρεπύμνειν*, and *ἐγτέμνειν*; the first with respect to the House, out of which the Body was carry'd forth; the second with respect to the Places by which it pass'd; and the last, to the Place whither it was convey'd.

CHAP. V.

Of their Mourning for the Dead.

THE Ceremonies by which they us'd to express their Sorrow upon the Death of Friends, and on other Occasions, were various and uncertain: But it seems to have been a constant Rule amongst them to recede, as much as possible, in Habit and all their Behaviour, from their ordinary Customs; by which change they thought

(a) *Donatus in locum Terentii, Alexand. ab Alex. lib. III. cap. VIII.* (b) *Lib. III. cap. XI.* (c) *Pedo Albinovan. Eleg. ad Liviam.*

Of the Miscellaneous Customs of Greece. 195

it would appear, that some extraordinary Calamity had befall'n them. Hence it was, that Mourners in some Cities demean'd themselves in the very same manner with Persons who in other Places design'd to express Joy: For the Customs of one City being contrary to those of another, it sometimes happen'd that what in one Place pass'd for an Expression of Mirth, was in others a Token of Sorrow. The most ordinary Ways of expressing Sorrow, were these that follow.

1. They abstain'd from Banquets and Entertainments, and banish'd from their Houses all musical Instruments, and whatever was proper to excite Pleasure, or bore an Air of Mirth and Gaiety. Thus *Admetus* in *Euripides* upon the Death of *Alcestis* (a);

Πῶσ' ὃ κῶμῳ, συμποτῶν δ' ὁμιλίας,

Στεφάνους τε, μῦσαν δ' ἢ κατ᾽ ἔχε πειν δόμους;

No more to pleasing Banquets will I run,

All Conversation with my Friends I'll shun;

No more my Brow shall fragrant Chaplets wear,

But all the Marks of Joy shall disappear;

No more I'll Musick hear, too weak to save

My dear *Alcestis* from the conqu'ring Grave.

H. H.

They frequented no publick Solemnities, nor appear'd in Places of Concourse, but sequestred themselves from Company, and refrain'd even from the Comforts and Conveniencies of Life. Wine was too great a Friend to Chearfulness to gain Admission into so melancholy Society: the Light itself was odious, and nothing courted but dark Shades and lonesome Retirements, which they thought bore some Resemblance to their Misfortunes (b): Whence *Artemidorus* lays it down as a certain Fore-runner of Death, for any one to dream of a Fire's being extinguish'd during the Sicknes of any in the same Family (c).

2. They divested themselves of all Ornaments, and laid aside their Jewels, Gold, and whatever was rich and precious in their Apparel. Thus *Lycophron* describes the Women that mourn'd for *Achilles's* Death (d);

Γυναιξὶ δ' ἔσαι τεθμὸς ἐσχῶρεσι αἰὲ

Πενθεῖν τὸν εἰνάπηχῳ, Αἰακῷ τέϊτον,

Καὶ Δωεῖδ' ὅ, πρησῆρα δαίτε μάχης·

Καὶ μήτε χρυσῷ φαίδεσσι καλλωίσεν ῥέθνη,

Μήθ' ἀβροπλῦς ἀμφιβάλλεσθαι πέπλους

Κάλλη φορυκτές. ———

This to the Women shall a Custom be,

To mourn *Achilles*, third from *Æacus*,

(a) *Alcest.* v. 343. (b) Gloss. vet. *Plutarchus* Consolat. ad Uxorem. (c) *Lib.* II. cap. IX. (d) *Cassandr.* v. 859. postquamque ibi Commentarium consule.

196 Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece.

Grandchild to *Doris*, and of largest Size;
To mourn *Achilles* frightful in the War,
Not cloth'd with rich Attire of Gems and Gold,
With glitt'ring Silks or Purple. —

The Custom is frequently mention'd in the Poets, but was not peculiar to Mourners for the Dead; being likewise, with several other Ceremonies noted in this Chapter, practis'd by all that lamented for any great Calamity. Whence *Hecuba* had no sooner heard the Fortune assign'd to herself and *Cassandra*, but she cry'd out,

——— ῥίπτε, τέκνον, ζαθέας
κλήιδας, καπὸ χειρὸς ἐν-
δύτων σεφέων ἱερὰς σολμὰς (a).

Throw off these rich, these consecrated Robes,
And hallow'd Crowns. —

Their mourning Garments were always black, whence *Progne* having Notice of *Philomela's* Death, is thus describ'd by *Ovid* (b);

——— *velamina Progne*
Diripit ex humeris auro fulgentia lato,
Induiturque atras vestes. —

From off her Back th' embroider'd Robes she tears,
And *Progne* now in mournful Black appears.

Thus likewise *Althæa*, when her Brethren were slain by *Meleager* (c),

——— *plangore dato mastis ululatibus urbem*
Implet, & auratas mutavit vestibus atris.

She fills with piteous Plains the spacious Town,
And 'stead of glitt'ring Robes puts Sable on.

To which Custom *Pericles* had respect when he boasted, " That he " had never given any Citizen Cause to put on Black (d). Hence *Artemidorus* will have it to be a Prefage of Recovery, for a sick Person to dream of black Cloaths, since not those that die, but those who survive to mourn, were apparell'd in Black (e). The *Egyptians* are reported by *Servius* to have introduc'd this Custom, when they mourn'd for the Death of *Liber*, otherwise call'd *Osiris*, who was treacherously circumvented and murder'd by his Brother *Typho*. Farther, mourning Garments differ'd not from their ordinary Apparel in Colour only, but likewise in Value, as being of cheap and coarse Stuff; which may be observ'd from this Example of *Terence* (f), beside many others;

(a) *Euripid. Troad. v. 256.* (b) *Metam. VI. Fab. VIII.* (c) *Metam. VIII. Fab. IV.* (d) *Plutarchus περὶ τῆ ἑαυτὸν ἰπαινεῖν ἀντιπρόθεως.* (e) *Lib. III. cap. III.* (f) *Menandertimer. AG. II, Sc. III.*

Of the Miscellaneous Customs of Greece. 197

Texentem telam studiose ipsam offendimus.

Mediocriter vestitam veste lugubri.

Ejus anūs causa, opinor, qua erat mortua.

We found her busie at the Loom, attir'd

In a cheap mourning Habit, which she wore

For the old Woman's Death, as I suppose.

3. They tore, cut off, and sometimes shav'd their Hair; nor was it sufficient to deprive themselves of a small Part only, for we find *Electra* in *Euripides* finding Fault with *Helena* for sparing her Locks, and thereby defrauding the Dead (a). This Custom is too well known to need any Confirmation by Examples. They had several Ways of disposing of their Hair; It was sometimes thrown upon the dead Body, as we learn from *Patroclus's* Funeral, where the *Grecians* to shew their Affection and Respect to him, cover'd his Body with their Hair (b);

Θεῶν δὲ πάντα νέκυν κατὰ νύκτα δ' ἐπέβαλλον

Κεφάλιοι.

They shav'd their Heads, and cover'd with their Hair

The Body.

Statius hath likewise observ'd the same Practice (c);

tergoque & pectore fusam

Cesariem ferro minuit scissisque jacentis

Obnubit tenuia ora comis.

He cut off all the Hair that from his Head

Down to the Back and Breast was comely spread,

And cover'd with it the dead Face.

It was likewise frequent to cast it into the Funeral Pile to be consum'd with the Body of their Friend; as *Achilles* appears to have done at *Patroclus's* Funeral (d);

Στάς ἀπὸνδθε πυρῆς ξανθὴν ἀπεκράτο χεῖρτι

τῷ ῥα Σπέρχειῳ ποταμῷ τρέψε τηλεθώσαν.

Standing hard by the Pile, the comely Hair,

Which for *Sperchius* was before preserv'd,

He now cut off, and cast into the Flames.

(a) *Orest.* 128. (b) *Iliad.* ψ'. v. 135. (c) *Thebaid.* VI. (d) *Iliad.* ψ'.

198 Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece.

Sometimes it was laid upon the Grave, as we find in *Aeschylus* (a);

Ὁρᾷ τομᾶδὲν τὸνδε βόσρυχον τὰρῳ.

I see this Hair upon the Grave.

Canace in *Ovid* bewails her Misfortune, because she was debarr'd from performing this Ceremony to her belov'd *Macareus*.

Non mihi te licuit lacrymis perfundere iustis,

In tua non tonsas ferre sepulchra comas.

'Twas not permitted me with briny Tears

To bathe thy lifeless Corpse, or bring my Hairs

Unto thy Sepulchre. —

Some restrain this Practice to Sons, or very near Relations; but it appears by many Instances to have been common to all that thought themselves oblig'd to express their Respect, or Love to the Dead; insomuch that upon the Death of great Men, whole Cities and Countries were commonly shav'd.

This Practice may be accounted for two Ways; for the *Scholiast* upon *Sophocles* observes, that it was us'd partly to render the Ghost of the deceas'd Person propitious, which seems to be the Reason why they threw Hair into the Fire to burn with him, or laid it on his Body; partly that they might appear disfigur'd, and careless of their Beauty; for long Hair was look'd on as very becoming, and the *Greeks* prided themselves in it; whence they are so frequently honour'd by *Homer* with the Epithet of *κρηκομῶτες*.

It may be farther observ'd, that in solemn and publick Mournings it was common to extend this Practice to their Beasts, that all Things might appear as deform'd and ugly as might be. Thus *Admetus*, upon the Death of *Alceste*, commands his Chariot Horses to be shorn (b);

Τίθει πᾶ τε ζῆγνυθε, καὶ μονάμπυνας

Πῶλος σιδ' ἔρω τέμνεται ὠχέων φίλω.

My Chariot-horses too my Grief shall share,

Let them be shorn, cut off their comely Mains.

Thus likewise the *Thessalians* cut off their own Hair and their Horses Mains at the Death of *Pelopidas* (c); when *Masistius* was slain in a Skirmish with the *Athenians*, the *Persians* shav'd themselves, their Horses and their Mules; But *Alexander*, as in the rest of his Actions so here-in he went beyond the rest of Mankind; for at the Death of *Hepha-*

(a) *Ronocoris*. (b) *Euripides Alceste*, v. 428. (c) *Plutarchus Pelopida*. (d) *Idem*.

Aristide.

Of the Miscellaneous Customs of Greece. 199

tion, he did not only cut off the Mains of his Horses and Mules, but took down the Battlements from the City-Walls, that even Towns might seem Mourners; and instead of their former beauteous Appearance, look bald at the Funèral (a).

It may be objected indeed to what I have been speaking, that Shaving was a Sign of Joy; whereas to let their Hair grow long, was the Practice of Persons in Affliction: Hence *Joseph* is said to have been shav'd when he was deliver'd out of Prison; and *Mephibosheth*, during the Time *David* was banish'd from *Jerusalem*, let his Hair grow, but on his Return shav'd himself. Thus likewise Mariners, upon their Deliverance from Shipwreck, us'd to shave themselves: To which Practice *Juvenal* hath this Allusion (b);

—gaudent ibi vertice raso
Garrula securi harrare pericula nauta.

And there shorn Sailors boast what they endur'd.

Whence *Artemidorus* will have Mariners that dream of having their whole Head shav'd, to be forewarn'd by the Gods, that they are to undergo very great Hazards, but to escape with Life (c). *Pliny* also in one of his Epistles interprets his Dream of cutting off his Hair, to be a Token of his Deliverance from some imminent Danger; and the Poets furnish us with several Examples to our Purpose: *Lycophron*, for Instance, thus describes a general Lamentation (d);

—πᾶς ὃ λυγαίνει λεῶς
Ἐδῆτα πρῶτον αἰὼν ἐσχάτῳ ἐκείνῳ,
Αὐχμῶ πινώδης λυπρὸν ἀμπρεύσει βίον.
Κρατὸς δ' ἄκρῳ νῶτα καλλιῶσι φόβῳ,
Μνήμῳ παλαιῶν τιμῶν ὀδυρμάτων.

In mournful Blacks shall ev'ry Soul appear,
Each shall with loathsome Dirt his Face besmeer;
Neglected Hair shall now luxuriant grow,
And by its length their bitter Passion show;
Incessantly they shall their Loss complain,
And all their Life be one sad mournful Scene;
Thus they the never-dying Names shall save
Of ancient Patriots from the conquer'd Grave.

H. H.

Plutarch undertaking to solve this Difficulty, reports that the Men let their Hair grow, but the Women were shav'd; it being the Fashion for Men to wear their Hair short at other Times, and for Women to suffer theirs to grow (e): But on the contrary it plainly appears from the Instances already produc'd, and many others, that the Men fre-

(a) *Idem Pelopida.* (b) *Sat. XII. v. 82.* (c) *Lib. I. cap. XXIII.* (d) *Cassand.*
v. 973. (e) *Romanis Quæst.*

quently wore long Hair, which they cut off upon any great Calamity; nor can it be doubted that the Women frequently wore long Hair in Sorrow, since his remark'd as a Badge of a Woman in Mourning, that she has her Hair dishevell'd and carelessly flowing about. Thus *Arriano* speaks *Thesius*,

*Africa demissa lugentis more capillos,
Et tunicas lacrymis sicut ab imbre graves.*

See, like a Mourner's, my dishevell'd Hair,

Wet, as with Rain, with Tears my Robes appear.

Terence likewise, the Scene of whose Fable is laid in Greece, has thus describ'd a Woman in Mourning (a);

Texentem telam studiose ipsam offendimus,

Mediocriter vestitam veste lugubri,

Ejus antus causa, opinor, qua erat mortua,

Sine auro tum ornatam, ita uti que ornantur sibi,

Nulla mala re esse expolitam muliebri,

Capillus passus, prolixus, circum caput

Reiectus negliger. ———

We found her at the painful Loom employ'd,

Drest in a mourning Habit, which she wore

For the old Woman's Death, as I suppose:

She was not trick'd up in a gaudy Suit,

Nor dress'd in Robes of Velvet, or of Gold,

Nor patch'd or painted to attract the Eyes

Of her Gallants, but with dishevell'd Hair

Carelessly o'er her Shoulders thrown. ———

Wherefore two Things may be observ'd for the Solution of this Difficulty:

First, The Manner of being shav'd: For tho' to be shav'd, or trimm'd by Barbers, was a Token of Cheerfulness, yet those that cut off their own Hair, and that in a negligent and careless manner, were look'd on as Mourners: Whence, tho' *Artemidorus* reports, that no Man under the Pressure of Misfortunes was ever shav'd (b); yet he adds in the same Chapter, that for a Man to dream of shaving himself, was a Presage of some great Calamity; because Men in such Circumstances were wont to shave themselves.

Secondly, The different Fashions of several Nations are to be consider'd: For where it was customary to wear short Hair, there the Length of Hair was a Token of Mourning; but where long Hair was in Fashion, there Mourners shav'd themselves. 'Tis reported by *Herodotus* (c) and others (d), that the *Argians* have lost *Thyrea* to the *Spartans*,

(a) *Heautont. Act. II. Sc. III.* (b) *Lib. I. cap. XXIII.* (c) *Lib. I. cap. LXXXII.*
(d) *Plutarchus Syllandro, Alex. ab Alex. Gen. Dier. Lib. V. &c.*

made a Decree that their whole City should cut their Hair, and never permit it to grow again to its accustomed Length, till they recover'd that Place. The Spartans, on the contrary, being to wear their Hair short, put forth a Decree, that from that Time they should nourish their Hair, in Reproach to their Enemies. Now in these Cities, when the Fashion was to wear short Hair, then Mourners were distinguish'd by long Hair; but long Hair coming into Fashion, Mourners were shav'd.

4. 'Twas frequent for Persons overwhelm'd with Grief, and unable to bear up under it, to throw themselves upon the Earth, and roll in the Dust; and the more dirty the Ground was, the better it serv'd to defile them, and to express their Sorrow and Dejection. Thus Oeneus behaves himself upon the Death of his Son Meleager (a);

*Pulvere canitiem genitor, vultusque seniles
Fædat humi fusos, spatiosumque increpat avum.*

His hoary Head, and furrow'd Cheeks besmears
With noisom Dirt, and chides the tedious Years.

Priam in Homer represents his lamenting of Hector in the same Po-
fure (b);

Οὐ γὰρ πω μύσαν ὄρεε ὑπὸ βλεφάρεσσιν ἐμοῖσιν,
Εξ ἧ σῆς ὑπὸ χερσὶν ἐμὲς πᾶσις ὤλεσε θυμόν.
Ἀλλ' αἰεὶ σενάχω καὶ κήδεα μυεῖα πᾶσα,
Αὐλῆς ἐν χόρτοισι κυλινδρόμηνθ' καὶ κόπρον.

Soft Sleep has never clos'd these watchful Eyes,
Since my dear Son became your fatal Prize;
But Day and Night I mourn my wretched Fate,
And on my counsels Suff'rings ruminate,
Wet'ring in every filthy Place. —

H. H.

5. They cover'd their Heads with Ashes. Thus Achilles upon the
News of Patroclus's Death (c),

Ἀμφοτέρησι δ' χερσὶν ἐλὼν κόριν αἰθαλόεσσαν,
ἔδωκε καὶ κεφαλῆς. —

Then taking Ashes up with both his Hands,
He threw them on his Head. —

These Customs were likewise practis'd in the Eastern Countries, whence we find so frequent Mention of Penitents lying upon the Ground, and putting on Sackcloth and Ashes.

(a) Ovid. Metamorph. lib. VIII. v. 528. (b) Iliad. α'. v. 637. (c) Iliad. σ'.
v. 23.

202 *Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece.*

6. When any Occasion requir'd their Attendance abroad, their Heads were muffled up, as appears from these Verses in the Epigram (a) in

ὄρα θ' ὅς περ κρημὲς ἀμφὶ πρὸς ὤματα
Πήματα καὶ δέκνυσιν. ———

Her Face wrapt in a Veil declar'd her Woes. ———

Whence *Orestes* perswading *Electra* to leave off Mourning, bids her be unveil'd;

—— ἀνακάλυπ' ἃ κασίγνητον κἀγαθὴ,
Ἐκ δακρυῶν τ' ἀπέλθ'.

Pull off your Veil, dear Sister, and forbear
This Grief. ———

Nor was this the Fashion of Women only; for *Adrastus* came to *Thebes* after his Loss at *Thebes*, κατήρης χλανιδίοις, wherefore *Thebes* speaks thus to him (b);

Λέγ', ἐκάλυψαι κεῖτα, πάρες γόον.

Speak out, unfold your Head, refrain from Tears.

Thus likewise *Haman*, upon the Defeat of his Plot against *Mordecai*, is said to have hasten'd to his House of Mourning, and having his Head cover'd (c); and the *Jews* are represented by *Jeremy* as being ashamed and confounded, and covering their Heads in the Time of a grievous Famine (d).

7. Another Token of Dejection was, to decline their Heads upon their Hands. Whence *Helen* speaks thus of the calamitous *Trojans* (e),

Ἐπὶ ᾧ κρατὶ χεῖρας ἔθηκαν.

They with their Hands support their drooping Head. ———

8. They went softly, to express their Faintness, and Loss of Strength and Spirits. Thus *Ahab* King of *Israel* being terrify'd by the Judgment *Elias* denounc'd against him, fasted, and lay in Sackcloth, and went softly (f): And *Hezekiah* King of *Judah* being told by the Prophet, that he was never to recover of a Distemper he then lay under, amongst other Expressions of Sorrow hath this, *I shall go softly all my Years in the Bitterness of my Soul* (g).

(a) Antholog. lib. V. cap. XXXIII. (b) Eurip. Supplic. 110. (c) Esther cap. VI. 12. (d) Cap. XIV. 3, 4. (e) Euripid. Helen. 377. (f) 1 Reg. XXI. 27. (g) Isaiah cap. XXXV III. 15.

9. They

9. They beat their Breasts and Thighs, and tore their Flesh, making Furrows in their Faces with their Nails; which Actions, tho' practis'd sometimes by Men, were more frequent among Women, whose Passions are more violent and ungovernable. Thus Nonnus represents them (a),

——— φιλοδρύνων ἡ γυναικῶν
Στυγνὸς ἐρδιδίωσαν ὄνυχ' ἄμυσσε παρηνῶ,
Καὶ ῥόδ' οἰς ἐκόρυσαν ἐκείσια δάκτυλα μαζοῖς.

Women with Nails their Breasts and Faces tear,
And thus their boundless headstrong Grief declare.

In the same manner Anna bewails her Sister Dido's unexpected Death (b).

*Audiit exanimis, trepidoque exterrita cursu,
Unguibus ora soror fœdans & pectora palmis.*

Her Sister hearing, speeds with frightful Haste,
Tears her soft Cheeks, and beats her panting Breast.

Many Instances of this Nature occur in both Languages, the Custom being generally practis'd both in Greece and at Rome. Solon thought fit, amongst other Extravagancies at Funerals, to forbid this (c). The Lacedæmonians bore the Death of their private Relations with great Constancy and Moderation; but when their Kings dy'd, had a barbarous Custom of meeting in vast Numbers, where Men, Women and Slaves, all mix'd together, tore the Flesh from their Foreheads with Pins and Needles. The Design of this was not only to testify their Sorrow, but also to gratify the Ghosts of the Dead, who were thought to feed upon, and to delight in nothing so much as Blood, as Servius has prov'd from Varro (d).

10. They accus'd and curs'd their Gods: Hence Statius (e),

——— *injustos rabidis pulsare querelis
Cœlicolas solamen erit.* ———

T' inveigh against the Gods with justest Rage,
And call them envious, may our Grief assuage.

Nor was this the Effect of extravagant Passion, or practis'd only by Persons of weaker Understandings in the Extremity of their Sorrow, but frequently done by Men of all Qualities, and that in the most grave and solemn Manner that could be, as appears from the same Poet (f),

(a) Dionys. Lib. IX. 18. (b) Virgil. *Æn.* IV. 673. (c) Plutarchus Solone. Cicero Legibus. (d) *Æn.* Lib. III. Conf. Idem in *Æn.* Lib. XII. (e) Sylv. Lib. V. (f) Theb. III.

— *primæque senes, & longo examine matres*

Invidiam planxere Deis. —

The aged Sires, and Dames in num'rous Crouds

Bewail, and curse the Envy of the Gods.

For the Gods being thought subject to human Passions, 'twas very easy and natural for Men under Misfortunes to impeach them of Cruelty or Envy. Thus, when *Hylas*, *Hercules's* Darling, perish'd in the Waters, the Deities residing there were said to have been enamour'd with him, and to have stol'n him; and when any great and publick Blessing was taken away, the immortal Beings were said to envy Mankind so great Felicity. Many Instances might be produc'd to this Purpose, whereof I will only set down that remarkable one of *Marcellus* in *Virgil* (a).

Ostendent terris hunc tantum Fata, neque ultra

Esse finem: Nimum vobis Romana propago

Visa potens, superi, propria hac si dona fuissent.

This Wonder of the World the Gods but shew,

Heav'n were improv'ish'd shou'd he stay below:

Bless'd to excess had been the Roman State,

Had Heav'n these Gifts as lasting made as great. H. H.

Sometimes their impious Rage against the Gods proceeded to the pulling down their Altars, and sacking their Temples; an Example whereof we have in *Neoptolemus*, who being inform'd that *Apollo* was necessary to his Father's Death, took up a Resolution to demolish the *Delphick* Temple, and perish'd in the Attempt (b).

11. Another Custom they had of drawling out their Words, and with Tears repeating the Interjection *ι, ι, ι, ι*. Hence (if we may credit the *Scholiast* (c) upon *Aristophanes*) Funeral Lamentations were call'd *ἔλεγος*, Elegies.

12. When publick Magistrates, or Persons of Note dy'd, or any publick Calamity happen'd, all publick Meetings were intermitted, the Schools of Exercise, Baths, Shops, Temples, and all Places of Concourse were shut up, and the whole City put on a Face of Sorrow: Thus we find the *Athenians* bewailing their Loss of *Socrates*, not long after they had sentenc'd him to Death (d).

13. They had Mourners and Musicians to encrease the Solemnity: Which Custom seems to have been practis'd in most Parts of the World. The *Roman Præfices* are remarkable enough, and the Eastern Countries observ'd the same Practice; whence we find mention of Mourners going about the Streets, and Mourning Women, in several Places of the sacred Writings. *Jeremy* having foretold the Calamity of the *Jews*, ad-

(a) *Æn.* VI. 869. (b) *Æuripid. Andromach.* (c) *Avibus.* (d) *Diogenes Laertius* *Socrate.*

wives to consider, and call for the mourning Women, that they may make haste, and take up a wailing for us, that our Eyes may run down with Tears, and our Eye-lids gush out with Waters (a). These Homer calls *ῥυμίων ἑκάργες*, because they endeavour'd to excite Sorrow in all the Company by beating their Breasts, and counterfeiting all the Actions of the most real and passionate Grief. They are likewise term'd *δοιδοὶ*, *πρῶτοι*, &c. from the Songs they sung at Funerals; of these there seem to have been three, one in the Procession, another at the Funeral-Pile, a third at the Grave; these were commonly term'd *ὀλοφυρμοὶ*, *λιννοὶ*, *ἀλιννοὶ*, tho' the two last seem not peculiar to Funeral-Songs, but applicable to others: We find them sometimes call'd *ἰάλαροι*, from *Iakemonus*, one of *Clio's* Sons, and the first Author of these Compositions; for the same Reason Songs at Marriages were term'd *ὑμναῖοι* from his Brother *Hymeneus*: Funeral Dirges were also call'd *τάλεμοι*, whence *τηλεμίζειν* is expounded in *Hesychius* by *θελῶν*, to mourn; and *τηλεμίζειν* is another Name for mourning Women: Hence *τὰ ταλειμῶδη* signify empty and worthless Things, and *ταλήμυ ψυχρότερον* is proverbially apply'd to insipid and senseless Compositions (b); for the Songs us'd on these Occasions were usually very mean and trifling, whence that Saying of *Plautus* (c);

Ha non sunt nuge, non enim mortuaria.

These are no Trifles, since they're not compos'd
For th' hideous Chanting of a Funeral.

What the Design of their Musical Instruments was, is not agreed; some will have them intended to affright the Ghosts and Furies from the Soul of the deceas'd Person; others, agreeably to *Plato* and *Pythagoras's* Notions, would have them to signify the Soul's Departure into Heaven, where they fancy'd the Motion of the Spheres made a Divine and Eternal Harmony; others say they were design'd to divert the Sorrow of the dead Man's surviving Relations: Lastly, the most probable Opinion seems to be, that they were intended to excite Sorrow, which was the Reason that the *Lyra* was never us'd at such Solemnities, as being consecrated to *Apollo*, and fit only for *Pæans* and cheerful Songs. *Admetus* indeed commands the Flute likewise to be banish'd out of his City upon the Death of *Alcestis* (d),

Δυλῶν δὲ μὴ κατ' ἄστυ, μὴ λύρας κλύπῃ

Ἔσω, σελῶας δ' ὀδὲκ' ἐμπληρεῶδας,

Οὐ γὰρ τιν' ἄλλον φίλτερον δάψω νεκρῶν

Τῆς δ'

Let not the pleasing Flute, nor sprightly Lyre,
Till *Phæbe* twelve Times has repair'd her Horns,

(a) Cap. IX, 17. (b) *Suidas*, *Zenodotus*. (c) *Afinaria*, (d) *Euripid.* *Al-*
cestis, V. 439.

Be in the mournful City heard, for I

A Corse more dear than this shall ne'er interr. H. H.

But hence we are only to collect, that the Ancients had different Sorts of Flutes, some of which were proper in Times of Mirth, others in Times of Mourning; for it appears by many Examples, that some of their αῦλοί, or *tibia*, were of all other Instruments the most common at Funerals. Hence *Statius* in his Description of young *Archemorus's* Funeral (a),

*Tum signum luctus cornu grave mugit adunco
Tibia, cui teneros suetum traducere manes
Lege Phrygum mæsta: Pelopem monstrasse ferèbant
Exequiale satrum, carmenque minoribus umbris
Utile. ———*

In doleful Notes the *Phrygian* Flute complains,
And moves our Pity with its mournful Strains;
The *Phrygian* Flute of old us'd to convey
The Infant-Souls on their unerring Way;
Which Custom into th' World first *Pelops* brought,
And th' unknown Use of Fun'ral Dirges taught;
Dirges, whose pow'rful Sounds were thought to speed,
And smoothe the Passage of the younger Dead. H. H.

Some indeed will have the *Lydian* Flutes more suitable to Funerals, the *Phrygian*, of which *Statius* speaks, to agree better with Mirth and Cheerfulness, and to be us'd only at Funerals of Infants and Youths, which were ordinarily solemniz'd in a manner quite different from those of grown Persons, which they think confirm'd by *Statius's* Words; but as these may bear a quite different Sense, not the Instrument, but the Song whereof he there speaks, being proper for the Funerals of Persons under Age; so it appears farther, that the most common Flutes us'd at these Solemnities were of the *Phrygian* Fashion, tho' perhaps neither the *Lydian*, nor some others might be wholly excluded: Hence *nania*, which is the *Latin* Word for Funeral-Dirges, seems to have been deriv'd from the *Greek* ννίατον, which is us'd by *Hipponax*; and (however *Scaliger* deduces it from the *Hebrew*) affirm'd by *Pollux* to be of *Phrygian* Original; νλωυπίζεσθαι is of the same Descent, and expounded by *Σπλωεῖν*. The *Carian* Flute was likewise us'd on these Occasions, whence the Musicians and Mourners were term'd Καρίαι (b), and Καρικὴ μῦσα is a Funeral-Song; now this was the very same with that us'd by the *Phrygians*, from whom *Pollux* tells us, it was first convey'd into *Caria* (c). I shall only mention two more; the first is the *Myssian* Flute, an Instrument likewise fit for Sorrow: Hence *Æschylus* (d);

(a) *Theb. lib. VI. v. 120.* (b) *Hesychius.* (c) *Lib. III.* (d) *Perffis, ejusque Scholiastes, ibid.*

Καὶ εἰπὺν ἀεζάσει, καὶ πύθοι τὸ Μύσιον.

He beats his Breast, and sounds the *Myssian* Flute.

The last is the *Lydian* Flute, which, as *Plutarch* reports out of *Ari-*
stophanes, was first apply'd to this Use by *Olympus* at *Python's* Death (a).

CHAP. VI.

Of their Manner of Interring and Burning the Dead.

IT would be needless to prove that both Interring and Burning were practis'd by the *Grecians*; yet whether of these Customs has the best Claim to Antiquity, may perhaps admit of a Dispute. But it seems probable, that however the later *Grecians* were better affected to the way of Burning, yet the Custom of the most primitive Ages was to inter their Dead. 'Tis plain the *Athenians*, however afterwards addicted to Burning, us'd Interment in *Cecrop's* Reign, if any Credit may be allow'd to *Cicero* (b); and the *Scholiast* upon *Homer* (c) positively affirms, that Interring was more ancient than Burning, which he reports to have been first introduc'd by *Hercules*. However it appears that the Custom of Burning was receiv'd in the *Trojan* War, and both then and afterwards generally practis'd by the *Grecians*; infomuch that when *Lucian* enumerates the various Methods us'd by different Nations in disposing of their Dead, he expressly assigns Burning to *Greece*, and Interment to the *Persians* (d). But this is not so to be understood, as if the *Grecians* in the Ages he speaks of never interr'd their Dead, or thought it unlawful so to do; but only that the other Custom was more generally receiv'd by them. *Socrates* in *Plato's* *Phadon* speaks expressly of both Customs; and it appears that some of them look'd on the Custom of Burning as cruel and inhuman; whence a Poet cited by *Eustathius* (e) introduces a Person exclaiming against it, and calling out upon *Prometheus* to haste to his Assistance, and steal, if possible, from Mortals the Fire he had given them. The Philosophers were divided in their Opinions about it; those who thought human Bodies were compounded of Water, Earth, or the four Elements, inclin'd to have them committed to the Earth: But *Heraclitus* with his Followers imagining Fire to be the first Principle of all things, affected burning. For every one thought it the most reasonable Method, and most agreeable to Nature, so to dispose of Bodies, as they might soonest be reduc'd to their first Principles.

(a) De Musica. (b) De Legib. lib. II. (c) *Iliad*. d. (d) De Lusta. (e) *Iliad*. d. p. 32.

208 Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece.

Eusebius (a) assigns two Reasons why Burning came to be of so general Use in Greece: The first is, because Bodies were thought to be unclean after the Soul's Departure, and therefore were purify'd by Fire; whence *Euripides* speaks of *Clytemnestra*,

— πρὸ καὶ θύγνισαι δέμας.

The Body's purify'd by Fire. —

The second Reason is, That the Soul being separated from the gross and unactive Matter, might be at liberty to take its Flight to the Heavenly Mansions (b). Wherefore the Indian Philosophers, out of Impatience to expect the Time appointed by Nature, us'd to consume themselves in a Pile erected for that Purpose, and so loose their Souls from their Confinement. A remarkable Example hereof we have in *Calanus*, who follow'd *Alexander* out of *India*, and finding himself indispos'd, obtain'd that King's Leave to prevent the Growth of his Distemper by committing himself to the Flames (c). *Hercules* was purify'd from the Dregs of Earth by the same Means before his Reception into Heaven. And it seems to have been the common Opinion, that Fire was an admirable Expedient to refine the Cœlestial Part of Man, by separating from it all gross and corruptible Matter, and the impure Qualities which attend it. Thus *Scylla* being slain by *Hercules*, was rais'd from the Dead, and render'd immortal by her Father *Phorcys* (d);

— ὡς αὖθις πατήρ
Σάρκας καταίδων λοφίσιν δομήσατο,
Λέπιδων ἐτρέμυσαν ἑδάϊαν θεάη.

— into whose stiffen'd Limbs
Phorcys by quick'ning Flames new Life inspir'd,
And rais'd her high above the Fears of Death.

The Pile whereon they burnt dead Bodies were call'd *πυράι*. They seem not to have been erected in any constant Form, or to have consisted of the same Materials; these being vary'd as Time and Place, and other Circumstances requir'd.

The Body was placed upon the Top of the Pile, but was rarely burn'd without Company; for besides the various Animals they threw upon the Pile, we seldom find a Man of Quality consum'd without a Number of Slaves or Captives: Besides these, all Sorts of precious Ointments and Perfumes were pour'd into the Flames. Many Instances of this Nature might be produc'd out of the ancient Poets, but I shall only set down the following one out of *Homer's* Description of *Patroclus's* Funeral (e);

(a) *Loco citato.* (b) *Quintilianus Declam. X.* (c) *L. Curtius.* (d) *Lycophron, Cassandr. v. 44.* (e) *Iliad. Ψ. v. 164.*

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Ποίησαν ὃ πυρὶ ἐκατόμποδον εἶδα καὶ ἐνθα,
 Ἐν ὃ πυρὶ ὑπάτῃ νεκρὸν θέσαν, ἀχνύμῃροι κῆρ·
 Πολλὰ δ' ἴφια μῆλα, καὶ εἰλίποδας ἑλικας βῆς
 Πρὸς πυρὸς ἐδέοντο, καὶ ἀμφεπον· ἐν δ' ἄρ' πάντων
 Δημὸν ἐλὼν ἐκάλυψε νέκυν μεγάλῃσιν Ἀχιλλεύς
 Ἐς πόδας ἐκ κεφαλῆς· πρὶν δ' ὃ δρατὰ σώματα νῆες,
 Ἐν δὲ τίθει μέλιτ' καὶ ἀλείφατ' ἀμφοροῖσιν,
 Πρὸς λέχεα κλίνων· πίσυρες δ' ἐρειώχεναι ἵππους
 Ἐσσυμένως ἐνέβαλλε πυρὶ, μέγала σοναχίζων,
 Ἐννέα τὰ γε ἀνακτὶ τετραπέζῃσι κωῖες ἦσαν,
 Καὶ μὲν ἐνέβαλλε πυρὶ δύο δαιτομήσας.
 Δώδεκα δ' Τρώων μεγαθύμων υἱὰς ἐδλῆς
 Χαλκῷ δηϊόων. —————

A spacious Pile the mournful Grecians made,
 And on the Top his comely Body laid;
 Next strip'd the Sheep and Oxen, there that stood
 In solemn Ranks before the flaming Wood.
 But brave Achilles, as above the rest
 Concern'd, more Signs of Care and Love express'd;
 Straight off the Victims all the Fat he flea'd,
 And over all the much-lov'd Corpse it spread:
 Then plac'd their Carcasses around the Pile,
 And Vessels fill'd with Honey and with Oil;
 Next deeply groaning, with becoming Haste,
 Four sprightly Coursers on the Pile he cast;
 Nine lovely Dogs he at his Table fed,
 And two of these upon the Pile he laid;
 Twelve valiant Trojan Captives next he slew,
 And on the Pile their mangled Bodies threw.

H. H.

The Reason why the Body was cover'd with the Fat of Beasts was, that it might consume the sooner (a); for it was look'd on as a singular Blessing to be quickly reduc'd to Ashes: Wherefore in Funerals, where Numbers of Bodies were burnt on the same Pile, they were so dispos'd that those of moist Constitutions, and easy to be enflam'd, being proportion'd to Bodies of contrary Tempers, should encrease the Vehemence of the Fire; whence Plutarch (b) and Macrobius (c) have observ'd, that for ten Men it was the Custom to put in one Woman.

Soldiers usually had their Arms burnt with them: Wherefore Egeonor in Homer begs this Favour of Ulysses (d);

(a) Eusebius. (b) Sympos. lib. III. Quest. IV. (c) Saturn. lib. VII. cap. VII. (d) Odyss. x. v. 74.

210 *Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece.*

Ἀλλὰ με κακῆσαι σὺν τὰ χερσὶν ἄνωδ' μοι βῆναι.

Let all the Arms I have be with me burnt.

It seems likewise to have been the Custom for the Garments they had worn in the Time of their Lives, to be thrown into the Pile. Some were so solicitous about this, that they gave Orders in their last Wills to have it done: And the *Athenians* were, as in all other Observances which related any way to Religion, so in this the most profuse of all the *Grecians*; insomuch that some of their Law-givers were forced to restrain them, by severe Penalties, from defrauding the Living by their Liberality to the Dead. *Lycurgus* allow'd nothing to be bury'd with Bodies beside one red Garment, or, at the most, a few Branches of Olive (a); nor these neither, except the Person had been eminent for Virtue and Fortitude. *Solon* allow'd three Garments and one Ox (b). At *Charonea* those that were convicted of Extravagance at Funerals, were punish'd as soft and effeminate by the *Censors of Women* (c).

The Pile was lighted by some of the dead Person's nearest Relations or Friends, who made Prayers and Vows to the Winds to assist the Flames, that the Body might quickly be reduc'd to Ashes. Thus *Achilles* having fir'd *Patroclus's* Pile, intercedes with *Boreas* and *Zephyrus* to fly to his Assistance with their joint Forces (d),

Οὐδ' ἐπὶ πυρὴ Πατρὸς κλεῖ καίετο τεθνηῶτ' ὅτ',
Ἐνδ' αὖτ' ἄλλ' ἐνόησε ποδάρκης δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς,
Στάς ἀπ' ἀνδρὸς πυρῆς, δοιοῖς ἡρᾶτ' ἀνέμοισι,
Βορέη, καὶ Ζεφύρῳ, καὶ ὑπέχετο ἱερὰ καλὰ.
Παλλὰ δ' ὅ καὶ σπένδων χρυσέῳ δέπαϊ, λιτάνειν
Ἐλθέμεν, ὅρρα τάχιστα πύρ' φλεγεδοῖατο νεκρὸν,
Ὅτλη τ' ἐσάοιτο καὶ ἡμέραι.

When he perceiv'd the Flames t' abate their Force,
Unable to consume th' unhappy Corse,
Some Distance from the Pile the Hero stands,
The Golden Calice fills his Royal Hands,
And there to *Boreas* and to *Zeph'rus* pray'd,
And with each Deity solemn Cov'nants made,
That grateful Victims shou'd their Altars stain,
And choicest Off'rings load the joyful Fane,
If with their kinder Blasts they'd fan the Fire,
And with new Force the languid Flames inspire,
That they to Earth the Corps might soon reduce.

H. H.

At the Funerals of Generals and great Officers, the Soldiers, with the rest of the Company, made a solemn Procession three Times round the Pile, to express their Respect to the Dead. Thus *Homer's* *Gracians* (e),

(a) *Plutarchus Lycurgo*. (b) *Idem Solone*. (c) *Idem ibidem*. (d) *Iliad*. 4. v. 192. (e) *Iliad*. 4.

Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece. 211

Οἱ δὲ τοῖς τρεῖς νεκρὸν εὐτειχας ἤλασαν ἵπποις
Μυεόμενοι. ———

They drive their Horses thrice about the Dead
Lamenting. ———

This Action was call'd in Greek *εὐτειχία*, in Latin, *decurſio*; we find frequent mention of it in the Poets. Statius has elegantly describ'd it in his Poem on the *Theban War* (a),

*Tunc ſeptem numero turbas (centenus ubique
Surgit eques) verſis ducunt inſignibus ipſi
Grajugenæ reges, luſtrantque ex more ſiniſtro
Orbe roſum, & ſtantes inclinant pulvere flammæ?
Ter curvos egere ſinus, illiſaque telis
Tela ſonant; quater horrendum pepulere fragorem
Arma, quater mollem famularum brachia planctum.*

Seven goodly Troops the ſad Decurſion made,
In each of which an hundred Horſe appear'd,
And theſe (a Poſture fitting thoſe that mourn'd)
The Captains led with Enſigns downwards turn'd:
Towards the left they march; on th' Pile they gaze,
Whilſt Clouds of Duſt the thronging Horſes raiſe,
Whoſe much-prevailing Force depreſs the riſing Blaze:
Three Times they all the burning Pile furround,
Whilſt Darts ſtrike Darts, and make a frightful Sound;
Four Times the Din of clashing Arms invades
The ſuff'ring Air, four Times the mournful Maids
Loudly lament, each ſtrikes her panting Breſt,
And Pity in us moves for the Deceas'd. H. H.

Where it may be obſerv'd, that in this *Decurſion* the Motion was towards the Left-hand, by which they expreſs'd Sorrow; as on the contrary, Motion to the Right was a Sign of Joy. Thus the ſame Author (b),

——— *Hic luſtus abolere, novique
Funeris auſpiciũ vates, quanquam omina ſentit
Vera, jubet, dextro gyro, & vibrantibus haſtis
Huc redeant.* ———

The Prieſt, tho' by the boding Signs he knew
Some dire Calamity wou'd ſure enſue,
Bids them their anxious Thoughts a while forbear,
Their pompous Grief, and bitter Paſſion ſpare,

(a) Lib. VI. v. 213. (b) Ibid. v. 221.

212 *Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece.*

And moving tow'rd's the Right with brandish'd Arms,
Back to return. —————

H. H.

These Motions were accompany'd with Shouts and Sound of Trumpet, as we learn from *Valerius Flaccus* (a);

*Inde ter armatos Minyis referentibus orbes
Concussi tremuere rogi, ter inhorruit ather
Luctificum clangente tuba, jecere supremo
Tum clamore faces.* —————

Three Marches round the Pile the *Minyæ* make,
Their weighty Strides the well-pil'd Structure shake;
Thrice doleful Sounds from hollow Tubes are sent,
The Clangor wounds the troubled Firmament;
With Torches next accompany'd with Shouts,
They light the Pile. —————

H. H.

Which last Words seem to intimate the *Decurſion's* being made before the Pile was lighted, whereas it appears from other Authors to have been made whilst the Pile was burning: Thus *Virgil* tells us in expreſs Words (b),

*Ter circum accensos cincti fulgentibus armis
Decurrere rogos, ter mæſtum funeris ignem
Luſtravere in equis, ululatusque ore dedere.*

Well-arm'd thrice round the Pile they march'd on Foot,
Thrice round it rode, and with a diſmal Shout
Survey'd the rowling Flames. ————

During the Time the Pile was burning, the dead Perſon's Friends ſtood by it pouring forth Libations of Wine, and calling upon the Deceas'd. Thus *Achilles* attended all Night at *Patroclus's* Funeral (c),

————— Καὶ πάννυχ' ὦκύς Ἀχιλλεύς
Χρυσέε' ἐκ κρητῆρος, ἔχων δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον,
Οἶνον ἀφωάμεν' ἁμάδις χέει, δέῃε δ' ὃ γαῖαν,
Ψυχῷ κικλήσκων Πατροκλῆ' δειλοῖο.

All Night divine *Achilles* does attend
At the ſad Fun'ral of his much-lov'd Friend:
A Golden Cup he bore, that Wine contain'd,
Which pouring out, the glutted Pavement ſtain'd;

(a) *Argon.* lib. III. (b) *Aeneid.* XI. v. 188. (c) *Iliad.* ψ.

His

Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece. 213

His pious Off'ring thus the Hero paid,
Calling upon the *Manes* of the Dead.

H. H.

When the Pile was burnt down, and the Flames had ceas'd, they extinguish'd the Remains of the Fire with Wine; which being done, they collected the Bones and Ashes. Thus *Homer* relates of the *Trojans* at *Hector's* Funeral (a),

Πρῶτον μὲν χεῖ πυρκαϊῇ σέσαν αἰδοπι οἶνω
Πᾶσαν, ὅπως ἐπέχε πυρὸς μύθε. αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
Ὅς ἐα λῶκα λέγοντο κασίγνητοι, ἔταρσι τε.

About the Pile the thronging People came,
And with black Wine quench'd the remaining Flame;
His Brothers then, and Friends search'd ev'ry where,
And gather'd up his snowy Bones with Care.

Mr. Congreve.

From which Words it appears, that this Offite was perform'd by near Relations. To which Practice *Tibullus* likewise alludes;

Non hic mihi mater,
Qua legat in mæstos ossa perusta sinus.

Nor was my dear indulgent Mother by,
Who to her Breast my mould'ring Bones wou'd lay.

The Bones were sometimes wash'd with Wine, and (which commonly follow'd Washing) anointed with Oil. *Agamemnon* is introduc'd by *Homer* informing *Achilles* how this Ceremony had been perform'd to him (b);

Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ σε φλόξ ἥνυσεν Ηφαίστοιο
Ἡῶθεν δὴ τοι λέγομεν λῶκ' ὅς ἐ' Ἀχιλλεῦ,
Ὀίνῳ ἐν ἀκρήτῳ καὶ ἀλείφατι. ———

But when the Flame your Body had consum'd,
With Oils and Odours we your Bones perfum'd,
And wash'd with unmix'd Wine. ———

Patroclus's Remains were enclos'd in Fat (c) :

Κλαίοντες δ' ἐτάροις ἐνέθε' ὅς ἐα λῶκα
Ἄλλεγον ἐς χρυσέῳ φιάλῳ καὶ δίπλακα δημόν.
His mournful Friends in Fat his Bones enclos'd,
Then in a Golden Urn they them repos'd.

(a) *Iliad*. α. v. 791. (b) *Odysse*. α. v. 71. (c) *Iliad*. ψ. v. 252.

214 *Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece.*

It may here be demanded, how the Reliques of the Body were distinguish'd from those of the Beasts and Men burnt with it? In Answer to this Enquiry (omitting those groundless Stories of the Stone *Amiantus*, and *ndjan* Hemp, which could not be consum'd by Fire) I shall produce two Instances, whereby it appears the Method they took to effect this, was by placing the Body in the Middle of the Pile, whereas the Men and Beasts burnt with it lay on the Sides. Thus *Achilles* tells the *Grecians*, it would be easie to discover the Remains of *Patroclus* (a);

Πρῶτον μὲν καὶ πυρκαϊῶν σβήσαι ἀδελφοὶ οἶνον
 Πᾶσαν, ὅποσον ἔπεχε πυρὸς μὴ θῆ· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
 Ὅσα Πατρίκλοιο Μενoitιάδαο λέγων, ἔπειτα
 Εὖ διαγινώσκοντες, ἀειφραδέα ὃ τέτυκτο,
 Ἐν μέσῳ γὰρ ἔκειτο πυρῇ. τοὶ δ' ἄλλοι ἄνδρες
 Ἐγκατὴν καὶ οἷον ἐπιμύξῃ ἵπποι τε καὶ ἄνδρες.
 First with black Wine extinguish all the Flames,
 Quench ev'ry glowing Cinder that remains,
 Then let us gather up, 'tis eas'ly done,
 The unmix'd Bones of brave *Menæti*'s Son.
 Your nicer Care need not be here exprest,
 You'll soon distinguish his from all the rest:
 For in the midst o' th' Pile his Corpse was plac'd,
 Whilst Men and Beasts promiscuously cast,
 Lay frying on the outward Parts. —

H. H.

Achilles's Bones are said to have been distinguish'd the same way (b),

Δὴ τότε πυρκαϊῶν οἶνον σβέσαν, ὅσα δ' αὐτῷ
 Φαίνεται ἀειφραδέως· ἐπεὶ ἔχ' ἐτέροισιν ὅμοια
 ἦν, ἀλλ' οἷα γίγαντο ἀτειρέθ· ἐδὲ μὲν ἄλλα
 Σὺν κείνοισι ἐμέμικτο, ἐπεὶ βόες, ἡδὲ καὶ ἵπποι,
 Καὶ παῖδες Τρώων μίγδα κλαυθροῖσι καὶ ἄλλοις
 Βαδὸν ἄπωθε κέοντο πρὸ νέκυν. ὅς δ' ἐνὶ μέσσοις
 Πρωτὴ ὑφ' Ἡρώϊοιο δεδμημένος οἶον ἔκειτο.

When the remaining Flames they'd quench'd with Wine,
 Which were the Hero's Bones was plainly seen;
 Not like the rest which fell his Sacrifice,
 But of a larger and gigantick Size;
 Nor cou'd his Bones be with the vulgar mixt,
 Since his rich Corpse remote from them was fixt;
 The captive *Trojans*, Beasts and Horses slain,
 Upon the Out-works of the Pile were lain,

(a) *Loc. cit.* (b) *Quintus Smyrnaeus* lib. III. v. 720.

There

Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece. 215

There burnt some Distance from the nobler Dead,
Who in the midst o' th' Pile alone was laid. H. H.

The Bones thus discover'd, they seem to have gather'd the Ashes which lay close to them; nor does it appear there was any other way to distinguish the Remains of the Men from common Ashes.

The Bones and Ashes thus collected, were reposit'd in Urns, call'd *κάλπαι*, *στάλαι*, *κρῶσοι*, *λάρνακες*, *ὄσοθῆκαι*, *ὄσοδοχεῖα*, *σοερί*, &c. The Matter they consist'd of was different, either Wood, Stone, Earth, Silver or Gold, according to the Quality of the Deceas'd. When Persons of eminent Virtue died, their Urns were frequently adorn'd with Flowers and Garlands; but the general Custom seems to have been to cover them with Cloths till they were deposited in the Earth, that the Light might not approach them. This is particularly remark'd in *Homer's* Funerals, as when he speaks of *Hector's* Bones (a);

Καὶ τὰ γε χρυσεῖω ἐς λάρνακα θῆκαν ἐλόγῃς,
Πορφυρέοις πέπλοισι καλύφαντες μαλακοῖσιν.

— An Urn of Gold was brought,
Wrap'd in soft Purple Palls, and richly wrought;
In this the sacred Ashes were interr'd.

The same Ceremony was perform'd towards *Patroclus's* Urn in the preceding *Iliad*;

Ἐν κλισίῃσι δ' ἐνθάδε ἐάνῳ λιτὶ κάλυψαν.
Within the Tent his costly Urn was laid,
And over it a Linnen-cloth was spread.

Concerning their Interment it may be observ'd, that their Bodies lay in their Coffins with the Faces upwards, it being thought more proper, and perhaps more conducive to the Welfare of the Deceas'd, to have their Faces towards Heaven, the Abode of the Cœlestial Gods, and Fountain of Light, than the dark Mansions of the Infernal Deities: Whence *Diogenes* the *Cynick* being ask'd in what Posture he would be interr'd, answer'd, *εἰς πρὸς ὤπιν*, with my Face downwards; the Reason of which being demanded of him; he reply'd, that in a short Time the World would be turn'd upside down (b); which Answer seems design'd to ridicule the *Grecian* Superstition in this Point.

It may be observ'd farther, that the Heads of the deceas'd Persons were so plac'd in the Grave, that they might look towards the rising Sun (c). *Plutarch* informs us indeed, that the *Megarensians* plac'd their Dead towards the East; and the *Athenians*, whose Custom seems

(a) *Iliad*. ὦ. fine. (b) *Laertius* *Diogene*. (c) *Thucydides* *Scholiaster*.

246 Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece.

herein to be the same with the rest of the *Greeks*, towards the West (a); and *Alian*, as far as concerns the *Athenians*, agrees with him (b): But it must be consider'd, that to situate the Face so as it should look towards the rising-Sun, 'twas necessary the Head should lie towards the West; whence also the Head, or uppermost Part of the Sepulchre, being to face the rising-Sun, was likewise plac'd at the West-end.

Before I conclude this Chapter, it will not be improper to add that the *Megarensians* commonly put two, three or four Carcasses into the same Sepulchre; but at *Athens* one Sepulchre, much less one Coffin or Urn, seldom contain'd above one Carcass (c); which seems to have been commonly observ'd by the rest of the *Greeks*; only those that were join'd by near Relation or Affection, were usually bury'd together, it being thought inhuman to part those in Death, whom no Accidents of Life could separate. Many Examples of this Nature occur in ancient Writers. Hence *Agathias's* Epigram concerning two *Twins*;

Εἷς δὺ ἀδελφοὺς ὧδ' ἐπέχει τάφῳ, ἐν γ' ἐπέχον
 Ἡμῶν καὶ γενεῆς οἱ δύο καὶ θανάτου.

Two Brothers lie interr'd within this Urn,
 Both dy'd together, as together born.

Lovers thought this no small Accession to their Happiness: *Thisbe's* last Request was, that she might be interr'd with *Pyramus* (d);

Hoc tamen amborum verbis estote rogati,

O multum miseri meus illiusque parentes;

Ut, quos certus amor, quos hora novissima junxit,

Componi tumulo non invideatis eodem.

At length, our thrice-unhappy Parents, hear,

And grant us this our last most earnest Pray'r;

That we, whom Love and Death together joyn'd,

As both one Fate, one common Tomb may find. *H. H.*

Admetus in *Euripides* declares his Resolution to lie in the same Coffin with his Wife *Alcestis* (e);

Εν ταῦσιν αὐταῖς γὰρ μ' ἐπισκήψω κέδεγίς

Σοί τε θῆναι πλάγεις.

Close by thy Side I'll in thy Urn be laid.

Patroclus appearing after Death to *Achilles*, begs of him, that he would reposit his Bones in the same Urn he design'd for his own (f):

(a) *Solone*. (b) Var. Hist. lib. VII. cap. XIX. (c) *Plutarchus Solone*. (d) *Ovid. Metam.* IV. v. 154. (e) *Alcestis*, v. 363. (f) *Iliad*. ψ'.

Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece. 217

And when *Achilles* was dead, we find the *Grecians* put the *Ashes* of his Friend *Antilochus* into the same *Urn* with his, but those of *Patroclus* they not only reposit in the same *Vessel*, but mingled them together. Thus the *Ghost* of *Agamemnon* tells him at their Meeting in the *Shades* below (a);

Εν τῷ τοι κείται λῶκ' ὅσ' ἑὰ παίδιμ' Ἀχιλλεῦ,
Μίχθ' αἶψ', Πατρώκλῳ Μενoitιάδ' αὖ θανόντι·
Χωεῖς δ', Ἀντιλόχῳ, ἃ ἔξοχα τίς ἀπάνταν
Τῶν ἄλλων ἐτάρων κ' Πατρώκλ' ὃν γε θανόντα.

Within this *Urn* your sad Remains are laid,
Mixt with the Bones of your *Patroclus* dead;
In the same *Urn* *Antilochus* doth lie,
His Bones not mix'd with yours, but plac'd hard by;
For much you did that worthy Chief esteem,
Only *Patroclus* was preferr'd to him.

H. H.

Halcyone's Love carry'd her still farther; for her Husband *Ceyx* having perish'd in a Tempest at Sea, she comforts her self in this, that tho' his Body could not be found, yet their Names should be inscrib'd upon the same Monument, and, as it were, embrace each other (b);

———*Crudeliior ipso*

Sit mihi mens pelago, si vitam ducere nitar
Longius, & tanto pugnem superesse dolori.
Sed neque pugnabo, nec te, miserande, relinquam;
En tibi nunc saltem veniam comes, inque sepulchro,
Si non urna, tamen junget nos litera, si non
Ossibus ossa meis, at nomen nomine tangam.

But I more cruel than the Sea shou'd be,
Cou'd I have Thoughts to live depriv'd of thee;
Cou'd I but dare to struggle with my Pain,
And fondly hope behind thee to remain;
Ah! no, dear *Ceyx*, I'll not leave thee so,
I'll not contend with my too-pressing Woe,
Where-e'er you lead, *Halcyone* will go:
And now at length, my dearest Lord, I come,
And tho' we are deny'd one common Tomb,
Tho' in one *Urn* our *Ashes* be not laid,
On the same *Marble* shall our Names be read:
In am'rous Folds the circling Words shall joyn,
And shew how much I lov'd, how you was only mine.

H. H.

(a) *Odyss.* α. v. 76. (b) *Ovidii Met. Lib. XI. v. 702.*

CHAP. VII.

Of their Sepulchres, Monuments, Cenotaphia, &c.

THE primitive Grecians were bury'd in Places prepar'd for that Purpose in their own Houses (a). The Thebans had once a Law, that no Person should build an House without providing a Repository for his Dead. It seems to have been very frequent, even in later Ages, to bury within their Cities; the most publick and frequented Places whereof seem to have been best stor'd with Monuments: But this was a Favour not ordinarily granted, except to Men of great Worth, and publick Benefactors; to such as had rais'd themselves above the common Level, and were Examples of Virtue to succeeding Ages, or had deserv'd by some eminent Service to have their Memories honour'd by Posterity. The Magnesians rais'd a Sepulchre for Themistocles in the midst of their Forum (b); Euphron had the same Honour at Corinth (c); and it appears to have been common for Colonies to have bury'd their Leaders, under whose Conduct they possess'd themselves of new Habitations, in the midst of their Cities (d).

Temples were sometimes made Repositories for the Dead, whereof the primitive Ages afford us many Instances; insomuch that some have been of Opinion, that the Honours paid to the Dead were the first Cause of erecting Temples (e). Nor were later Times wholly void of such Examples, for the Plataeans are said to have bury'd Euclides in the Temple of Diana Euclea, for his pious Labour in going a thousand Stadia in one Day to fetch some of the hallow'd Fire from Delphi (f): From which, with many other Instances, it appears that this was look'd on as a very great Favour, and granted as a Reward to publick Services. Sometimes it was desir'd for Protection, as we learn from Medea's Case, who interr'd her two Sons in Juno Acrea's Temple to secure them from the Malice of her Enemies (g), as hath been already observ'd.

But the general Custom, in later Ages especially, was to bury their Dead without their Cities, and chiefly by the High-ways: Which seems to be done, either to preserve themselves from the noisom Smells wherewith Graves might infect their Cities, or to prevent the Danger their Houses were expos'd to, when Funeral-Piles were set on Fire: Or, it may be, to fill the Minds of Travellers with the Thoughts of Mortality; or to excite themselves to encounter any Dangers, rather than permit an Enemy to approach their Walls, and despoil the Monuments, or disturb the Peace of the Dead. Lastly, (to trouble you with

(a) Plato Minoc. (b) Plutarchus Themistocle. (c) Xenophon Έλληνικ. lib. VII. (d) Rindari Scholiastes. (e) Vide Archæolog. nost. Lib. II. cap. II. (f) Plutarchus Aristide. (g) Euripid. Med. v. 1378.

Of the Miscellaneous Customs of Greece. 219

no more different Opinions) others think it most probable, that this Custom was first introduc'd by a Fear of contracting Pollution from the Dead, of which I have already treated in a foregoing Chapter.

But *Lycurgus*, as in most of his Institutions, so herein too differ'd from the rest of the *Grecian* Law-givers; for, to cut off the Superstition of Burying-places, he allow'd his *Lacedamonians* to bury their Dead within their City, and even round about their Temples, to the end their Youth, by being us'd to such Spectacles, might not be afraid to see a dead Body; and wish'd, to rid them of the Conceit, that to touch a Corpse, or to tread upon a Grave, would defile a Man (a).

Every Family was wont to have their proper Burying-place, to be deprived whereof was reputed one of the greatest Calamities that could befall them: Wherefore when the *Lacedamonians* were resolv'd to conquer the *Messenians*, or lose all their Lives in the Attempt, we read that they bound Tickets to their right Arms, containing their own and their Fathers Names; that if all should perish in the Battel, and their Bodies be so mangled as not to be distinguish'd, those Notes might certify what Family they belong'd to, that so they might be carry'd to the Sepulchres of their Ancestors (b). The rest of the *Grecians* had the same Custom; whence (to trouble you with only one Instance more) there being a Law, that such as preserv'd not their Inheritance, should be depriv'd of the Sepulchre of their Fathers, *Democritus* having spent his Estate in the Study of Philosophy, was in Danger of incurring that Penalty (c).

The common Graves of Primitive Greece were nothing but Cavens dug in the Earth (d), and call'd *σολυαῖα*; but those of later Ages were more curiously wrought, they were commonly pav'd with Stone, had Arches built over them, and were adorn'd with no less Art and Care than the Houses of the Living, insomuch that Mourners commonly retir'd into the Vaults of the Dead, and there lamented over their Relations for many Days and Nights together, as appears from *Pe-tronius's* Story of the *Ephesian* Matron.

Kings and great Men were anciently bury'd in Mountains, or at the Feet of them (e). Thus *Aventinus Silvius* was interr'd in the Hill which receiv'd its Name from him (f). *Virgil* reports the same of *Dercennus* (g);

Fuit ingens monte sub alto

Regis Dercenni terreno ex aggere bustum.

A Tomb beneath a mighty Mount they rear'd

For King *Dercennus*. —————

Whence likewise appears the Custom of raising a Mount upon the Graves of great Persons, which *Lucan* has thus express'd, speaking of the *Aegyptians* (h),

(a) *Plutarchus* *Lycurgo*. (b) *Justinus* lib. III. (c) *Laertius* *Democrito*. (d) *Etymologici* *Auctor* v. *σπία*. (e) *Servius* *En*. XI. (f) *Marcellus* de *Orig. Gent. Roman.* (g) *Loc. cit.* (h) *Lib. VIII.*

120 *Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece.*

Et regum cineres extructo monte quiescunt.

Beneath a Mount their Monarch's Ashes rest.

This consisted sometimes of Stone; whence *Theseus* in *Euripides* tells *Hercules*, the *Athenians* would honour his Corpse

——— Λάνοισι τ' ἔσφύμασι.

With high-built Monuments of Stone.———

But the common Materials were nothing but Earth; whence 'tis usually call'd *χωμα*. Thus *Euripides* (a),

——— Ορθὸν χῶμ' Ἀχιλλεύς τάφῳ.

The Mount which o'er *Achilles*' Tomb was rais'd.

To cast it up *Homer* calls *χέειν σῆμα* speaking of *Hector*'s Tomb (b);

Χῶαντες τὸδε σῆμα, πάλιν κίον.

Having a Tomb of Earth rais'd o'er his Grave,

They all departed.———

The same Words he had us'd before in the Description of *Patroclus*'s Funeral (c). *Antipater* terms it *χώννου τάφον*;

Ἡρώϊ Πειάμυ βαιὸς τάφῳ, ἐκ ὅτι τοῖς

Ἀξιῶ, ἀλλ' ἐχθρῶν χερσὶν ἐχωννύμεθα (d);

Under this sordid Tomb doth *Priam* rest,

Not that his Worth did not deserve the best,

But 'cause his Enemies it rais'd.———

'Tis sometimes express'd by the more general Names of *ὀγκῶσαι*, *ὑψῶσαι*, &c. Thus *Euripides*,

——— Μητέρ' ἔσφικεν τάφῳ.

O'er my dead Mother's Corpse a Tomb I rais'd.]

The Author of the following Epigram has such another Expression (e);

Λοκρίδ' ἐν νέμει σμικρῷ νέκυν Ἡσιόδοιο

Νύμφαι κληϊάδων λῆσαν ὑπὸ σφετερῶν,

Καὶ τάφον ὑψῶσαντο.———

(a) *Hecuba*. (b) *Iliad*. δ. fine. (c) *Iliad*. ψ. (d) *Antholog. Epigr. lib. IV. tit. εἰς Ἡρακλ.* (e) *Antholog. lib. III. tit. εἰς ποιητὰς.*

Of the Miscellaneous Customs of Greece. 221

What Care and Love the Nymphs to *Hesiod* shew'd?

At their own Fountains in the *Locrian* Wood

They bath'd his lifeless Corpse, and o'er't a Tomb they rear'd.

Whence the *Latin* *Tumulus*, which in its proper Sense imports no more than a Hillock, came to signify a Grave.

Whatever the Materials were, they were usually lay'd together with Care and Art: Thus *Homer* witnesseth of *Patroclus's* Tomb (a),

Τορῶσαντο δ' ὃ σῆμα, θεμέλια τε προβάλοντο
 Ἀμφὶ πυρρῷ· εἶθαρ δὲ χυτὼ ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἔχδαν.

They enclos'd the Ground wherein the Grave was made,
 And cast in Earth upon it.

Where by *θεμέλια* some understand the *lorica*, or enclos'd Ground round the Grave, sometimes term'd by the metaphorical Names of *θεσκούς*, *γαῖον*, &c. and call'd by *Pausanias* *περιοκοδομή*, and *κρηπίς*, by others *σκέπη*, &c. For the ancient *μνημεῖα* were compos'd of two Parts, one was the Grave or Tomb, which was likewise term'd *μνημεῖον* in a strict Sense of the Word, and is known by several other Names, mostly taken from its Form, as *σπήλαιον*, *τύμβος*, &c. The second Part was the Ground surrounding the Grave, which was fenc'd about with Pales or Walls, but usually open at the Top, and therefore sometimes call'd *ὑπαιθρον*. Tombs of Stone were polish'd and adorn'd with greater Art; whence there is so frequent Mention of *ξεσοὶ τάφοι*;

Τύμβον κατόφει ξεσόν (b);

And see the polish'd Tomb.

And again (c);

— Ἐπὶ ξεσῶ τάφῳ.

— Upon the polish'd Tomb.

The Ornaments wherewith Sepulchres were beautify'd, were numerous. Pillars of Stone were very ancient, as appears from the Story of *Ida's* striking *Pollux* with a Pillar broken from his Grandfather *Amyclas's* Monument (d);

— Τῷ δὲ δάτερον ἐπὶ

Πληγῷ ἀδαμῆος κείος ἐσκορύνεται,

Ἄγαλμα πύλας Ἰ Αμυκλαίων τάφῳ.

(a) *Iliad*. v. (b) *Euripid. Alceſt.* v. 836. (c) *Idem. Helen.* v. 982. (d) *Lyphron. Cassandra.* v. 557.

222 Of the Miscellaneous Customs of Greece.

Next with a Pillar Idas him shall strike,

A Pillar pluck'd from th' hallow'd Sepulchre

Of Amyclas.

Pindar calls it ἀγῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἔσθ' ἐν σέπτερον (a), and *Thucydides* takes Notice of the same Accident (b).

The Pillars were term'd στήλαι, and frequently contain'd Inscriptions declaring the Family, Virtues, and whatever was remarkable in the Deceas'd, which were commonly describ'd in Verses. The *Sicyonians* had no such Inscriptions (c); *Lycurgus* also would by no means allow of Talkative Grave-stones, nor suffer so much as the Names to be inscrib'd, but only of such Men who died in the Wars, or Women in Child-bed (d). Nor was it unusual at other Places to omit the Names of the Deceas'd, writing instead of them some moral Aphorism, or short Exhortation to the Living, such as this,

ΤΟΤΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΤΣ ΚΑΙ ΘΑΝΟΝΤΑΣ ΕΤΕΡΓΕΤΕΙΝ ΔΕΙ.

The Virtuous even when Dead ought to be respected.

Besides this, especially where there was no Inscription, they commonly added the dead Man's Effigies, or some other Resemblance pertinent to the Occasion, and signifying his Temper, Studies, Employment, or Condition. Virgins had commonly the Image of a Maid with a Vessel of Water upon their Tombs (e); the former to represent the Deceas'd, the latter to denote a Custom the young Men had of carrying Water to the Sepulchres of unmarried Maids. A careful House-keeper was represented by such Figures as are mention'd in the following Epigram of *Antipater* upon *Lyfidice*.

Μαςδ' ὦ τίς συ, τίς ἐπὶ σαλήτιδι πέτρα,

Λυσιδίκα, γλυπτὸν ἢ δ' ἐχάραξε νόον;

“ Τὰ μὲν ἀνεγρομῆσαν με ποτ' εἰσα νύκτερ' ὄρνις.”

“ Ἀνία δ' αὐδάσει δώματ' ἠνίοχον,

“ Ἰππασὴρ δ' ὅδε κημὸς αἰσέται ἐπολύμυθον,

“ Οὐ λαλὸν, ἀλλὰ καλᾶς ἔμπλεον ἡσυχίης.

I've often sought, tell me, *Lyfidice*,

What is the Meaning of this Imag'ry;

What mean these curious Figures round thy Tomb?

What are they all design'd for, and by whom?

“ I tell you, Sir, and first that Bird of Night

“ Shews how I us'd to spin by Candle-light:

“ That well-carv'd Bridle on the Side is meant

“ My well-rul'd Family to represent:

(a) *Nemæus*, Od. X. (b) *Dioscuris*. (c) *Pausanias* Corinthiac's. (d) *Plutarchus* *Lycurgo*. (e) *Pollux* lib. VIII. cap. VII.

Of the Miscellaneous Customs of Greece 223

" My peaceful Temper next the Muzzle shews,

" That I no Scold, or buſie Tatler was.

H. H.

Diogenes the Cynick had a Dog engraven upon his Monument, to denote the Temper of his Sect, or his own. *Iſocrates's* Tomb was adorn'd with the Image of a Siren; *Archimedes's* with a Sphere and Cylinder; whereby the charming Eloquence of the former, and the Mathematical Studies of the latter were ſignify'd. Nor was it unuſual to fix upon Graves the Instruments which the Deceas'd had us'd. The Graves of Soldiers were diſtinguiſh'd by their Weapons; thoſe of Mariners by their Oars; and, in ſhort, the Tools of every Art and Profeſſion accompany'd their Maſters, and remain'd as Monuments to preſerve their Memory. Hence *Elpenor* is introduc'd by *Homer* (a) begging of *Ulyſſes* to fix the Oar he us'd to row with, upon his Tomb, as has been already obſerv'd (b). *Aeneas* in *Virgil* performs the like Office to his Trumpeter *Mifenus* (c).

Theſe, with many other Ceremonies, were deſign'd to perpetuate the Memory of the Deceas'd; whence their Graves were term'd *θήματα, μνημεῖα, μνήματα, &c.* *Agamemnon* reckons it a great Happineſs to *Achilles*, that he was honour'd with a Monument, which would continue his Name to Poſterity (d);

*Ολβιε Πηλέε' υἱέ, θεοῖς ἐπιείκελ' Ἀχιλλεύ,

*Ος δ' ἄνεις ἐν Τροίῃ, &c. —

You are thrice happy, God-like *Peleus's* Son,

Who did at *Troy* reſign your Breath, —

And afterwards,

—— μέγαν κ' ἀμύμονα τύμβον

Χθονὶ Ἀργείων ἱερός σραπὶς αἰχμητῶν

*Αχιλῆ' ἐπὶ πρυμνέσῃ ἐπὶ πλατῇ Ἑλλησπόντῃ.

*Ὡς κεν τηλεφανὴς ἐκ ποντίφιν ἀνδράσιν εἴη

Τοῖς οἱ νῦν γυγῶασι, κ' οἱ μετόπισθεν ἔσσονται.

To thy great Name did warlike *Grecians* rear

A large and never-fading Sepulchre,

And this they plac'd upon a riſing Mount

Impending o'er the ſpacious *Helleſpont*;

That ſo both Ages preſent and to come,

From diſtant Shoars might ſee thy ſacred Tomb. H. H.

But later Ages grew ſo extravagant in theſe Structures, that their Law-givers were forc'd to keep them within Bounds, by inflicting ſevere Penalties upon ſuch as exceeded their Preſcriptions: *Solon* in

(a) *Odysſ.* λ' v. 75. (b) *Lib. III. c. XI. p. 114.* (c) *Æneid. IV.* (d) *Odysſ. δ' v. 36.*

particular

224 Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece.

particular is reported to have order'd that no Statues of *Mercury* (as had been customary, because *Mercury* was an Infernal God) or arch'd Roofs should be made in the *Athenian* Monuments, and that they should never be greater than ten Men were able to erect in three Days; and *Demetrius* the *Phalerean* enacted a Law, that not above one Pillar, and that not exceeding three Cubits in Height, should be plac'd upon any Monument (a).

It may not be improper to mention their Customs of praying for their Friends, and Men of Piety and Virtue, that the Earth might lie light upon them; for their Enemies, and all wicked Men, that it might press heavy upon them; for they thought the Ghosts that still haunted their Shrowds, and were in Love with their former Habitations, had a very acute Sense of all the Accidents which befel their Bodies. Hence the *Chorus* prays for *Alceſtis* (b),

— Κέφα σοι

Χθὼν ἐπάνω πέσειε, γυναι.

I wish the Earth may fall upon you light.

Menelaus is introduc'd by the same Poet (c) arming himself against Death by this Consideration, that the Gods took care that such who died with Honour should have no Sense of any Pressure from the Earth, whereas Cowards should be crush'd under it;

— Εἰ γάρ εἰσιν οἱ θεοὶ σοφοί,

Εὐψυχον ἄνδρα πολεμίων θανόντ' ὕπο

Κέφῃ καταμπίχουσιν ἐν τύμβῳ χθονί.

Κακοῖς δ' ἐφ' ἔρμα σιερόν ἐμβάλλουσι γῆς.

For if the Gods (and sure they all things know)

Have due Regard for Mortals here below,

They will not, cannot suffer those that die

By the too pow'rful Force o' th' Enemy,

If they with Courage have maintain'd their Post,

And for the publick Good their Lives have lost,

To be o'erburthen'd with the heavy Weight

Of Earth; but such as stand aghast at Fate,

Base dastard Souls that shrink at ev'ry Blow,

Nor dare to look on a prevailing Foe;

These shall (nor is the Punishment unjust)

Be crush'd and tortur'd by avenging Dust.

H. H.

Theseus prays this Punishment may be inflicted upon wicked *Phadra* (d);

(a) Cicero de Legibus Lib. II. (b) Euripid. *Alceſt.* v. 462. (c) *Helen.* v. 857. Senec. *Hippolyt.* fine.

*Istam terra defossam premat,
Gravisque tellus impio capiti incubet.*

And may the Earth that is upon her laid,
Lie heavy on her Corpse, and crush her cursed Head.

Ammianus has ingeniously inverted this Order in the following Epigram (a);

Εἴη σοὶ καὶ γῆς ἕβη νόστι, σῆπτρὸν Νέεργον,
Οὐρεὺς σε πνιδίας ἐξερύσσων κύνες.

Which *Martial* translates thus (b);

*Sit tibi terra levis, mollique tegaris arena,
Ne tua non possint eruere ossa canes.*

Let there be one, who lighter Dust, or Sand
Shall sprinkle o'er your Corpse with sparing hand,
So to the Dogs you'll be an easier Prey.

Pass we now to the Monuments erected in honour of the Dead, but not containing any of their Remains, and thence call'd *νεκρώφια*, *νεκρώεα*.

Of these there were two sorts: One was erected to such Persons as had been honour'd with Funeral Rites in another place; of which we find frequent mention in *Pausanias* (c), who speaks of such honorary Tombs dedicated to *Euripides*, *Aristomenes*, *Achilles*, *Dameon*, *Tiresias*, &c.

The second sort was erected for those that had never obtain'd a just Funeral; for the Ancients were possess'd with an Opinion, that the Ghosts of Men unbury'd could have no Admittance into the blessed Regions, but were forced to wander in Misery 100 Years; and that when any Man had perish'd in the Sea, or any other place where his Carcase could not be found, the only Method of giving him Repose, was to erect a Sepulchre, and by repeating three times with a loud Voice the Name of the Deceased, to call his Ghost to the Habitation prepared for it; which Action was termed *ψυχαστορία*.

This Practice seems to have been very ancient: *Pelias* is introduc'd in *Pindar* (d) telling *Jason* he must recall the Soul of *Phryxus*, who died in *Colchis*, into his native Country. *Aeneas* in *Virgil* performs the same Office to *Deiphobus* (e),

*Tunc egomet tumulum Rhœteo in littore inanem
Constitui, & magna manes ter voce vocavi.*

(a) Antholog. Lib. II. tit. εἰς πορνέες. (b) Lib. IX. Epitaph. Philæn. (c) Atticis, Messenicis, Eliac. & Boeoticis. (d) Pythionio. Od. IV. (e) *Aeneid*. VI. v. 505.
Vol. II. Q Try

Thy Tomb I rear'd on the *Rhætean* Coast,
And thrice aloud call'd back thy wandering Ghost.

Ausorius has elegantly describ'd, and assign'd the reason of this Custom (a);

*Hoc satis & tumulis, satis & telluris egenis;
Voce ciere animas funeris instar habet :
Gaudent compositi cineres sua nomina dici ;
Frontibus hoc scriptis & monumenta jubent :
Ille etiam mæsti cui defuit urna sepulchri,
Nomine ter dicto pene sepultus erit.*

Small is the Privilege th' Unbury'd crave,
No Grave, or decent Burial they have ;
Only instead of pompous Funeral,
Aloud upon their wand'ring Ghosts we call ;
This they command, with this they most are pleas'd,
And empty Mon'ments with Inscriptions rais'd :
For he, whose *Manes* have been so recall'd,
Tho' his dead Corpse of fit Interment fail'd,
Is nigh as happy, and as fully blest,
As he whose Bones beneath a Tomb-stone rest.

H. H.

Many other Instances of this nature may be met with in the Poets. The Sign whereby honorary Sepulchres were distinguish'd from others, was commonly *κελός*, or a Wreck of a Ship, to signify the Decease of a Person in some foreign Country.

It may be expected that I should add something concerning the Sacredness of Sepulchres. These, with all other things belonging to the Dead, were had in so great esteem, that to deface, or any way violate them, was a Crime no less than Sacrilege, and thought to entail certain Ruin upon all Persons guilty of it. Examples of this nature are too common to be enumerated in this place, wherefore I shall only set down that of *Idas*, who upon breaking one of the Pillars in *Aphareus's* Sepulchre, was immediately Thunder-struck by *Jupiter* (b);

Ἡ γὰρ ὅδε σέλαν Ἀφάρης ἐξανέχουσαν
Τύμβω ἀναρρήξας ταχέως Μωάνησιν Ἰδας,
Μέλλε κασιγνήτω βαλεῖν σφελίεσσι ροῦν' α'
Ἀλλὰ Ζῷς ὑπάρμυε, χερῶν δέ οἱ ἐκβαλε τυκλάν
Μάρμυρον, αὐτὴν δ' ἐλογίεσσι σιωέφλεξε κεράνηρ.

For, to revenge fall'n *Lyncæus's* hasty Doom,
He tore a Pillar from the sacred Tomb,

(a) *Præfat. Parentalium.*

(b) *Theocrit. Idyll. 46'. v. 207.*

To dart at *Castor*, dreadfully he stood,
The fierce Revenger of his Brother's Blood;
Jove interpos'd, and by his strict Command
Swift Lightning struck the Marble from his Hand;
He strove to reach it, but his Soul was fir'd,
He fell, and in no common Destiny expir'd.

Mr. Creech.

It has been a Question, whether the *Cenotaphia* had the same religious Regard, which was paid to the Sepulchres where the Remains of the Deceased were repositèd; for the Resolution hereof it may be observed, that such of them as were only erected for the Honour of the Dead, were not held so sacred as to call for any Judgment upon such as profan'd them; but the rest, wherein Ghosts were thought to reside, seem to have been in the same Condition with Sepulchres, the want whereof they were design'd to supply.

CHAP. VIII.

Of their Funeral Orations, Games, Lustrations, Entertainments, Consecrations, and other Honours of the Dead, &c.

BEfore the Company departed from the Sepulchre, they were sometimes entertained with a Panegyrick upon the dead Person. Such of the *Athenians* as died in War, had an Oration solemnly pronounced by a Person appointed by the publick Magistrate, which was constantly repeated upon the Anniversary-Day (a). These Customs were not very ancient, being first introduced by *Solon*, or (as some say) by *Pericles*, but were generally receiv'd, not in *Greece* only, but at *Rome*. It was thought no small accession to the Happiness of the Deceased to be eloquently commended; whence we find *Pliny* compleating his Account of *Virginus Rufus's* Felicity in this, that his Funeral Oration was pronounced by one of the most eloquent Tongues of that Age (b).

It was farther customary for Persons of Quality to institute Games, with all sorts of Exercises, to render the Death of their Friends more remarkable; this Practice was generally received, and is frequently mentioned by ancient Writers. *Miltiades's* Funeral in *Herodotus*, *Brasidas's* in *Thucydides*, *Timoleon's* in *Plutarch*, with many others, afford Examples hereof. Nor was it a Custom of later Ages, but very common in the primitive Times; *Patroclus's* Funeral Games take up the greatest part of one of *Homer's* *Iliads*, (c); and *Agamemnon's* Ghost is introduced by the same Poet, telling

(a) *Cicero* de Orat. (b) Lib. II. Ep. I. (c) *Iliad*. 4.

the Ghost of *Achilles* that he had been a Spectator at great Numbers of such Solemnities (a);

Μήτηρ δ' αἰτήσασα θεῶν, περικαλλέ' ἄεθλα
Θῆκε μέσθ' ἐν ἀγῶνι ἀεισήμετον Ἀχαιῶν
Ἦδη μὲν πολέων τάφω ἀνδρῶν ἀντιβύλωντα
Ἥρωαν, ὅτε κέν ποτ' Ὀσφορδιδεύς βασιλῆυσι
Ζώνιωται τε νῆοι, καὶ ἱπεντύοντο ἄεθλα·
Ἀλλὰ καὶ κείνη μέλειται ἰδὼν ἐπιδήπεια θυμῷ,
Οἷ' ὅτ' ἄν σοι κατήδηκε θεὰ περικαλλέ' ἄεθλα
Ἀργυρόπτεζα Θέτις.

Your Mother, full of Piety and Love,
Craves first a Blessing from the Pow'rs above;
Then she doth rich Rewards and Prizes state,
While sprightly Youth the Games do celebrate;
I've been at many Games, great Piles survey'd,
Which eternize heroick Chiefs when dead,
But none can equal Wonders seem to be,
As those the pious *Thetis* made for thee.

J. A.

In the Age before we find *Oedipus's* Funeral solemniz'd with Sports, and *Herculès* is said to have celebrated Games at the Death of *Pelops* (b). The first that had this Honour was *Azan*, the Son of *Arcas*, the Father of the *Arcadians*, whose Funeral, as *Pausanias* reports (c), was celebrated with Horse-Races. The Prizes were of different forts and value, according to the Quality and Magnificence of the Person that celebrated them. The Garlands given to Victors were usually of Parsly, which was thought to have some particular relation to the Dead, as being feign'd to spring out of *Archemorus's* Blood, whence it became the Crown of Conquerors in the *Nemean* Games, which were first instituted at his Funeral (d).

'Twas a general Opinion that dead Bodies polluted all things about them; this occasion'd purifying after Funerals, which *Virgil* has thus described (e).

*Idem ter socios pura circumtulit unda,
Spargens rore levi, et ramo felicis olivæ,
Lustravitque viros.* —

Then carrying Water thrice about his Mates,
And sprinkling with an Olive-twigg, their Fates
Good *Chorinæus* wisely expiates.

}

Several other ways of Purification may be met with, but these containing nothing peculiar to Funerals, and being describ'd in one of

(a) *Odyss.* α'. v. 85. (b) *Dionysius Halicarnoss.* lib. v. (c) *Arca-*
dicis. (d) Vid. *Archæolog.* nostr. lib. II. cap. penult. & ult. (e)
Æneid. lib. VI. v. 229.

the preceeding Books, have no Claim to any mention in this place. Till this Purification was accomplish'd, the polluted Person could not enter into the Temples, or communicate at the Worship of the Gods; whence *Iphigenia* speaks the following Words concerning *Diana* (a);

Τὰ τ' Διὲ ὃ μέρομαι σοφίσματα,
 Ηπης, βροτῶ μ' ὡς περ ἄψιν φόνε,
 Ἡ δὲ λοχείας ἢ νεκρὸ δῖγα χρεῖν,
 Εὐμῶν ἀπειρή, μυσσέον αἶς ἡγεμῶνη.

The superstitious Tricks and Niceties
 Of strict *Diana's* Worship I dislike,
 Since of departed Friends the farewell Touch,
 All Murder done in Passion, or elsewise,
 And Acts of Venery she doth reject,
 As great Pollutions of her sacred Rites,
 Actors herein proscribing from her Gifts.

J. A.

Nor was it *Diana* alone, of whom the Poet speaks, that had such an Aversion to these Pollutions, but the rest of the Gods and Goddesses were of the same Temper. *Lucian* in his Treatise concerning the *Syrian* Goddesses, tells us, that when any Person had seen a Corpse, he was not admitted into her Temple till the Day following, and not then, except he had first purified himself; and the general Use of this Custom (b) shews, that the rest of the Celestial Beings were equally afraid of Defilement. This may farther appear, from its being unlawful for those Persons to enter into the Temples, who were call'd ὑπερβολῖμοι, or δολιχόποιοι (c) i. e. such as were thought dead, but after the Performance of their Funeral Rites recovered; or such who were reputed to be dead in some foreign Country, and unexpectedly return'd; these Men were prohibited from worshipping any of the Gods. *Hesychius* mentions only the *Eumenides*, but others speak of the Gods in general; whence *Aristinus* was forced to send Messengers to consult the *Delphian* Oracle, what Method he should use to be freed from Pollution, where he received this Answer;

Θαυὰ μὲ ἐν λεχείαι γυνὴ τέκεσσι τελέει,
 Τόσα μὲρ ἂν τελέσῃσι θύειν μαχάρεσσιν Διοίπ.

All Forms and Customs which Child-birth attend,
 The same must you to th' angry Gods commend,

whereupon he was wash'd, swaddled, and treated in all other respects as new-born Infants, and then receiv'd into Communion. But,

(a) *Euripid. Iphigen. Tauric.* 380. (b) *Suidas* v. χαλαροῦ. *Aristophan. Scholiast. Nubibus.* (c) *Hesychius* in utraque voce.

as my Author (a) proceeds, others make this Custom much ancients than *Aristinus*, carrying it up as high as the primitive Ages. And 'tis certain, the Opinion that dead Bodies polluted all things about them, was very ancient, as appears from the *Jewish* Laws.

The House was also purified, an Instance whereof we have in *Homer* (b), where *Ulysses* having slain *Penelope's* Courtiers, and carried them out of his House, thus bespeaks his old Nurse;

Οἷσε δέειον, γρηῦν, κακῶν ἄκρον, οἷσε δέ μοι πῦρ,
Ορεα διεώσω μέλαρον. -----

Fetch Brimstone hither, Nurse, and Fire, that I
My tainted Dwelling-House may purify,

Afterwards the Poet adds (c);

----- Οὐδ' ἀπίσσει φίλη τερὰ φὺς Εὐρύκλεια,
Ηηγκεν δ' ἄρα πῦρ καὶ θήϊον αὐτὰρ Οδυσσεύς
Εὖ διεδείασεν μέλαρον, καὶ δῶμα, καὶ αὐλὴν.

Straight trusty *Eurycle* perform'd his Will,
Then he with sulph'rous Smoke the House doth fill,
And chas'd th' Infection from polluted Rooms.

But the *Lacedemonians* were taught by their Lawgiver to condemn these superstitious Follies, and to think it unreasonable to fancy, that such as lived a vertuous Life, and conformably to their Discipline, should contract any Pollution by Death; on the contrary they esteemed their Remains worthy of Respect and Honour, and therefore thought no Places so fit to reposit them in, as those adjoining to the Temples of their Gods (d).

After the Funeral was over, the Company met together at the House of the deceased Person's nearest Relations, to divert them from Sorrow; here there was an Entertainment provided (e), which was term'd *περίδειπνον*, *μεγέθειπνον*, τὰς θύρας, in Latin *circumpotatio*, according to *Cicero*, who informs us, that the *Attick* Laws prohibited the use of this Ceremony at the Funerals of Slaves (f). The Custom was very ancient; the *Trojan's*, having celebrated *Hector's* Funeral, were splendidly entertain'd at King *Priam's* Palace (g);

Χόαντες ὃ τὸ σῆμα, πάλιν κίον' αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
Εὖ συναγειρέμενοι δαίνυντ' ἐρικυδέα δῶπα
Δάμασπιν ἐν Περίμοιο διοτρεφέϊ βασιλῆϊ.

A Tomb being rais'd, they orderly resort
In pensive Crouds unto King *Priam's* Court,

(a) *Plutarchus* Quæst. Roman. haud longe ab initio. (b) *Odysf.* v. 481. (c) V. 492. (d) *Plutarchus* *Lycurgo*. (e) *Demosthenes* Orat. de Corona. *Lucianus* Dialog. de luctu. (f) Lib. II. de Legibus. (g) *Iliad.* ω. fine.

Where a rich Banquet cheerful Mirth invites,
And sparkling Wine whets their pall'd Appetites.

J. A.

The same may be observed in the Grecian Camp, with this difference, that *Achilles* entertained them before *Patroclus's* Funeral (a).

Κάδ' δ' ἔζον παρὰ νηὶ ποδάρκῃ Διανίδας
Μυεῖοι, αὐτὰρ ὁ τοῖσι τάφον μανοεικέα δαῖνυ'
Πολλοὶ γὰρ βόες ἀργαὶ ὀρέχθιον ἀμφὶ σιδήρῳ
Σφαζόμενοι, πολλὰ δ' ὄϊες καὶ μυκᾶδες αἴγας.
Πολλοὶ δ' ἀργιόδοτες ὕες θαλέδοντες ἀλοιφῇ
Εὐόμοι τανύοντο διὰ φλογὸς Ἡφαίστιο.
Πάντη δ' ἀμφὶ νέκυα κοτυλήρυλον ἔρρεον αἶμα.

While great *Achilles* doth prepare and fit
The Fun'ral Banquet, thronging *Grecians* sit
About the Hero's Ship; whole Herds he kills
Of huge fat Oxen, roaring while he spills
Their Lives, that issue from their reeking Wounds;
Whole Flocks of Sheep he kills; the Air resounds,
While Goats and fatted Swine make hideous Roar,
When purple Streams from their gash'd Throats do pour;
These having kill'd, he roasts, the while the Blood
Around the Corpse in a great Current flow'd.

J. A.

By which last Words it appears, that the dead Person had some Interest in these Entertainments; and as the Blood of the Beasts was designed for *Patroclus's* Ghost, so even in later Ages we are told, the broken Morsels which fell from the Tables were looked on as sacred to the departed Souls, and not lawful to be eaten (b). To this Fancy *Pythagoras's* Aphorism, tho' perhaps containing a more mystical Sense, was an undoubted Allusion (c), *Τὰ πρὸς τὰ μὴ ἀναστέλλει*, i. e. *Take not up things fall'n down*; or, as others express it, *Μὴδὲ γαστέρι ἄνω ἐν τῷ τραπέζῃ καλᾶν*, i. e. *Do not so much as taste things fall'n under the Table*. These Fragments were carried to the Tomb, and there left for the Ghost to feast upon; whence to denote extream Poverty, it was usual to say, that a Person *stole his Meat from the Graves*. To this *Tibullus's* Curse alludes,

*Ipsa fame stimulantē furens, escaque sepulchro
Quærat, & a sœvis ossa relicta lupis.*

May she want Bread so much, as ev'n to crave
The Scraps and musty Morsels of a Grave;
May she be glad to pick a Carcase Bone
Which Wolves and Vultures once have fed upon. J. A.

(a) *Iliad* ♪. v. 28. (b) *Athenæi* δεσποτ. lib. X. (c) *Lælius Pythagor.*

The Entertainments of latter Ages consisted not, like *Homer's*, of Flesh only, but of all sorts of Pulse (a), Beans, Pease, and Lettices, Parsley, Eggs, and many other things. The chief Subjects of Discourse at these Meetings were the Praises of the Dead, especially if they had been eminent for any Virtue, or commendable Quality; otherwise so great was the Simplicity of primitive Ages, that they look'd upon it as most expedient to say nothing, when by speaking they must unavoidably offend the dead Man, or transgress the Rules of Truth, both which were thought equally criminal. But afterwards they grew more lavish of their Commendations, distributing them to all Persons without distinction; whence came the Proverb, *ὄν τιναυ δέλες ἐν τῷ νεκρῷ*, which was only apply'd to Villains of the first Rate, and such as had not the least Shadow of a good Quality to recommend them.

There was a Custom at *Argos*, obliging those that had lost any of their Kindred or Acquaintance, to sacrifice to *Apollo* presently after Mourning, and thirty Days after to *Mercury*, out of an Opinion, that as the Earth received their Bodies, so their Souls fell into *Mercury's* hands; the Barley of the Sacrifice they gave to *Apollo's* Minister, the Flesh they took themselves; and having extinguish'd the sacrificial Fire, which they accounted polluted, kindled another, whereon they boil'd the Flesh, calling it *ἑλισμα* (b), from the Fumes ascending from the burned Sacrifice, which were termed in *Greek* *ελισμα*.

The Honours paid to the Sepulchres and Memories of the Deceased were of divers sorts: It was frequent to place Lamps in the subterraneous Vaults of the Dead, whither such as would express an extraordinary Affection for their Relations, retired, and cloyster'd themselves up; an example whereof we have in *Petronius's* *Ephesian* Matron.

They had a Custom of bedecking Tombs with Herbs and Flowers, amongst which Parsley was chiefly in use, as appears from *Plutarch's* Story of *Timoleon*, who marching up an Ascent, from the top of which he might take a view of the Army, and Strength of the *Carthaginians*, was met by a Company of Mules loaden with Parsley; which (saith my Author) his Soldiers conceived to be a very ill-boding and fatal Occurrence, that being the very Herb wherewith we adorn the Sepulchres of the Dead. This Custom gave birth to that despairing Proverb, when we pronounce of one dangerously sick, *δεδεσμένος*, That he has need of nothing but Parsley; which is in effect to say, he's a dead Man, and ready for the Grave. All sorts of purple and white Flowers were acceptable to the Dead, as *Amaranthus*, which was first used by the *Thessalians* to adorn *Achilles's* Grave (c); *πιδό* *λευκός* (d), which some will have to be the *Jessamin*, with Lillies, and several others: Hence *Virgil* (e),

(a) *Plutarchus* Problemat. (b) *Plutarchus* Quæst. Græc. p. 296, 297. edit. Paris. (c) *Philostratus* Heroicis. (d) *Theophrastus* Lib. VI. *ἑλισμα*. *Athenæus* Lib. XIV. (e) *Æneid*. V. v. 49.

Purpureosque jacet flores, ac talia fatur.

He having Purple Flowers strow'd, thus spoke.

In the subsequent Book he alludes to the same Custom (a) :

*Heu ! miserande puer, si qua fata aspera rumpas,
Tu Marcellus eris : manibus date lilia plenis,
Purpureos spargam flores, animamque nepotis
His saltem accumulem donis.*

Ah ! could'st thou break thro' Fate's severe Decree,
A new Marcellus shall arise in thee :
Full Canisters of fragrant Lillies bring,
And all the curious Drap'ry of the Spring ;
Let me with Purple Flowers his Body strow,
This Gift which Parents to their Children owe,
This unavailing Gift at least I may bestow.

The Rose too was very grateful, whence *Anacreon* has these Verses in his Ode upon that Flower :

*τὸς κ' ὑπὸ τῶν ῥόδων ἀρκεῖ,
τὸς κ' ὑπὸ νεκρῶν ἀμυνῇ.*

When Age and Vigour do decay,
The Rose their Strength repairs,
It drives all *Maladies* away,
And can prolong our Years ;
The Dead too in their Graves do lie,
With peaceful Slumbers blest,
This is the *Amulet*, hereby
No Ills their Tombs molest.

J. A.

Nor was the Use of Myrtle less common, whence *Euripides* introduces *Electra* complaining that *Agamemnon's* Tomb had never been adorn'd with Boughs of that Plant

*Ἀγαμέμνονος ὃ τάμβου ὑπὸ σταμνίδι
οὐ πόπολις ἔχεται, ἐκλῆτα μυστρίῃς
ἐλάει.*

With no *Libations*, nor with Myrtle Boughs,
Were my dear Father's *Manes* gratify'd.

In short, Graves were bedeck'd with Garlands of all sorts of Flowers, as appears from *Agamemnon's* Daughter in *Sophocles* (b) :

(a) *Æneid*. VI. v. 883.

(b) *Electra* v. 886.

Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἦλθον πατρὸς ἀρχαῖον τάφον,
 Οἷα καλῶντος ἔκ ἀκροῦ νεορρύτου
 Πηγῆς γάλακτος, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν κύκλῳ
 Πάντων ὅσ' ὄζειν αἰνέειαν θύλω πατρὸς.

No sooner came I to my Father's Tomb,
 But *Milk* fresh pour'd in copious Streams did flow,
 And *Flow'rs* of ev'ry sort around were strow'd.

These were commonly call'd *ἔρωτες* (a), either from their design to express Love and Respect to the deceased Person, or from *ἔρα*, because they were usually compos'd of a Collection of several sorts of Flowers; or from *ἐρα*, as being laid upon the Earth; tho' neither of these last reasons are constant; for the Garlands were sometimes compos'd of only one sort of Flowers, and frequently hung upon the Pillars, and not laid upon the Grave-stone. Several other things were frequently laid upon Graves, as Ribbands, whence 'tis said, that *Epaminondas's* Soldiers being disanimat'd at seeing the Ribband that hung upon his Spear, carry'd by the Wind to a certain *Lacedæmonian* Sepulchre, he bid them take Courage, for that it portended Destruction to the *Lacedæmonians*, it being customary to deck the Sepulchres of their Dead with Ribbands (b). Another Thing dedicated to the Dead, was their Hair. *Electra* in *Sophocles* says, that *Agamemnon* had commanded her and *Chrysothemis* to pay him this Honour,

Ἡμεῖς δὲ πατρὸς τύμβον, αἷς ἐφίμω,
 Λοιβᾶν περὶ τὸν καὶ κεκατόμοις χλιδῆς
 Στίψομεν.-----

With *Drink-Off' rings* and *Locks of Hair* we must,
 According to his *Will* his *Tomb* adorn.

Candace in *Ovid* (c) bewails her Calamity, in that she was not permitted to adorn her Lover's Tomb with her Locks, as has been already observed.

It was likewise customary to perfume the Grave-stones with sweet Ointments, to which Practice *Anacreon* has this Allusion,

Τί σ' εἴ λίσσον μυρίζειν,
 Τί δ' ἄν χέειν ματαία;
 Ἐμὲ μῶλον, αἷς ἐπὶ ζῶ,
 Μύρισον, ἰόδιος δὲ κρεῖται
 Πύκνον.-----

(a) *Phavorinus, Etymologici Auctor.* (b) *Frontinus lib. I. cap. II.*
 (c) *Epist. Canac. ad Macar.*

Why do we precious *Ointments* show'r,
Noble *Wines* why do we pour,
Beauteous *Flow'rs* why do we spread
Upon the *Mon'ments* of the *Dead*?
Nothing they but *Dust* can show,
Or *Bones* that hasten to be so.
Crown me with *Roses* while I live.

Mr. Cowley.

Whence *Leonidas* seems to have borrowed the Sense of this Epigram,

Μὴ μύρα, μὴ σπράγες λισίναις σήλαισι χαρίζε,
Μηδὲ τὸ πῦρ φλέξης, εἰς κανὸν ἢ δαπάνη·
Ζῶντί μοι, εἴπ' ἀέλης, χρίεσσι· τέφρῳ δ' ἢ μεθύσμων
Πηλὸν ποίησεις, ἔχ' ὁ θανάτ' ἴεθ',

When cold and lifeless in my Grave I'm laid,
No fragrant *Oil* then pour, no *Chaplets* spread:
All *expiatory* Fires, all Rites are vain,
Wine only can my fruitless *Asbes* stain:
'Come, let's carouse, let's revel while we live,
'Twill elevate our Souls, 'twill ease to Troubles give.

J. A.

To these Practices we find another added, viz. running naked about Sepulchres; for *Plutarch* (a) tells us, that *Alexander* arriving at *Troy*, honoured the Memories of the Heroes buried there with solemn Libations, anointed *Achilles's* Grave-stone, and (according to ancient Custom) together with his Friends, ran naked about his Sepulchre, and crowned it with Garlands.

Beside the foremention'd Ceremonies, there remain several others, especially their Sacrifices and Libations to the Dead: The Victims were black and barren Heifers, or black Sheep, as being of the same sort with those offered to the infernal Gods, to denote the Contrariety of those Regions to Light and Fruitfulness; whence *Homer* introduces *Ulysses* making a Vow to the Ghosts after this manner (b);

Πολλὰ δ' ὃ γ' ἐνέμω νεκρῶν ἀμύρω δ' κείρω,
Ελθὼν εἰς Ἰθάκην, στήθεσσι βῆν, ἥ τις ἀρίστη,
Ρίξεν ἢ μεγάροισι, πυρρῶ τ' ἐμπλοσέμεν ἐσθλῶν·
Τειρεσίη δ' ἀπάνδρεον οἶν ἐρδυσέμεν οἶον
Παμμέλαν', ὅς μ' ἄλκιπ' μεταπρέπῃ ἡμετέρῃσι.

A barren Cow to all the *Pow'rs* below
I did with solemn Protestation vow,

(a) *Alexandro.*

(b) *Odyss. λ'. v. 29.*

If e'er I should again my Lordship see,
 After the per'lous Wandrings on the Sea,
 Their Altars then I likewise swore to load
 With Fruits and other Off'rings as were good:
 But the best of our *black Rams* I cou'd chuse,
Tirestias I promis'd with chaste Vows.

J. A.

Besides their offering these Sacrifices in Ditches, and some other Customs spoken of in one of the former Books (a), it may be observ'd farther, that the first thing they offered was the Hair upon the Victim's Forehead, which for that reason was term'd ἀπαρχαί, and to offer it ἀπαρχάζει. But however these Terms are sometimes used for the Sacrifices of the Ghosts, yet the Custom of offering these First-fruits was common to the Sacrifices of the Celestial and other Deities, as appears from several Instances: *Homer* mentions it at one of *Minerva's* Sacrifices (b):

----- Πολλὰ δ' Ἀθήνη
 ἔϋχετ' ἀπαρχόμεν' κεφαλῆς τρίχας ἐν πυρὶ βάλλον'

Having invok'd *Minerva* with his Pray'rs,
 He on the Altar threw the *Forehead Hairs*.

In another place he speaks of it as acceptable to the Gods (c):

Ἀλλ' ὅγ' ἀπαρχόμεν' κεφαλῆς τρίχας ἐν πυρὶ βάλλον
 Ἀγριόδοντι υἱός, ἢ ἐπ' αὐτὸ πᾶσι θεοῖσι.

Of a Sow's *Forehead* having burn'd the *Hairs*,
 To all the Gods he offers fervent Pray'rs.

But their ordinary Offerings were nothing but Libations of Blood, Honey, Wine, Milk, Water, &c. *Solon* forbid the *Athenians* ἀαγίζειν βέν, to offer an Ox on this Occasion (d). Upon the Sacrifice they commonly sprinkled Barley-flour. Some of these are mention'd in *Homer* (e),

----- Χοῆς χέμεν πᾶσι νεύεσθιν'
 Πρῶτα μελιχρῆτα, μετέπειτα ὃ ἡδύϊ οἶνον,
 Τὸ τρίτον αὖθ' ὕδατι ὅπῃ δ' ἄλφειτα λάβειν πάλιμων.

We did with Reverence the Shades adore,
 We first did Honey mix'd with Water pour,
 Then Wine, then simple Water, and next Barley-flour,

Honey was rarely omitted, being accounted θανάτου σύμβολον, a Symbol or Emblem of Death (f). Hence, as some think, the Ghosts

(a) Lib. II. cap. IV. (b) *Odyss.* γ'. (c) *Iliad.* ξ'. (d) *Plutarchus Solone.* (e) *Odyss.* λ'. v. 26. (f) *Porphyrus de Antro Nympharum.*

Chap.VIII. Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece. 237

of the Deceased came to be term'd μέλισσαι, the infernal Gods, μελίχοι, and their Oblations μελίγματα.

They were design'd to render the Ghosts kind and propitious, and therefore term'd χαῖ ἡδυμήχοι, or θελκόμενοι. *Iphigenia* in *Euripides* thus describes them (a),

----- Ω, τὰσδε
Χοὰς μέλιω κεκτήμεν τε
Τῶν θετμήσαν
Τδραίνειν γαίης ἐν νότοις,
Πηγάς τ' ἐρείων ἐν μόχων,
Βάκχης τ' οἴνητος λοιβᾶς,
Ξανθῶν τε πότμου μελισσῶν,
Α νεκρῶς θελκόμενα κῆ
τ. -----

To whom I in this sacred Chalice bear
The solemn Liquids as an Offering,
This Blood in Crimson Streams shall stain the Ground,
With Wine and th' Product of the fed'lous Bee,
The common Peace-Atonement for the Dead.

J. A.

These were sometimes offer'd upon Altars, which were commonly placed near the ancient Sepulchres, with Tables for the sacrificial Feasts; sometimes they were pour'd forth upon the Ground, or Grave-stone, and, together with a certain Form of Words, offer'd to the Deceas'd. Thus *Helena* desires *Hermione* to address *Clytemnestra* in her Name (b);

Ω τέκνον ἔξελθ', Ερμίονη, θύμων πάρος,
Καὶ λάβε χοὰς τὰσδ' ἐν χερσίν, κόμης τ' ἱμερῆς
Ελθέσα δ' ἀμφὶ τ' Κλυταιμνήστρῃς τάρον
Μελίμεντ' ἄφρι γάλακτι οἶνον τ' ἄχνυω,
Καὶ εὖσ' ἐπ' ἄφρι χόμασιν λίξον τὰδε,
“ Ελὶν σ' ἀδελφῇ ταῦσδε δωρεῖν χοῆς.

Daughter *Hermione*, come forth and take
These Off'rings to thy dear Aunt's Sepulchre,
These Locks of my Hair, and this Honey mix'd
With Milk, and this Wine to pour o'er her Grave,
Which having done, stand on its Top, and say,
“ Thy Sister Helen to declare her Love,
“ Offers these Rites to thy dear Memory.

The Water thus employ'd was term'd λαστρὸν, χυδόνιον λουτρὸν; and at *Athens* ἀπὸνιμμα (c). When Persons dy'd who had been

(a) *Iphigen. Tauric.* v. 159. (b) *Euripid. Oreste* v. 112. (c) *Eschylus. Orestes*.
marry'd,

married, there was a Custom for Women to carry Water to their Graves, who from *pouring* it forth were termed *ἐρμηίσαια* (a). When a young Man or Maid dyed, the Water was carryed by a Boy (b), or (which appears to some more probable) by a Boy to the Sepulchres of young Men, by a Maid to the Sepulchres of Maids; whence came the Custom of erecting Images representing Maids with Vessels of Water upon the Sepulchres of such as dyed in their Virginity, as was observed in the foregoing Chapter, tho' I have there interpreted this Custom so as to agree with the former Opinion. As for those that dyed in their Infancy, they were honoured with no Libations, nor had any Right to the rest of the Funeral Solemnities (c).

These Honours were paid the Dead the ninth and thirtieth Days after Burial (d), and repeated when any of their Friends arrived that had been absent at the Solemnity, and upon all other Occasions which required their surviving Relations to have them in Memory. But some part of the Month *Anthisterion* seems to have been especially set apart for these Ceremonies in several of the Grecian Cities. *Athenæus* reports in particular of the *Apolloniata* (e), that they paid the Dead the customary Honours in this Month. *Hesychius* (f) likewise reports that the same Custom was observed at *Athens*, and that they termed the Days appointed for those Solemnities *μιαρὶ ἡμέραι*, which were by others call'd *σπερδαίς* (g), as being *polluted* by their Dedication to the Dead, whose Ghosts were thought to ascend from their subterraneous Habitations, to enjoy the kind Entertainment of their Friends (h); the want hereof was thought a great Calamity, and therefore it is reckoned by *Cassandra* among the manifold Misfortunes of the *Trojans*, that they should have no surviving Friends to offer Sacrifices at their Tombs.

----- Οὐδὲ πρὸς ταῖς
 Εὐ' ὅς τις αὐτῶν ἔμμε γῆν δαψήσῃ.

— Nor shall one Friend remain
 To stain their desert Sepulchres with Blood.

Upon these publick Days they called over the Names of their dead Relations one by one, excepting such as died under Age, or forfeited their Title to these Honours, by dissipating their Paternal Inheritances, or other Crimes. There was likewise another time when they called over the Names of the Dead, which being omitted in the foregoing Chapters, I shall speak of it in this place. It was when they lost their Friends in foreign Countries, whence before they departed they call'd the Names of all that were missing out of their Company three times. Thus *Ulysses* in *Homer* declares he did, when he lost some of his Men in Battel with the *Cicones* (i);

(a) *Etymologici* Auctor. (b) *Idem*. (c) *Plutarchus* lib. consolat. ad uxorem. (d) *Pollux* lib. III. cap. X. (e) *Δειπνοσοφ.* lib. VIII. (f) Voce *μιαρὶ*. (g) *Suidas*. (h) *Lucianus* *Εμποροπῆγν.* (i) *Odyss.* l. v. 64.

Οὐδ' ἄρα μοι παρὶ ῥα νῆες κίον ἀμφίευσαι,
Πρὶν πνῶν δειλὴν ἑτάραν τέως ἔκαστον αὔσαι,
Οἱ δαῖον ἐν πεδίῳ Κικόνων ὑπο δῆιο θύγες.

My high-built Ships I launch'd not from the Shore,
A better Fate and Voyage to explore,
Till I had singly thrice call'd o'er my Friends,
Who by Ciconians came t' untimely Ends.

J. A.

Hercules in Theocritus calls Hylas three times (a);

Τεῖς μὲν ὕλαν αὔσαν ὅσον βαθυὺς ἤρυγα λαμῆς.

His much lov'd Hylas perish'd in the Flood
He call'd on thrice as loud as e'er he could.

The reasons of this Custom were, according to John Tzetzes (b), partly, that such as were left behind might upon hearing the noise repair to their Ships, and partly to testify their unwillingness to depart without their Companions;

Τὸ πρότερον τοὺς θνήσκοντας γὰρ τὴν ἀγγελίαν
Ἀποδημῶντες οἱ αὐτῶν τελευτάμους ἀνεγείλαν,
Ὡς Ομηρὸς ἰδὶς δαξί βέλῳ τ' Οδυσσεύς.
Τέτο δ' ἰδρωὺς μνήμονες τῶν χάνοντες φίλίας.
Καὶ ὡς δ', εἰ ἀπολείφθῃ τις, πρὸς τὴν φωνὴν συνδράμοι.

It was a Custom 'mongst all ancient Greeks,
That he who trav'ling into foreign Parts
Did die, should by surviving Friends be call'd
Thrice, as a Token of their mutual Love.
Hence all that were alive then join'd their Voice,
As Homer in his *Odyssy* attests. J. A.

To return: they had anniversary Days, on which they paid their Devotions to the Dead; these were sometimes termed Νεμέσις, as being celebrated upon the Festival of *Nemesis*, who was thought to have especial Care for the Honours of the Dead (c); sometimes *Θράνα* (d), as also *Γενέσις* (e); the reason of which Name seems to be, that it signifies the anniversary Day of Man's Nativity, which after his Death was solemniz'd with the same Ceremonies that were used upon the Anniversary of his Death (f), which were properly term'd Νεκύσις: hence it is that these two Words are commonly thought to signify the same Solemnity.

(a) Idyll. γ'. v. 58. (b) Chiliad. V. Hist. xiv. (c) Moschopolus, Suidas. (d) Hesychius, Phavorinus. (e) Suidas, &c. (f) Suidas, Hesychius, Phavorinus, Moschopolus, &c.

The Honours of the Dead were distinguished according to the Quality and Worth of the Person they were conferred on. Such as by their Virtues and publick Services had raised themselves above the common Level, had *ἡρώεις τιμὰς*, the Honours of Heroes; the Participation hereof was termed *ἀνιερέειν*, or *τιδομένην τιμῶν ἡρώων*, *ἰσοθέων*, or *ἰσολυμπίων*. Others, who had distinguish'd themselves from the former, were rais'd a Degree higher, and reckon'd among the Gods, which Consecration was termed *θεοποίησις*, and was very different from the former, to worship the former Persons being only termed *ἐκκληζεῖν*, but the latter *θεύειν*. The latter Honour was very rare in the heroick Times, but in subsequent Ages, when great Examples of Vertue were not so frequent, and Men more addicted to Flattery, it became more cheap, insomuch that those Persons, whom former Ages had only worshipped as Heroes, were afterwards accounted Gods; an Instance whereof we have (to omit several others) in *Lampsace*, one of *Plutarch's* Heroines (a). The *Athenians* were especially remarkable for immoderate and profuse Distributions of those Honours, and it is generally observ'd that that Nation exceeded all the rest of the *Grecians* in the Art of Flattery and Superstition, as appears from several Instances in the precedent Books.

I shall observe in the last place, that these and the rest of the Honours of the Dead, were thought most acceptable when offered by their nearest Friends; when by their Enemies, they were reject-ed with Indignation; whence *Sophocles* introduces *Electra* advising her Sister *Chrysothemis*, that she should by no means offer *Clytemnestra's* Gifts to *Agamemnon* (b).

Αλλ', ὦ φίλη, τῶν μὲν, ἃν ἔχεις χεῖρας,
Τύμβῳ προσάψῃς μηδὲν· ἔ γάρ σι θίμης,
Οὐδ' ὅσιν ἐχθρῶς δότ' ἡνωικὸς εἶναι
Κτερίσματ', ἔδ' ἄλυστ' ἀποσφάειν παῖσι.

Dear Sister, don't attempt his Tomb t' approach
With a design of offering those Gifts,
Since the infernal *Manes* do detest,
As heinous, Rites paid by an Enemy.

J. A.

For Men were thought to retain the same Affections after Death which they had entertain'd when alive. This appears farther from the Story of *Eteocles* and *Polynices*, *Oedipus's* Sons, who having kill'd each other in single Combat, and being burn'd in the same Pile, the Flames of their Bodies would not unite, but by parting from each other demonstrated the irreconcilable and immortal Hatred of the Brethren, as we are inform'd by *Bianor's* following Epigram:

Οἰδ' ἵποδ' ἄ παιδῶν Θῆεν πάφ' ὃ, ἀλλ' ὃ πατρίης
Τύμβ' ἐπ' ἐνὶ ζώνων αἰωάει δόρετ' ὄντων.

(a) Lib. de Mulierum claris factis. (b) *Electra* v. 432.

Κείνους ἐπ' αἰδοῖς ἐδαμάσατο, καὶ Ἀχέροϊ
Μένανδ' κείνων χά' τάφῳ ἀντίπαλῳ·
καὶ περὶ πῶρ ἤλεγξαν ἐναντίον. ὦ λαινοὶ
παῖδες, ἀκοιμήτων ἀΐαμνοι δόρατον.

Within thy Walls, O *Thebes*, two Brothers lie,
Who, tho' deceas'd, cease not their Enmity;
For from their Bodies on the Pile do fly
Enrag'd Corpufcles juffling in the Sky;
With pointed Fury eagerly they meet,
Then in Aversion scornfully retreat.
Unhappy Youths by Fates deny'd to have
The peaceful Siumbers of a quiet Grave.

J. A.

Lycophron has furnished us with the parallel Examples of *Mopsus* and *Amphilochus*, who having slain each other, were buried in the opposite fides of an Hill, lest their Ghosts should be disturbed by having their Sepulchres within fight of one another (a);

Αἰπὺς δ' ἀλλεχοῖς ὄχμῳ ἐν μαιχμίῳ
Μέγαροσ' ἀγνῶν ἤρξαν ἐαδῆσε
Ὡς μὴ βλέπωσι, μηδὲ νερτέρων ἔδρας
Δαῦτε, φόνῳ λεοδέντας ἀλλήλων τάφους.

An high and craggy Mount, *Megarsus* nam'd,
Shall stand between the sacred Monuments,
Lest the griev'd *Manes* should offended be
To see each other's Tomb by Slaughter stain'd.

J. A.

CHAP. IX.

Of their Love of B O Y S.

WHO it was that first introduced the Custom of loving Boys into Greece, is uncertain; however (to omit the infamous Amours of *Jupiter*, *Orpheus*, *Lajus* of *Thebes*, and others) we find it generally practis'd by the ancient *Grecians*, and that not only in private, but by the publick Allowance and Encouragement of their Laws; for they thought there could be no means more effectual to excite their Youth to noble Undertakings, nor any greater Security to their Commonwealths, than this generous Passion. This the Invaders of their Liberties so often experienced, that it became a received Maxim in the Politicks of Tyrants, to use all their Endeavours to extirpate it out of their Dominions; some Instances

(a) *Cassandr.* v. 443.
Vol. II.

whereof we have in *Athenæus* (a). On the contrary, free Commonwealths, and all those States that consulted the Advancement of their own Honour, seem to have been unanimous in establishing Laws to encourage and reward it. Let us take a View of some few of them.

First we shall find it to have been so generally practised, so highly esteemed in *Crete*, that such of their well-born and beautiful Youths as never had any Lovers, incurred the publick Censure, as Persons some way or other faulty in their Morals; as if nothing else could hinder, but that some one's Affections would be plac'd upon them. But those that were more happy in being admired, were honoured with the first Seats at publick Exercises, and wore, for a distinguishing Badge of Honour, a sort of Garment richly adorned; this they still retained after they arriv'd to Man's Estate, in memory they had once been *κλεισι*, *eminent* (b), which was the Name the *Cretans* gave to Youths who had Lovers. The Lovers themselves were called *Φιλήτροες*. One thing was remarkable in this Place, that the Lovers always took their Boys by force; for having placed their Affections upon any one, they gave notice of it to his Relations; and withal certified them what Day they designed to take him: If the Lover was unworthy of the Boy, they refused to yield him up; but if his Quality and Vertues were answerable, they made some slight Opposition, to satisfy the Law, and pursued him to his Lodgings, but then gave their Consent. After this the Lover carried the Boy whither he pleased, the Persons that were present at the Rape bearing him company. He entertained him some time, two Months at the farthest, with Hunting, and such Diversions, then returned him Home. At his Departure it was ordered by Law that the Boy should receive a Suit of Armour, an Ox, and a Cup, to which the Lover usually added out of his own Bounty several other Presents of value. The Boy being returned Home, sacrificed the Ox to *Jupiter*, made an Entertainment for those that had accompanied him in his Flight, and gave an Account of the Usage he had from his Lover; for in case he was rudely treated, the Law allowed him Satisfaction (c). 'Tis farther affirmed by *Maximus* the *Tyrian*, that during all the time of their Converse together, nothing unseemly, nothing repugnant to the strictest Laws of Vertue passed between them (d); and however some Authors are inclined to have had Thoughts of this Custom, yet the Testimonies of many others, with the high Characters given by the Ancients of the old *Cretan* Constitutions, by which it was approved, are sufficient to vindicate it from all false Imputations. The same is put beyond dispute by what *Strabo* tells us (e), that it was not so much the external Beauty of a Boy, as his virtuous Disposition, his Modesty, and Courage, which recommended him.

From the *Cretans* pass we to the *Lacedemonians*, several of whose Constitutions were derived from *Crete*. Their Love of Boys was

(a) Lib. XIII. (b) *Strabo* lib. X. (c) Idem. (d) Differt. X. remarkable
(e) Loc. cit.

Chap. IX. *Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece.* 243

remarkable all over *Greece*, and for the whole Conduct and excellent Consequences of it every where admired. There was no such thing as Presents passed between the Lovers, no foul Arts were used to insinuate themselves into one another's Affections; their Love was generous, and worthy the *Spartan* Education; it was first entertained from a mutual Esteem of one another's Virtue; and the same Cause which first inspired the Flame, did alone serve to nourish and continue it; it was not tainted with so much as a suspicion of Immodesty. *Agefilaus* is said to have refused so much as to kiss the Boy he loved (a), for fear of Censure; and if a Person attempted any thing upon a Youth besides what consisted with the strictest Rules of Modesty, the Laws (however encouraging a virtuous Love) condemned him to Disgrace (b), whereby he was deprived of almost all the Privileges of free Denizens. The same Practice was allowed the Women towards their own Sex, and was so much in fashion among them, that the most staid and virtuous Matrons would publicly own their Passion for a modest and beautiful Virgin (c), which is a farther Confirmation of the Innocency of this Custom. *Maximus* the *Tyrian* (d) assures us the *Spartans* loved their Boys no otherwise than a Man may be enamoured with a beautiful Statue, which he proves from what *Plutarch* (e) likewise reports, that tho' several Men's Fancies met in one Person, yet did not that cause any Strangeness or Jealousy among them, but was rather the beginning of a very intimate Friendship, whilst they all jointly conspired to render the beloved Boy the most accomplished in the World; for the End of this Love was, that the young Men might be improved in all virtuous and commendable Qualities, by conversing with Men of Probity and Experience; whence the Lover and the Beloved shared the Honour and Disgrace of each other; the Lover especially was blamed if the Boy offended, and suffered what Punishment was due to his Fault (f). *Plutarch* has a Story of a *Spartan* fined by the Magistrates, because the Lad whom he loved cried out effeminately whilst he was fighting (g). The same Love continued when the Boy was come to Man's Estate; he still preserved his former Intimacy with his Lover, imparted to him all his Designs, and was directed by his Counsels, as appears from another of *Plutarch's* Relations concerning *Cleomenes*, who before his Advancement to the Kingdom, was beloved by one *Xenares*, with whom he ever after maintained a most intimate Friendship, till he went about his Project of new modelling the Commonwealth, which *Xenares* not approving departed from him, but still remained faithful to him, and concealed his Designs (h).

If we pass from *Sparta* to *Athens*, we shall find that there *Solon* forbade Slaves to love Boys, making that an honourable Action, and as it were inviting (these are *Plutarch's* (i) Words) the Worthy to practise what he commanded the Unworthy to forbear. That Law-

(a) *Plutarchus* Apophthegm. (b) *Xenophon* de Rep. *Laced.* *Plutarchus* Institut. *Laconic.* (c) *Plutarchus* *Lycurgo.* (d) *Differt.* X. (e) *Lycurgo.* (f) *Ælian.* Var. Hist. lib. 13. (g) *Lycurgo.* (h) *Plutarchus* *Cleomene.* (i) *Solone.*

giver himself is said to have loved *Pisistratus* (a); and the most eminent Men in that Commonwealth submitted to the same Passion. *Socrates*, who died a Martyr for disowning the Pagan Idolatry, is very remarkable for such Amours, yet seems not whilst alive to have incurred the least Suspicion of Dishonesty; for what else could be the cause, that when *Callias*, *Thrasymachus*, *Aristophanes*, *Anytus* and *Melitus*, with the rest of his Enemies, accused him of teaching *Critias* to tyrannize, for Sophistry, for Contempt of the Gods, and other Crimes, they never so much as upbraided him with impure Love, or for writing or discoursing upon that Subject; And though some Persons, especially in latter Ages, and perhaps unacquainted with the Practice of the old *Grecians*, have called in question that Philosopher's Virtue in this Point, yet both he and his Scholar *Plato* are sufficiently vindicated from that Imputation by *Maximus* the *Tyrian* (b), to whom I refer the Reader. The Innocency of this Love may farther appear from their severe Laws enacted against immodest Love, whereby the Youths that entertained such Lovers were declared infamous, and rendred incapable of publick Employments, and the Persons that prostituted them condemned to die; several other Penalties were likewise ordered, to deter all Men from so heinous and detestable a Crime, as appears from the Laws of *Athens*, described in one of the foregoing Books (c).

There are many other Examples of this nature, whereof I shall only mention one more; it shall be taken from the *Thebans*, whose Lawgivers *Plutarch* tells us (d) encouraged this excellent Passion, to temper the Manners of their Youth; nor were they disappointed of their Expectation, a pregnant Evidence whereof (to omit others) we have in the *ἱερὸν φάλαγγξ*, sacred Band; it was a Party of 300 chosen Men, composed of Lovers and their Beloved, and therefore called sacred; it gained many important Victories, was the first that ever overcame the *Spartans* (whose Courage till then seemed irresistible) upon equal Terms, and was never beaten till the Battle at *Chæroneia*; after which King *Philip* taking a View of the Slain, and coming to the Place where these 300, who had fought his whole *Phalanx*, lay dead together, he was struck with Wonder, and understanding that 'twas the Band of Lovers, he said weeping, *Let them perish who suspect that these Men either did or suffered any thing base.*

Before I conclude this Chapter, it may be necessary to observe, that the Lover was called by the *Spartans* εἰσπνιλήτης, εἰσπνιλήτης, or as others write it, εἰσπνήλης; the Beloved was termed by the *Thebessians* αἰτός. Thus *Theocritus* (e);

Δοῖα δὲ δὴ πνε τῷδε μετ' ἀμφότεροις ζήεον
 Φῶς δ' ὁ μὲν ὡς εἰσπνιλήτης, εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ μετὰ τῶν
 Τὸν δ' ἔτερον πάλιν ὡς κεν ὁ Θεσσαλὸς εἴποι αἰτῶν.

(a) Idem. loc. cit. (b) Differt. VIII, IX, X, XI. (c) Lib. I. p. 172, 173. (d) *Pelopida*. (e) *Ityl.* 6'. v. 12.

Chap. X. *Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece.* 245

The Greek Scholiast derives both the Names *παρὰ τὸ τ' ἐρῶμενον* *ἡμεῖς* *ἢ* *εἰσπεῖν τ' ἐρωτα τοῦ ἀγαπῶντος*, from the Lover's being inspired with Affection by his Beloved; and other ancient Grammarians agree with him herein.

C H A P. X.

Of their Customs in expressing their Love, their Love-Potions, Incantations, &c.

Lovers had several ways of discovering their Passion, and expressing the Respect they had for their Beloved. Every Tree in the Walks they frequented, every Wall of their Houses, every Book they used, had inscribed upon it the Beloved's Name, with the Epithet of *καλὴ* or *καλός*. Whence *Lucian* (a) relating a Story of one desperately in love with *Venus Cnidia*, after other Expressions of his Passion, adds, that there was never a Wall or Tree but what proclaimed *Ἀφροδίτη καλὴ*, *Venus fair*. *Callimachus's* Lover has the same Fancy, only that he wishes his Mistress's Name written on Leaves, if we may credit the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes* (b),

Ἀλλ' αἱ δὴ φύλλοισι κεκαμμένα τόσα φέρειν
Γεῖμνα, Κυδίππῳ ὥς ἐρέωσι καλῶ.

May the kind Trees on Leaves such Letters bear
As shall proclaim my dear *Cydippe* fair.

'Twas in Allusion to this Practice that one in *Euripides* declared he should never entertain a good Opinion of the Female Sex, though the Pines in Mount *Ida* were filled with their Names (c). *Aristophanes* had an eye to the same Custom, when, jesting upon an old *Athenian* that was mightily in love with deciding Causes, he says, that upon every place he writ *κηρὸς καλός*, which Word signifies the Cover of the judiciary Urn (d),

----- Ἀν' ἰδὴ γὰρ περ κεκαμμένον
Τὸν Πυριλάμπες εἰ θυρὰ Δῆμον καλόν,
Ἰὼν παρέρχετ' ἐπὶ πλῆτιον Κηρὸς καλός.

Lovers usually decked the Doors of their Beloved with Flowers and Garlands; for thinking the Persons their Affections were placed on, to be the very Image of the Deity of Love, their House

(a) *Amator.* (b) *Acharn.* (c) *Eustathius Iliad. ℣. p. 490.*
Edit. Basil. (d) *Vespis.*

246 *Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece.* Chap. X.

could be no less than *Cupid's Temple* (a), which was accustomed to receive those Honours. From the same Original they seem to have derived that other Custom of making Libations before their Mistresses Doors, and sprinkling them with Wine, of which we have mention in the *Scholias*t upon *Aristophanes* (b), where he reports, that many of the *Theſſalian* Gentlemen were in love with the beautiful *Nais*, and publickly own'd their Passion, by sprinkling the Doors of her Houſe with Wine.

When a Perſon's Garland was untied, it was taken for a Sign of being in love (c); and for a Woman to compose a Garland, was another Indication of her Passion (d),

----- Εὖν τις πλὴκη
Γυνὴν σέφρων, ἱρᾶν δοκέει.

The wreathing Garlands in a Woman is
The usual Symptom of a Love-sick Mind.

They had ſeveral Methods of diſcovering whether their Love would prove ſucceſſful; that of the *κόπαια* was very frequent at Entertainments, which is hereafter deſcribed. Two other ways we have in *Theocritus* (e),

Εγὼν περὶ, ὅκα μὲν μοι μαμρία εἰ φιλείς με,
Οὐδὲ τὸ πηλέριον ποιεῖς ἀλὸ τὸ πλαδάριον,
Ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἀπαλὸ ποτὶ παχεὶ ἔξιμαρτόν.
Εἴπε κ' Ἀγροῖα τάλανθ' ἀκοινούμαίς,
Ἀπερὶν ποικιλοῦσα, παρὰ βάλ' ἐνέκ' ἐγὼ μὲν
Τὴν ὄλ' ἐγχεύμα, τὸ δὲ μὲν λόγον εἶδ' ἐνα ποῖν.

All this I knew, when I deſign'd to prove
Whether I ſhould be happy in my Love;
I preſs'd the *Long-live*, but in vain did preſs,
It gave no lucky Sound of good Succeſs:
To *Agrio* too I made the ſame Demand,
A cunning Woman ſhe, I croſs'd her Hand;
She turn'd the *Sieve* and *Shcers*, and told me true,
That I ſhould love, but not be lov'd by you.

Mr. Creech.

Both theſe Cuſtoms I have already deſcribed in one of the precedent Books (f), which the Reader may conſult.

When their Love was without Succeſs, they had ſeveral Arts to procure the Affections of their Beloved. The *Theſſalian* Women were famous in their Skill in this, as well as other Magical Practices. The Means whereby it was effected were of divers ſorts;

(a) *Athenæus* lib. xv. (b) *Pluto* Aët. I. Sc. I. (c) *Athenæus* lib. cit. (d) *Aristophanes Theſmophor.* (e) *Idyll.* III. v. 28. (f) *Lib.* II. cap. xviii. p. 319.

Chap. X. Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece. 247

it was sometimes done by Potions called *φίλτρα*, which are frequently mentioned in Authors of both Languages. *Juvenal* speaks thus (a),

*Hic Magicos affert cantus, hic Thessala vendit
Philtrea, quibus valeant mentem vexare mariti.*

This Pedlar offers Magick Charms, the next
Philtres, by which the Husband's Mind's perplex.

Their Operations were violent and dangerous, and commonly deprived such as drank them of their Reason. *Plutarch* and *Cornelius Nepos* report, that *Lucullus* the Roman General first lost his Reason, and afterwards his Life, by one of them. *Lucretius* the Poet ended his Life the same way; and *Caius Caligula* (as *Suetonius* reports) was driven into a Fit of Madness by a *Philtre* given him by his Wife *Cæsonia*; which Story is mentioned by the same Poet (b),

———— *Tamen hoc tolerabile, si non
Et furere incipias, ut avunculus ille Neronis,
Cui totam tremuli frontem Cæsonia pulli
Infudit* ————

Some nimbler Juice would make him foam and rave,
Like that *Cæsonia* to her *Caius* gave,
Who plucking from the Forehead of the Fole
His Mother's Love, infus'd it in the Bowl. Mr. *Dryden*.

Ovid likewise assures us that this was the usual Effect of these Potions.

*Nec data profuerint pallentia philtrea puellis,
Philtrea nocent animis, vimque furoris habent.*

All pois'nous Drugs and necromantick Arts
Ne'er move the scornful Maids relentless Hearts,
They but distract the Senses, seize the Brain,
And *Venus* Rites and Mysteries profane. *J. A.*

The Ingredients they were made up of were of several sorts, divers of which applied by themselves were thought effectual. Some of the most remarkable were these that follow:

Hippomanes, a piece of Flesh upon the Forehead of Colts new foaled, of a black or brown Colour, in Bigness and Shape like a Fig, which the Mares bite off as soon as they have foaled, but if they be prevented, forsake their Off-spring; whence it was thought a preyalent Medicine to conciliate Love, especially when reduced to

(a) Satir. VI. v. 600. (b) Loc. cit.

Pouder, and swallowed with some Drops of the Lover's Blood. 'Tis frequently mentioned by the Writers of Natural History. *Aristotle*, *Pliny*, *Solinus*, *Calumella*, with many others, have thought it worth their Notice. The Poets are full of its Effects; whence *Dido* in *Virgil* (to omit other Instances) has recourse to it, when pretending to recall *Aeneas* to her Affection (a),

*Quæritur & nascentis equi de fronte revulsus
Et matri præreptus amor.* —————

She from the Forehead of a new foal'd Colt
Th' excrescent Lump doth seek, —————

The same Word is frequently taken in another Sense, and is described by *Pliny* to be *virus distillans ab inguine equæ coitum maris appetentis, & in furorem agens*. This was no less powerful than the former, as appears from *Pausanias's* Story of a Horse's Statue dedicated by one *Phormis* an *Arcadian*, which being infected by a Magician with the *Hippomanes* I am speaking of, so enraged all the Stone-Horses that passed that way, that they would break their Bridles in pieces, and throw their Riders to come at it (b), and could not without great Difficulty and many Stripes be forced from it. Several of the Poets speak of its Effects; *Ovid* (c),

*Scit bene quid gramen, quid torto concita rhombo
Licia, quid valeat virus amantis equæ.*

She knows the Virtue of each *Herb* to move
The latent Seeds of a coy Lady's Love,
She knows the *Rhomb*, what Feats in Magick are,
From pois'nous *Issue* of a lustful *Mare*.

Virgil will have it to proceed from *Lusitanian* Mares impregnated by the Wind (d),

*Continuoque avidis ubi subdita flamma medullis
Vere magis (quia vere calor redit ossibus) illæ,
Ore omnes versæ in Zephyrum, siant rupibus altis,
Exceptantque leves auras; & sæpe sine ullis
Conjugiis, vento gravidæ (mirabile dictu)
Saxa per, & scopulos, & depressas convalles
Diffugiunt; non, Eure, tuos, neque solis ad ortus,
In Boream, Caurumque, aut unde nigerrimus Auster
Nascitur, & pluvio contristat frigore cælum.
Hinc demum, Hippomanes vero quod nomine dicunt
Pastores, lentum distillat ad inguine virus,*

(a) *Æneid*. IV. v. 515. (b) *Eliac.* α. prope finem. (c) *Lib.* I. *Eleg.* VIII. (d) *Georgic.* III. 271.

Chap. X. Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece. 249

*Hippomanes, quod sæpe malæ legere novercæ,
Miscuerantque herbas, & non innoxia verba.*

When at the Spring's Approach their Marrow burns,
(For with the Spring their genial Heat returns)
The Mares to Cliffs of rugged Rocks repair,
And with wide Nostrils snuff the Western Air;
When (wondrous to relate) the Parent Wind,
Without the Stallion, propagates the Kind;
Then fir'd with am'rous Rage they take their Flight
Thro' Plains, and mount the Hills unequal Height;
Nor to the North, nor to the rising Sun,
Nor Southward to the rainy Regions run,
But bearing to the West, and hov'ring there,
With gaping Mouths they draw prolifick Air,
With which impregnate, from their Groins they shed
A slimy Juice, by false Conception bred;
The Shepherds know it well, and call the same
Hippomanes, to note the Mother's Flame;
This gather'd in the Planetary Hour,
With noxious Weeds, and spell'd with Words of Pow'r,
Dire Stepdames in the Magick Bowl infuse,
And mix for deadly Draughts the pois'nous Juice.

Mr. Dryden.

The same Story is attested by *Aristotle*. Others make *Hippomanes* to be a Plant in *Arcadia*, which also was powerful in producing the forementioned Effects (a),

Ἱππομανὲς οὐτὸν ἔστι παρ' Ἀρχαίων τῷ δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσι
καὶ πολλοὶ μαίνοντ' ἀν' ἄρεα, καὶ θοαὶ ἵπποι·
Ὡς καὶ Δέλφιδ' ἴδουμι καὶ ἐς τὸδε δᾶμα περῆσαι
Μαινομένην Ἰκλόν, λιπαρῆς ἐκείνῃ παλαίεσσαν.

Hippomanes, a Plant *Arcadia* bears,
This makes Steeds mad, and this excites the Mares;
And oh! that I could see my *Delphis* come
From th' oily Fencing-house so raving Home. *Mr. Creech.*

Ιουξ, is the Name of a small Bird, the *Latin* of which is not agreed on; some translate it *passerculus*, others will have it the same with *torquilla*, *frutilla*, or with *regulus*. This Bird the Writers of Fables tell us (b) was once the Daughter of *Pan* and *Pitho*, or *Echo*, and having inveigled *Jupiter* into *Io*'s Love, was transformed by *Juno*; upon this she became the Darling of *Venus*, and retaining the same Inclinations she had formerly, still served to pro-

(a) *Theocritus* Idyll. 6. v. 48. (b) *Suidas*, *Isacius*, *Tzetzes* in *Lycophronem* v. 310. ubi commentarius noster adendum.

mote the Affairs of Love : The first time the Goddess made use of her was in the *Argonautick* Expedition, when she invented Love-magick with Charms and Potions, a chief Ingredient whereof was this Bird, which she communicated to *Jason*, to gain his access to *Medea's* Affections. Hence *Pindar* (a),

Μαινδ' δ' ὄρνιν Κυπριγενεῖα φέρεν
Πρωτὸν ἀνθρώποισι, λιτὰς τ' ἔπαισι-
δὲς ἐκδιδάσκουσιν σοφὸν Αἰσονίδαν·
Οφθα Μιδείας τοκέων ἀφέλοισι-
τ' αἰδῶ. -----

The Goddess *Venus* first disclos'd the Use,
To *Jason* first the Magick Charm display'd,
Told how the *Bird* would fire the Maid,
And glowing Love into the Maid infuse ;
Nor Duty, nor parental Love should bind,
Too weak and feeble is that Force ;
When *Iynx* steers the Lover's Course,
A safe Admittance he is sure to find.

H. H.

The Part most valued by Enchanters was the Tongue, which they looked on as having a sovereign Virtue in Love-potions : Sometimes they fasten'd the whole Bird to a Wheel of Wax, which they turned over the Fire till both were consumed, thus inflaming the Party in whom they had a mind to create Love. Others there are that will have *ἰνξ* to signify nothing but a Musical Instrument; and some take it for all sorts of Allurements.

To these may be added several Herbs, and Insects bred out of putrid Matter, with other Animals, such as the Fish called *ixamis*, or *remora* ; the Lizard, with another not much unlike it, called *stellio* and *stincus* ; the Brains of a Calf, the Hair upon the Extremity of a Woolf's Tail, with some of his secret Parts ; the Bones of the left side of a Toad eaten by Ants, for these were thought to generate Love, whereas those on the right side caused Hatred. Others took the same Bones, when the Flesh was devoured by Ants, and cast them into a Vessel of Water, wherein those that sunk, being wound up in a white linnen Cloth, and hung about any Person, inflamed him with Love, the others with Hatred. Other Parts of the Toad were used in poisonous Compositions; whence *Juvenal* (b),

At nunc res agitur tenui pulmone rubetæ.

But now with pois'nous Entrails of a Toad
They urge their Husband's Fate.

(a) *Pythion*. Od. IV. (b) *Sat*. VI. v. 658.

Chap. X. Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece. 251

To these others add the Blood of Doves, the Bones of Snakes, Scritch Owl's Feathers, Bands of Wool twisted upon a Wheel (which were very much used on these Occasions, for their resemblance to the soft Ties of Love) especially such as had been bound about one that hanged himself; some of these are mentioned by Propertius (a),

*Improba non vicit me moribus illa, sed herbis,
Staminea rhombi ducitur ille rota;
Illum turgentis ranæ portenta rubetæ,
Et lecta exsecutis anguibus ossa trahunt,
Et strigis inventæ per busta jacentia plumæ,
Cinctaque funesto lanca vitta viro.*

Were there to Merits but a due Regard,
I should not fear my Rival's being preferr'd;
But she, too conscious of my pow'rful Charms,
By Spells and Magick tears him from my Arms;
The pois'nous Bones of swelling Toads she takes,
And mingles them with those of crested Snakes;
Then straight where Owls frequent she doth repair,
And picks their scatter'd Feathers up with care;
Next she procures some fatal woollen Band
That late bound him that dy'd by his own Hand. H. H.

Several other Ingredients of Love-potions are mentioned in Lælius's Verses cited by Apuleius (b),

*Philtræ omnia undique eruant,
Antipathes illud quæritur,
Trochisci, iynge, tæniæ,
Radiculæ, herbæ, furculi,
Auræ ilices, bichordilæ,
Hinnientium dulcedines.*

From ev'ry Part they magick Draughts procure,
For that much-fam'd *Antipathes* they seek,
Pills, Fillets, and those Love-enforcing Birds,
Roots too, and baneful Herbs, and sappy Sprigs,
With Scarlet Oaks, and *Hippomanes*.

Other sorts of Ingredients were Rags, Torches, and, in short, all Relicks, and whatever had any relation to dead Corpses, or Funerals. Sometimes a Nest of young Swallows was placed in a convenient Vessel, and buried in the Earth till they were famished;

(a) Lib. III. Eleg. V. (b) Apolog.

then they opened the Grave, and such of them as were found with Mouths shut were thought conducive to allay the Passion of Love; but the rest, which perished with Mouths gaping for Food, were thought to excite it. To the same End they used Bones snatched from hungry and ravenous Bitches, which were believed to derive some part of the eager Desire of those Animals into the Potion: Hence *Horace* gives us this elegant Description of an Enchantress's Practices (a),

*Canidia brevibus implicata viperis
Crines & incomptum caput,
Jubet sepulcris caprificos erutas,
Jubet cupressos funebres,
Et uncta turpis ova ranæ sanguine,
Plumamque nocturnæ strigis,
Herbasque quas & Iolchos, atque Iberia
Mittit venenorum ferax,
Et ossa ab ore rapta jejunæ canis,
Flammis aduri Colchicis,*

Canidia then does for the Charm prepare,
And binds with Snakes her uncomb'd Hair;
Maid, speed she cries, and pillage ev'ry Tomb,
Bring Cypress and wild Fig-tree Home;
Let Eggs first steep'd in Blood of Toads be sought,
And Feathers from the Scritch-Owl brought;
Bring ven'mous Drugs, such as *Iolchos* yields,
And Poison from *Iberian* Fields;
Bring Bones from Jaws of hungry Bitches torn,
And those I'll seeth, and those I'll burn,
As first *Medea* did inform. A. H.

To these they added another Ingredient more powerful than any of the rest, which the Poet has thus described in the same Ode (b),

*Abacta nulla Veja conscientia,
Ligonibus duris humum
Exhauriebat ingemens laboribus;
Quo posset infossus puer
Longo die bis terve mutatae dapis
Inemori spectaculo,
Cum promineret ore, quantum extant aqua
Suspensa mento corpora;
Exsucta uti medulla, & aridum jecur
Amoris esset poculum,
Interminato cum semel fixæ cibo
Intahuissent pupulæ.*

Vēja, who ne'er Remorse of Conscience felt,
 Nor blush'd at her own horrid Guilt,
 Toils at the Spade, and digs the fatal Pit,
 In which th' unhappy Lad she set,
 Where choicest Dainties, while his Life should last,
 Oft feast his Eyes, deny'd his Taste;
 Just o'er the Brim appears his sickly Head,
 As theirs who in the Rivers wade;
 That there his Marrow drain'd and Liver dry,
 Might with Love-potions her supply,
 As soon as e'er his fainting Eye-balls shew'd
 Approaching Death for want of Food. H. H.

Let us pass now to some other Arts they had of exciting Love: Some thought the Udder of an *Hyæna* tied about their left Arm, a good Expedient to entice to their Affections any Woman they fixed their Eyes on; others took *πίτυρα*, a sort of small and hard Olives, or (as others interpret it) Barley-bran, which either by it self, or made up in Paste, they cast into the Fire, hoping thereby to inspire the Flames of Love: Hence *Simætha* in *Theocritus* (a),

Νῦν θυσὼ τὰ πίτυρα -----

Now will I strew the Barley-bran.

Sometimes they used *ἄλφιτα*, or Flour, which the *Scholiast* upon *Theocritus* will have termed *θυλάματα*. That Poet has described this Custom, where he introduces his Enchantress thus calling out to her Maid (b);

Ἀλφιδά τοι περὶ πῦρὶ τάκεθ', ἀλλ' ὀπίπασσ',
 Θέστυλι δειλαία, πᾶ τὰς φρένας ἐκπεπύτασαι;
 Ἡ ῥά γέ τι, μωσαρά, ἢ τὴν ὀπίχαρμα τίτυγμαι,
 Πιάω' ἄμω, λέγε ταῦτα, τὰ Δελφιδ' ὅς τέα πλάσσω.

First burn the Flour, then strew the other on,
 Strew it; how? where's your Sense and Duty gone?
 Base *Thestylis*, and am I so forlorn,
 And grown so low; that I'm become your Scorn?
 But strew the Salt, and say in angry Tones,
I scatter Delphid's, purjur'd Delphid's Bones.
Mr. Creech.

Instead of Bran or Flour, 'twas usual to burn Laurel, as we learn from the Same Enchantress, who proceeds thus:

(a) V. 33.

(b) Ibid. v. 18.

Δέλφιδ' ἔμ' ἀνίστην, ἐγὼ δ' ἔνῃ Δέλφιδι δάεσθαι
 Αἶδω· χ' ὡς αὐτὴ λακίφ' μύρα καπνυρίσασα,
 Κηζαπίνης ἔφθην, καὶ δὲ σπένδον εἶδομαι αὐτῆς,
 Οὕτω τοι καὶ Δέλφιδ' ἐνὶ φλογὶ σάρκ' ἀμυθώσεται.

First *Delphid* injur'd me, he rais'd my Flame,
 And now I burn this Bough in *Delphid's* Name;
 As this does blaze, and break away in Fume;
 How soon it takes! let *Delphid's* Flesh consume.

Mr. Creech.

'Twas likewise frequent to melt Wax, thereby to mollify the Person's Heart whom they desired: Hence she goes on,

Ὡς πῦρον ἃ κερεὼν ἐγὼ σὺ δαίμενι τάχω,
 Ὡς τάκοιθ' ἔσθ' ἔρωιτο ὁ Μυνδιόθεν αὐτίκα Δέλφιδ'.

As this devoted Wax melts o'er the Fire,
 Let *Myndian Delphis* melt with soft Desire.

Sometimes they placed Clay before the Fire, together with Wax, that as one melted whilst the other hardened, so the Person that then rejected them, might have his Heart mollified with Affection, and inflamed with Desire, whilst their own became hard and unrelenting; or that his Heart might be rendred incapable of any Impression from other Beauties, but easy of Access to themselves. This seems to be *Virgil's* Meaning in the first of the following Verses; the latter two contain some of the Customs before described out of *Theocritus*.

*Limus ut hic durefcit, & hæc ut cera liquefcit,
 Uno eodemque igni; sic nostro Daphnis amore;
 Sparge molam, & fragiles incende bitumine lauros;
 Daphnis me malus urit, ego hanc in Daphnide laurum (a).*

As Fire this Figure hardens made of Clay,
 And this of Wax with Fire consumes away,
 Such let the Soul of cruel *Daphnis* be,
 Hard to the rest of Women, soft to me.
 Crumble the sacred Mole of Salt and Corn,
 Next in the Fire the Bays with Brimstone burn,
 And whilst it crackles in the Sulphur say,
 This I for *Daphnis* burn, thus *Daphnis* burn away.

Mr. Dryden.

It was customary to imitate all those Actions they had a mind the Person they loved should perform. They turn'd a Wheel round,

(a) Eclog. VIII. 88.

Chap. X. *Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece.* 255

praying he might fall down before their Doors, and rowl himself on the Ground. Thus *Theocritus's* Enchantress,

Χ' ὡς δινείδ' ὅδε ῥόμβον ὁ χαλκόν, ἔξ Αφροδίτας
Ὡς κείν' δινεῖτο ποδ' ἀμύμονι δούρῳ.

And, *Venus*, as I whirl this brazen Wheel,
Before my Door let perjurd *Delphid* rowl.

We are told that it has been usual to compose an Image of Wax, and calling it by the Name of the Person to be inflamed with Love, to place it near the Fire, the Heat whereof affected the Image, and the Person represented by it, at the same time (a). *Virgil's* Enchantress speaks of drawing it three times round the Altar.

————— *terque hæc altaria circum*
Effigiem duco —————

Thrice round this Altar I the Image draw.

She had before taken care to have it bound, thereby to intimate the tying his Affections;

Terne tibi hæc primum triplici diversa colore
Licia circumdo. —————

Three Threads I of three diff'rent Colours bind
About your Image. —————

It was not unfrequent to sprinkle enchanted Medicaments upon some part of the House where the Person resided. Thus *Theocritus's* Enchantress commands;

Θέσφι, νῦν ἢ λαβοῖσα τὸ τὰ θρόνα τανδ' ἐπαμάξῃ
Τὰς τήνω φλιάς καθυπέπλεον, ἃς ἔπ' κ' νῦν
Ἐκ θυμῷ δέδμεν· (ὃ δ' ἐμὲ λόγον ἐδέξα ποιεῖ)
Καὶ λίγ' ἐπαφύσδουσα, τὰ Δελφιδ' ὅστις πάσῃ.

Now take these Poisons, I procure you more,
And strew them at the Threshold of his Door,
That Door where violent Love hath fix'd my Mind,
Tho' he regard not, cruel and unkind!
Strew them, and spitting say in angry Tones,
I scatter Delphid's, perjurd Delphid's Bones.

Mr. Creech.

If they could get into their Hands any thing that belonged to the Person whose Love they desired, it was of singular Use. The same

(a) *Wierus*, lib. V. c. XI.

256 *Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece.* Chap. X.

Enchantress burns the Border of *Delphid's* Garment, that the Owner might be tortur'd with the same Flame;

Τῆτ' ὁπὸ τῆς χλαῖνας τὸ κροτάειδον ἄλυσε Δελφίς,
Ὡρῶ νῦν τίλλοισα κατ' ἀγέῳ εἴ περὶ βάλαν.

This Piece from dear false *Delphid's* Garment torn,
I tear again, and am resolv'd to burn.

Virgil's Enchantress deposite her Lover's Pledges in the Ground, underneath her Threshold,

*Has olim exuvias mihi perfidus ille reliquit,
Pignora cara sui; quæ nunc ego limine in ipso,
Terra, tibi mando; debent hæc pignora Daphnin.*

These Garments once were his, and left to me,
The Pledges of his promis'd Loyalty;
Which underneath my Threshold I bestow,
These Pawns, O sacred Earth, to me my *Daphnis* owe.
Mr. Dryden.

The Design of which Action seems to be the retaining her Lover, and securing his Affections from wandering.

Virgil has thus described another Method in the Nymph's Command to her Woman,

*Fer cineres, Amarylli, foras, rivoque fluenti,
Transque caput jace; ne respexeris: His ego Daphnin
Aggrediar, nihil ille Deos, null carmina curat.*

Bear out these Ashes, cast them in the Brook;
Cast backwards o'er your Head, nor turn your Look;
Since neither Gods nor God-like Verse can move,
Break out ye smother'd Fires, and kindle smother'd Love.
Mr. Dryden.

I shall only trouble you with one Expedient more, which was their tying *Veneral* Knots; to unite the beloved Person's Affections with their own:

*Necte tribus nodis ternos, Amarylli, colores;
Necte, Amarylli, modo; & Veneris, dic, vincula necto.*

Knit with three Knots the Fillets, knit them streight;
And say, *These Knots to Love I consecrate.*

Her Caution about the Number of Knots is observable, for most of their Actions in these Rites were confined to the Number three. *Theocritus's* Enchantress is no less exact in this Circumstance;

Ες τρεῖς δαμομένης, καὶ τρεῖς τὰς πότνια παῖς.

Thrice, thrice I pour, and thrice repeat my Charms.

Virgil has assigned the Reason hereof to the Pleasure the Gods were thought to take in that Number.

———— *Numero Deus impari gaudet.*

Unequal Numbers please the Gods.

Whether this Fancy owe its Original to the supposed Perfection of the Number three, because, containing a Beginning, Middle, and End, it seems natural to signify all Things in the World; or whether to the Esteem the *Pythagoreans*, and some other Philosophers had for it, on the Account of their *Trinity*; or lastly (to mention no more Opinions) to its Apiness to signify the Power of all the Gods, who were divided into three Classes, Celestial, Terrestrial, and Infernal, I shall leave to be determined by others. Thus much is certain, that the Ancients thought there was no small Force and Efficacy in unequal Numbers; whence we find *Vegetius* advising, that the Ditches round Encampments should be at the least nine Feet in breadth, at the most seventeen, but always of an unequal Number (*a*): Shepherds are likewise advised to take care that the Number of their Sheep be not even (*b*); but the Number three was acceptable to the Gods above all others; whence we find three *fatal Sisters*, three *Furies*, three Names and Appearances of *Diana*, according to the Poet:

———— *Tria virginis ora Dianæ.*

Three different Forms does chaste *Diana* bear.

The Sons of *Saturn*, among whom the Empire of the World was divided, were three; and for the same reason we read of *Jupiter's fulmen trifidum*, *Neptune's Trident*, with several other Tokens of the Veneration they had for this Number.

Many of their other Practices were the same with those used at common Incantations; The *Charm*, or Form of Verses, had little difference beside the proper Application to the present Occasion: *Virgil's* Nymph speaks of her Verses as of the same sort, and endu'd with the same Efficacy as *Circe's*;

———— *Nihil hic nisi carmina desunt:*
Ducite ab urbe domum, mea carmina, ducite Daphnin;
Carmina vel cælo possunt deducere Lunam,

(*a*) Lib. III. cap. VIII. (*b*) Geoponic. lib. XVIII.
Vol. II.

*Carminibus Circe secios mutavit Ulyssæi,
Frigidus in pratis cantando rumpitur anguis.*

———— We Want but Verse; restore, my Charms;
My lingring *Daphnis* to my longing Arms;
Pale *Phœbe* drawn by Verse, from Heav'n descends,
And *Circe* chang'd with Charms *Ulysses's* Friends:
Verse breaks the Ground, and penetrates the Brake,
And in the winding Cavern splits the Snake.

Mr. Dryden.

And the Herbs and Minerals used in other magical Operations, were no less sought for in this, there being in them (as 'twas thought) some wonderful Powers, which were equally prevalent in all supernatural and miraculous Effects; whence we find *Virgil's* Nymph alluring *Daphnis* to her Love by the very same Medicaments, which *Mæris* had found effectual in performing other magical Feats:

*Has herbas, atque hæc Ponto mihi læta venena
Ipse dedit Mæris; nascuntur plurima Ponto;
His ego sæpe lupum fieri, & se condere silvis
Mærin, sæpe animas imis excire sepulcris,
Atque sâtas alio vidi traducere menses.*

These pois'nous Plants for Magick Use design'd,
(The noblest, and the best of all the baneful Kind)
Old *Mæris* brought me from the *Pontick* Strand,
And cull'd the Mischief of a bounteous Land;
Smear'd with the pow'rful Juices, on the Plain
He howls a Wolf among the hungry Train;
And oft the mighty *Necromancer* boasts,
With these to call from Tombs the stalking Ghosts;
And from the Roots to tear the standing Corn,
Which whirl'd aloft, to distant Fields is born.

Mr. Dryden.

The Gods likewise (to mention no more Instances of their Agreement) were the same that superintended all magical Arts, as we learn from *Theocritus's Simætha*, who is introduced invoking the *Moon* and *Hecate* to her Assistance;

----- Ἀλλὰ Σελάνᾳ

Φαῖνε καλὸν, τὴν γὰρ ποταίσσμεν ἄσυχᾳ, δαῖμον,
Τᾷ χρονίᾳ δ' ἐκείτᾳ, τὰν κ' οὐλόαυς τρομόντι
Εργούραν νεκύων ἀνὰ τ' ἐρία, κ' μέλαν αἶμα.
Καίρ', ἐκείτᾳ διασπλῦπ, κ' ἐς τέλ' ἄμυν ὑπάδ',
Φάρμακα ταῦθ' ἐρδισα χερείονα μήτε π Κίρκης,
Μήτε π Μηδείας, μήτε ξανθᾶς Γερεμίδας.

———— Moon

—— Moon, shine bright and clear,
To thee I will direct my secret Pray'r;
To thee and *Hecate*, whom Dogs do dread,
When stain'd with Gore she stalks amidst the Dead.
Hail, frightful *Hecate*, assist me still,
Make mine as great as fam'd *Medea's* Skill. Mr. Creech.

Thus far concerning their Arts in exciting Love. It may be enquired in the next place, whether they had any Means to allay the Passion, when once raised? Now it appears, that it was common to set the Patient at liberty by the help of more powerful Medicaments, or *Dæmons* superior to those that had bound him; whence we find *Canidia* in *Horace* complaining, that all her Enchantments were rendred ineffectual by Art superiour to her own;

*Quid accidit? cur dira barbaræ minus
Venena Medæ valent,
Quibus superba fugit ulta pellicem,
Magni Creontis filiam,
Cum palla, tabo munus imbutam, novam
Incendio nuptam abstulit?
Atqui nec herba, nec latens in asperis
Radix fefellit me locis.
Indormit unctis omnium cubilibus
Oblivione pellicum.
Ah, ab, solutus ambulat veneficæ
Scientioris carmine.*

Am I so serv'd? my base degrading Charms,
Shall *Colchos* foster greater Harms?
What! shall the Present spell'd with Magick Rage,
Medea's vengeful Breast assuage?
Since the fallacious Gift to Flames is turn'd,
And her unhappy Rival burn'd?
Then what am I? There's not an Herb doth grow,
Nor Root, but I their Virtues know,
And can the craggy Places show;
Yet *Varus* flights my Love, above my Pow'r,
And sleeps on Rosy Beds secure;
Ah! much I fear some Rival's greater Skill
Defends him from my weaker Spell. H. H.

But Love inspired without the Assistance of Magick, scarce yielded to any Cure; *Apollo* himself could find no Remedy against it, but is introduced lamenting in these Words (a);

(a) *Ovid. Metam. I. v. 521.*

*Inventum medicina meum est, opiferque per orbem
Dicor, & herbarum est subjecta potentia nobis;
Hei mihi! quod nullis amor est medicabilis herbis,
Nec prosunt domino, quæ prosunt omnibus, ortes.*

Med'cine is mine, what Herbs and Simples grow
In Fields and Forests, all their Pow'rs I know,
And am the great Physician call'd below :
Alas! that Fields and Forests can afford
No Remedies to heal their Love-sick Lord!
To cure the Pains of Love no Plant avails,
And his own Physick the Physician fails. Mr. Dryden.

The same Poet professes in another place, that no Art was ever able to set a Lover at liberty (a);

*Nulla recantatas deponent pectora curas,
Nec fugiet vivo sulphure victus amor.
Quid te Phasiacæ juverunt gramina terræ,
Cum cuperes patria, Colchi, manere domo?
Quid tibi profuerant, Circe, Perseides herbæ,
Cum tibi Neritias abstulit aura rates.*

Not all the Pow'r of Verse with Magick join'd
Can heal the Torture of a Love-sick Mind;
Altars may smook with expiatory Fire,
Too weak to make a well-fix'd Love retire,
Love by Repulse still works the Passion higher.
What Help, *Medea*, did thy Potions yield?
Not all the Drugs that stock'd the *Colchian* Field,
Cou'd Ease to your distracted Breast afford,
When forc'd from Home, you lov'd the foreign Lord.
Nor greater the Relief that *Circe* found,
When left by her *Ulysses* homewards bound;
Nor Herbs, nor Poisons cou'd her Grief allay,
When envious Blasts had stol'n her Dear away. H. H.

But notwithstanding the Difficulty of this Cure, there is not wanting variety of Prescriptions adapted to the several Causes and Occasions of the Malady; as appears from the old Nurse's Words to *Myrrha* desperately in love (b);

*Seu furor est, habeo quæ carmine sanet, & herbis;
Sive aliquis nocuit, magico lustrabere ritu.
Ira Deum sive est, sacris placabilis ira.*

(a) De remedio amoris. (b) *Metam.* X. v. 397.

Madness by sacred Numbers is expell'd,
And Magick will to stronger Magick yield;
If the dire Wrath of Heav'n this Fury rais'd,
Heav'n is with Sacrifice and Pray'r appeas'd.

Mr. Hopkins.

The Antidotes may be reduced to two sorts; they were either such as had some natural Virtue to produce the designed Effect; such are *Agnus Castus*, and the Herbs reputed Enemies to Generation (*a*). Or, secondly, such as wrought the Cure by some occult and mystical Power, and the Assistance of *Dæmons*; such are the sprinkling of the Dust wherein a Mule had rowled herself (*b*), the tying Toads in the Hide of a Beast lately slain (*c*), with several others mentioned by *Pliny*; amongst which we may reckon all the Minerals and Herbs, which were looked on as Amulets against other Effects of Magick, for those were likewise proper on such occasions; whence the Poets usually mention *Caucasus*, *Colchis*, and other places famous for magical Plants, as those which alone could furnish Remedies and Antidotes against Love. I shall only set down one Instance, wherein the Poet enquiring what should be the Cause his Mistress had forsaken him, puts this Question among others (*d*);

— *An quæ*
Læta Prometheus dividit herba jugis.

What! do those odious Herbs, the *Lover's Bane*,
Growing on *Caucasus*, produce this Pain?

By *Prometheus's* Mountain he means *Caucasus*, which was remarkable for Herbs of sovereign Power, that sprung out of *Prometheus's* Blood.

The Infernal Gods were called upon for Assistance, as may be learned from *Virgil's Dido*, who signifies her pretended Design to dispel the Remains of her Love for *Æneas* in these Words (*e*);

Sacra Jovi Stygio, quæ rite incepta paravi,
Perficere est animus, finemque imponere curis,
Dardanique rogum capitis permittere flammæ.

Thus will I pay my Vows to *Stygian Jove*,
And end the Cares of my disastrous Love;
Then cast the *Trojan* Image on the Fire,
And as that burns my Passion shall expire. Mr. Dryden.

(a) Vide Archæolog. hujus lib. II. cap. III. (b) *Plinii Nat. Hist.* lib. xxx. cap. xvi. (c) Idem lib. xxxii. cap. x. (d) *Propertii* lib. I. Eleg. xii. (e) *Æneid.* iv. v. 638.

Silius introduces *Anna*, *Dido's* Sister, telling how she had endeavoured to render the same Gods propitious (a);

*Nigro forte Jovi, cui tertia regna laborant,
Atque atri sociæ thalami nova sacra parabam,
Queis ægram mentem, Et trepidantia corda levaret
Infelix germana tori ———*

To grisly *Jove* of Hell I Off'rings paid,
And to the swarthy Consort of his Bed,
In Pity of my Love-sick Sister's Grief,
And in Assurance of a bless'd Relief,
To charm her Cares to sleep, her Fears to rest,
And still the Tumults of her troubled Breast. J. A.

Not long before the same Person, relating how the Diviners assayed to restore *Dido* to her right Mind, says, they invoked the Gods of *Night* (whereby she means the Shades below) to aid them;

*Heu! sacri vatum errores, dum numina Noctis
Eliciunt, spondentque novis medicamina curis.*

O soothing *Priestcraft*! O the close *Disguise*
Of Cheat, Imposture, and well-varnish'd Lies!
With a pretended Zeal the Shades they implore,
The Gods of *Night* demurely they adore,
With promis'd Cures they gull our easy Minds,
A solemn Vow their holy Knav'ry binds. J. A.

I shall only mention one Expedient more, whereby they cured themselves of Love; it is the Water of *Selemnus*, a River that falls into the Sea near *Argyra* in *Achaia*. The Story is thus: *Selemnus*, a beautiful young Shepherd in those Parts, was beloved by *Argyra*, the Nymph, from whom the Town and Fountain of that Name were called; but the Flower of his Age being over, the Nymph deserted him, upon which he pined away, and was transformed into a River by *Venus*; after this he still retained his former Passion, and (as the *Patrensiens* report) for some time conveyed his Waters through a subterraneous Passage to *Argyra's* Fountain, in the same manner that *Alpheus* was said to join himself with *Arethusa*, till by *Venus's* Favour, the Remembrance of her was caused to vanish quite out of his Mind. Hence it came to pass, that as many as washed themselves in this River, were made to forget that Passion. Thus *Pausanias* (b).

Thus much concerning their Love. I am not ignorant that Enlargements might be made in every part of this Chapter; but what has been said will (I hope) be sufficient to satisfy the Reader's Curiosity, without trespassing too far upon his Patience.

(a) Lib. viii. (b) *Achaicis*, p. 442, & 445. Edit. Hanov.
C H A P.

C H A P. XI.

Of their MARRIAGES.

THE first Inhabitants of *Greece* lived without Laws and Government, no Bounds were prescribed to their Passions, their Love (like the rest of their Desires) was unconfined, and promiscuous Mixtures, because forbidden by no human Authority, were publicly allowed. The first that restrained this Liberty was *Cecrops*, who having raised himself to be King over the People, afterwards called *Athenians*, amongst many other useful Constitutions, introduced that of Marriage (a). Others refer the Honour of this Institution, together with the Invention of Dancing, to *Erato*, one of the *Muses*; but some rather understand that Story of the Marriage-Solemnity, the regular Conduct whereof, they say, was first ordered by *Erato*. However that be, it was in some Time received by all the *Grecians*; for no sooner did they begin to reform their savage and barbarous Course of Life, and join themselves in Towns and Societies, but they found it necessary to confine the unruly Lusts of Men, by establishing lawful Marriage, with other Rules of good Manners.

Marriage was very honourable in several of the *Grecian* Commonwealths, being very much encouraged by their Laws, as the abstaining from it was discountenanced, and in some Places punished; for the Strength of States consisting in their Number of People, those that refused to contribute to their Increase, were thought very cold in their Affections to their Country. The *Lacedæmonians* are very remarkable for their Severity against those that deferred marrying, as well as those who wholly abstained from it (b). No Man among them could live without a Wife beyond the Time limited by the Lawgiver, without incurring several Penalties; as first, the Magistrates commanded such once every Winter to run round the publick *Forum* naked; and to increase their Shame, they sung a certain Song, the Words whereof aggravated their Crime, and exposed them to Ridicule. Another of their Punishments was, to be excluded from the Exercises, wherein (according to the *Spartan* Custom) young Virgins contended naked (c). A third Penalty was inflicted upon a certain Solemnity, wherein the Women dragged them round an Altar, beating them all the time with their Fists (d). Lastly, they were deprived of that Respect and Observance which the younger sort were obliged to pay to their Elders; and therefore saith *Plutarch* (e), no Man found fault with what was said to *Dercyllidas*, a great Captain, and one that had commanded

(a) Vide Archæolog. hujus lib. I. cap. ii. (b) *Stobæus* lxx. de laude Nuptiarum. (c) *Plutarchus* *Lycurgo*. (d) *Athenæus*, lib. xiii. (e) Loc. citat.

Armies, who coming into the Place of Assembly, a young Man, instead of rising and making room, told him, *Sir, you must not expect that Honour from me being young, which cannot be returned to me by a Child of yours when I am old.* To these we may add the *Athenian Law* (a), whereby all that were Commanders, Orators, or intrusted with any Publick Affair, were to be married, and have Children, and Estates in Land; for these were looked on as so many Pledges for their good Behaviour, without which they thought it dangerous to commit to them the Management of Publick Trusts.

Polygamy was not commonly tolerated in *Greece*, for Marriage was thought to be a Conjunction of one Man with one Woman; whence some will have *γάμος* derived, *παρὰ τὸ δύο ἄμα εἶναι* from two becoming one. When *Herodotus* reports that *Anaxandridas* the *Spartan* had two Wives, he remarks that it was contrary to the Custom of *Sparta* (b). The rest of the *Grecian* Cities did, for the most part, agree herein with the *Lacedæmonians*; only upon some emergent Occasions, when their Men had been destroyed by War, or other Calamities, Toleration was granted for marrying more Wives; an Instance whereof we have at *Athens* in *Euripides's* Time, who, as some say, conceived an Hatred against the whole Sex, for which he is famous in Story, by being harassed with two Wives at once (c). *Socrates* is said to have been married to *Xantippe* and *Myrto* at the same time (d), and *Athenæus* concludes it was then reputed no Scandal, because we never find any of his Enemies casting it in his Teeth (e); but some think the Matter of Fact may be justly called into question, and in *Plutarch's* Opinion, *Panætius* of *Rhodes*, *ἰσχυρῶς ἀνελπίσκει*, has fully confuted it in his Discourse concerning *Socrates* (f).

The Time of Marriage was not the same in all Places: The *Spartans* were not permitted to marry till they arrived at their full Strength (g); and though I do not find what was the exact Number of Years they were confined to, yet it appears from one of *Lycurgus's* Sayings, that both Men and Women were limited in this Affair; which that Lawgiver being asked the reason of, said, his Design was that the *Spartan* Children might be strong and vigorous. The *Athenian* Laws are said once to have ordered, that Men should not marry till above 35 Years of Age; for Human Life being divided by *Solon* into 10 Weeks (*ἑβδομάδες*) he affirmed, *in harum hebdomadam quinta maturitatem ad stirpem relinquendam homini inesse*; that in the fifth of these Weeks Men were of Ripeness to multiply their Kind (h); but this depended upon the Humour of every Lawgiver, nothing being generally agreed to in this Matter. *Aristotle* (i) thought 37 a good Age, *Plato* 30; and *Hesiod* was much of the same Judgment, for thus he advises his Friend:

(a) *Dinarchus* in *Demosthenem*. (b) *Lib. V.* (c) *Gellius* Noct. Attic. lib. xv. cap. xx. (d) *Diogenes Laërtius*, *Socrate*. (e) *Lib. xiii.* (f) *Plutarchus*, *Pericle*. (g) *Xenophon* de *Repub. Lacedæm.* (h) *Censorinus* de die natali, cap. xiv. (i) *Polit. lib. VII. cap. xvi.*

Οραῖτο ὃ γυναικα τὸν ποτὶ οἶκον ἄγεσθαι.
Μήτε τρυφῶντων ἐπὶ μάλ' ἀπολείπων,
Μήτ' ὀπθεὶς μάλ' ἀπολείπων γάμοιο δὲ τοι ὤριον ἔστω (a).

The Time to enter on a marry'd Life
Is about *Thirty*, then bring Home a Wife;
But don't delay too late, or wed too young,
Since Strength and Prudence to this State belong. J. A.

Women married sooner than Men; some of the old *Athenian* Laws permitted them to marry at 26, *Aristotle* at 18, *Hesiod* at 15.

Η ὃ γυνὴ τέτοε ἡδὲ, πέμπτοιο ὃ γαμοῖτο (b).

A Wife when fifteen chuse, then let her wed, (Bed.
I'th' Prime for *Hymen's* Rites, for th' Joys of th' Marriage-

Where the Poet advises that Women be permitted to grow to Maturity in four Years, *i. e.* four after ten, and marry in the fifth, *i. e.* the fifteenth. Others think he means they must continue unmarried four Years after their arrival at Woman's Estate, *i. e.* at fourteen Years, and marry in the fifth, *i. e.* the nineteenth. But as the Women were sooner marriageable than Men, so their Time was far shorter, it being common for Men to marry much older than Women could expect to do, as *Lyfistrates* complains in *Aristophanes* (c);

ΑΥ. Περὶ τῶνδε κορῶν ἐν τοῖς θαλάμοις γυμνασσοῦν ἀνῶμα.
ΠΡ. Οὐκ ἐν γ' ἀνδρες γυμνασσοῦσιν; ΑΥ. Μὰ Δί' αἰὲν ἐν αἷταις ὁμοῖον,
Ὅ γδ' ἦκον μὲν, καὶ ἡ παλὺς, ταχὺ παῖδα κέρως γυμνασσοῦσιν.
Τῆς ὃ γυναικὸς μικρὸς ὁ καιρὸς, καὶ αὐτὸ μὴ πλάσσει
Οὐδέ τις ἐβέλ' γῆμα ταύτῃ, ὅπως οὐδὲν ὃ καὶ οὐδ'.

L Y. It's some Concern to me, when I reflect
On the poor Girls, that must despair of Man,
And keep a stale and loath'd Celibacy.

P R. What? ha'nt the Men the same hard Measures then?

L Y. Oh! no, they have a more propitious Fate,
Since they at sixty, when their Vigour's past,
Can wed a young and tender Spouse to warm
Their aged Limbs, and to repair their Years:
But Women's Joys are short and transient;
For if we once the golden Minutes miss,
There's no recalling, so severe's our Doom;
We must then long in vain, in vain expect,
And by our Ills forewarn Posterity.

J. A.

(a) *Erg. & Herm.* 5. 313. (b) *Ibid.* 316. (c) *Lyfistrates*.

266 *Of the Miscellaneous Customs of Greece.* Chap. XI.

The Times or Seasons of the Year most proper for Marriage were, according to the *Athenians*, some of the Winter Months, especially *January*, which for that reason was called γαμλιών (a). Hence the Person in *Terence*, the Scene of whose Fable is laid in *Greece*, affirms the Soothsayers hab forbidden to enter upon Matrimony till Winter (b);

*Aruspex vetuit ante brumam autem quid novi
Negotii incipere ———*

Until the seasonable time of Year,
When frosty Weather binds all Things, the Priest
Counsell'd us by all means to put off Marriage.

The most convenient Season was when there happened a Conjunction of the Sun and Moon, at which time they celebrated their Festival called Θωγάμια, or Marriage of the Gods (c). *Clytemnestra* in *Euripides* having asked *Agamemnon* when he designed to give *Iphigenia* in Marriage to *Achilles*, he answers, that the Full-Moon was the fittest Time:

Όταν σελήνης δ'τυχὴς ἔλθῃ κύκλῳ (d).

When the Full-Moon darts forth her lucky Rays.

Themis in *Pindar* advises that *Thetis* be married to *Peleus* in the same Season (e); for by διχομυίδας ἰσσίρας he means the Full-Moon, which happens in the Middle of Lunar Months, which were used in the old *Grecian* Computations. The Poet's Words run thus:

----- Εν διχομυίδας
Δὲ ἐσπέραις, ἰσσίρων
Αἴσι καὶ χαλὸν ὕ-
-φ' ἥροϊ παρδενίας.

When crescent *Phæbe* is about to shine
In a full Orb with radiant Light,
Then may he marry, then may she invite
The Heroe, both their Loves to join,
Then let them blend, and tie, their Joys, their All combine.
J. A.

This Custom seems to have proceeded from an Opinion they had of the Moon's Power in Generation. Some prescribe other Days;

(a) *Olympiodorus* in *Meteora Aristotelis*, *Eustathius* in *Iliad*. σ'.
(b) *Phormione*. (c) *Hesiodi Scholiastes* Ημερ. (d) *Iphigen. in Aulid.*
v. 717. (e) *Isthm. Od.* η'. p. 751. Edit. *Benedict.*

Chap. XI. Of the Miscellaneous Customs of Greece. 267

Hesiod thinks the fourth most convenient, because (as one of the *Scholiasts* observes) it was dedicated to *Venus* and *Mercury* (a);

Εν ᾧ τετάρτῃ μῶνός ἀγαθὸς εἰς οἶκον ἀκοίλιν,
Οἰανὲς κείνας οἱ ἐπ' ἱργμῶσι τέττα ἀρεστοί.

On the fourth Day of the Moon's Age your Wife
Bring Home, to enter on the Cares of Life;
But first take heed yourself to certify
In the respective Signs of Augury.

J. A.

The sixteenth, or, as some, the eighteenth, is mentioned as most unfit of all others (b);

Εκτῇ δ' ἢ μίᾳ μὲν ἀσύμφορός ἐστι θυεῖσιν,
Ἀνδρῶν γὰρ τ' ἀγαθῶν, καὶ γυναικῶν δ' ἐσσυμένων ἐστίν
Οὕτω γυναικὸς περὶ τ', ἔτ' ἀρ' ἄρ' ἄνευ ἀνελκομένη.

Whatever Trees you plant the sixteenth Day,
They'll never thrive, but wither and decay;
But if your Wife's deliver'd of a Son,
His Life with lucky Prospects is begun;
But Girls, if born, or marry'd now, will see
Their Years annoy'd with Woe and Misery.

J. A.

Several other Days were looked on as favourable, or otherwise, in this and all other Affairs, which it would be too tedious to enumerate in this place.

Most of the *Greeks* looked on it as scandalous to contract within certain Degrees of Consanguinity. *Hermione* in *Euripides* speaks of the Custom of Brethren's marrying their Sisters, with no less Detestation than of Sons marrying their Mothers, or Fathers their Daughters (c);

----- Τοῖσιν πᾶν τὸ βάρβαρον γινῆται
Πατὴρ τε θυγατρί, παῖς τε μητρὶ μίγνυται,
Χόρη τ' ἀδελφῷ, διὰ φόβου δ' οἱ φίλτατοι
Χωρεῖται καὶ ἡ ἐδὲν γ' ὑπερβύχον νόμος.

Such Things *Barbarians* act, such Villanies
Are the result of Lust, or perverse Will,
Where no Laws cement, and no Right confines,
Fathers their Daughters, Sons their Mothers force
To an incestuous Bed, and, hurry'd on
By boiling Lusts, Brothers with Sisters join;
All Things are free, the most exalted Love
Can't 'gainst incentive Lust secure your Life.

J. A.

(a) *Hymns*. v. 36. (b) *V.* 18. (c) *Andromach.* v. 173.

268 *Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece.* Chap. XI.

Several of the barbarous Nations seem to have overlooked the Rules of Decency, and allowed unlawful and incestuous Mixtures; the *Persians* are especially remarkable for such Practices; for their *Magi*, the most sacred Persons among them, were the Off-spring of Mothers and their Sons: Hence *Catullus* (a),

*Nascetur Magus ex Gelli matrisque nefando
Conjugio, & discat Perficum aruspicium:
Nam Magus ex matre & gnato gignatur oportet,
Si vera est Persarum impia religio.*

Gellius hath Issue by his Mother got,
Nor is it in his Heraldry a Blot;
The Boy must straight be made profoundly wise
In all the Magick Trumpery and Lyes.
What must the *Persian* Religion be,
Where such an *Act* is no *Impiety*?

J. A.

The *Lacedæmonians* were forbidden to marry any of their Kindred, whether in the direct Degrees of Ascent or Descent, but a collateral Relation hindred them not, for Nephews married their Aunts, and Uncles their Nieces; an Instance whereof *Herodotus* gives us in *Anaxandridas*, who married his Sister's Daughter (b) The Marriages of Brothers and Sisters were utterly unlawful, though countenanced by several Examples of their Gods; an ample Account hereof may be seen in *Byblis's* Words, when in love with her Brother *Caunus*, where notwithstanding the greatness of her Passion, she confesses that no Examples were sufficient to license her incestuous Desires (c);

*Dii melius! Dii nempe suas habuere sorores:
Sic Saturnus Opim junctam sibi sanguine duxit,
Oceanus Tethyn, Junonem Rector Olympi.
Sunt superis sua jura. Quid ad cœlestia ritus
Exigere humanos, diversaque fœdera tento?
Aut nostræ vetitus de corde fugabitur ardor;
Aut, hic si nequeo, peream precor ante, toroque
Mortua componar, positæque det oscula frater:
Et tamen arbitrium quærit res ista duorum.
Finge placere mihi, scelus esse videbitur illi;
At non Æolidæ thalamos timuere sororum:
Unde sed hos novi? Cur hæc exempla paravi?
Quo feror? obscenæ procul hinc discedite flammæ.*

(a) Epigram. XCI. (b) Lib. V. (c) Ovid. Metam. lib. IX.
491.

The Gods forbid; yet those whom I invoke
 Have lov'd like me, have their own Sisters took.
 Great *Saturn*, and his greater Off-spring *Jove*,
 Both stock'd their Heaven with incestuous Love:
 Gods have their Privilege, why do I strive
 To strain my Hopes to their Prerogative?
 No, let me banish this forbidden Fire,
 Or quench it with my Blood, or with't expire;
 Unstain'd in Honour, and unhurt in Fame,
 Let the Grave bury both my Love and Shame;
 But when at my last Hour I gasping lie,
 Let only my kind Murderer be by;
 Let him, while I breathe out my Soul in Sighs,
 Or gaze't away, look on with pitying Eyes;
 Let him (for sure he can't deny me this)
 Seal my cold Lips with one kind parting Kiss:
 Besides 'twere vain should I alone agree
 To what another's Will must ratify.
 Cou'd I be so abandon'd to consent,
 What I have past for good and innocent,
 He may perhaps as worst of Crimes resent.
 Yet we amongst our Race Examples find
 Of Brothers, who have been to Sisters kind;
 Fam'd *Canace* cou'd thus successful prove,
 Cou'd crown her Wishes in a Brother's Love.
 But whence cou'd I these Instances produce?
 How came I witty to my Ruin thus?
 Whither will this mad Phrenzy hurry on?
 Hence, hence you naughty Flames, from hence be gone?
 Nor let me e'er the shameful Passion own.

Mr. Oldham.

Yet it was not reputed unlawful in several places for Brothers to marry their Half-Sisters; and sometimes their Relation by the Father, sometimes by the Mother, was within the Law. The *Lacedæmonian* Lawgiver allowed Marriages between those that had only the same Mother, and different Fathers (a). The *Athenians* were forbidden to marry Sisters by the same Mother, but not those by the same Father, as we are told by *Philo* the *Jew* (b). An Instance hereof we have in *Archeptolis*, *Themistocles's* Son, who married his Sister *Mnesiptolema* (c); as likewise in *Cimon*, who being unable through his extreme Poverty to provide a suitable Match for his Sister *Elpinice*, married her himself. Nor was this contrary to the Laws or Customs of *Athens*, as *Athenæus* (d) is of opinion; for, according to *Plutarch's* (e) Account, it was done publickly, and without any fear of the

(a) *Philo Judæus*, lib. de specialibus legibus ad præceptum vii. contra mæchos. (b) Libro de legibus specialibus. (c) *Plutarchus*, *Themistocle*. (d) Lib. XII. (e) *Cimone*.

Laws; *Cornelius Nepos* likewise (a) assures us, it was nothing but what the Custom of the Country allowed. We find indeed that *Cimon* is sometimes taxed for his familiarity with *Elpinice*; but this is only to be understood of his taking her after she had been married to *Callias*; for it appears from the forecited Authors, that *Cimon* first married her himself, then gave her to *Callias* a rich *Athenian*; after which he again became familiar with her, which indeed was looked on as Adultery, she being then another Man's Wife.

Most of the *Grecian* States, especially those that made any Figure, required their Citizens should marry with none but Citizens; for they looked upon the Freedom of their Cities as too great a Privilege to be granted upon easy Terms to Foreigners, or their Children. Hence we find the *Athenian* Laws sentencing the Children of such Matches to perpetual Slavery; an Account whereof has been given in one of the foregoing Books (b). This was not all, for they had a Law, that if a Foreigner married a Free-woman of *Athens*, it should be lawful for any Person to call him to account before the Magistrates called *Thesmothetæ*, where, if he was convicted, they sold him for a Slave, and all his Goods were confiscated, and one third part of them given to his Accuser. The same Penalty was inflicted upon such Citizens as gave foreign Women in Marriage to Men of *Athens*, pretending they were their own Daughters, save that the Sentence of Slavery was changed into Ignominy, whereby they were deprived of their Voices in all publick Assemblies, and most other Privileges belonging to them as Citizens. Lastly, if any Man of *Athens*, married a Woman that was not free of that City, he was fined 1000 *Drachms* (c). But these Laws were not constant and perpetual. Sometimes the Necessity of the Times so far prevailed, that the Children of strange Women enjoyed all the Privileges of free-born Citizens. The old Law, which prohibited the Men of *Athens* to marry Strangers, having been some time disused, was revived by *Pericles*, and afterwards at the Instance of the same Person abrogated by a Decree of the People (d), but again renewed in the Archonship of *Euclides*, at the Motion of *Aristophan*, when it was enacted, that no Persons should be free Denizens of *Athens*, unless both their Parents were free (e).

Virgins were not allowed to marry without the Consent of their Parents; whence *Hero* in *Musæus* (f) tells *Leander*, they could not be honourably joined in Marriage, because her Parents were against it.

Ἀμφαδὸν ἢ δυνάμει γάμοις ὅποισι πλάσσει,
Οὐ γὰρ ἐμοῖς περὶ σπιν ἐπὶ νῆαδ' -----

My Parents to the Match will not consent,
Therefore desist, it is not pertinent.

(a) *Cimone*, (b) *Lib. I. cap. ix.* (c) *Demosthenes Orat. in Neæran.*
(d) *Plutarchus Pericle.* (e) *Demosthenes in Eubulidem.* (f) *V. 179.*

Chap. XI. Of the Miscellaneous Customs of Greece. 271

Hermione in *Euripides* (a) professes she had no Concern about her Marriage, but left that wholly to her Father;

Νυμφόμυστον εἰ μὴ πατὴρ ἐμὸς
Μέγιστον ἔξῃ, καὶ ἐμὸν φρονεῖν τὰδ.

I'm not concern'd, my Father will take care
Of all Things that respect my Nuptials.

The Mother's consent was necessary as well as the Father's; and therefore *Iphigenia* in *Euripides* was not to be given in Marriage to *Achilles* till *Clytemnestra* approved the Match (b). Nor were Men permitted to marry without consulting their Parents; for even the most early and ignorant Ages were too well acquainted with the Right Which Parents have by Nature over their Children, to think these had Power to dispose of themselves without their Parents Consent. *Achilles* in *Homer* refuses *Agamemnon's* Daughter, and leaves it to his Father *Peleus* to chuse him a Wife (c);

Ὡ γὰρ δὴ με σέσωκε θεοί, καὶ ἔπειθ' ἱκέσθαι,
Πηλεΐδης θύω μοι ἱερὰ καὶ γαμήλια αὐτῷ.

If by Heaven's Blessing I return, a Bride
My careful Father will for me provide.

And *Pamphilus* in *Terence* is betrothed by his Father *Simo*, who is introduced thus speaking (d);

— hac fama impulsus Chremes
Ultero ad me venit, unicam gnatam suam
Cum dote summa filio uxorem ut daret;
Placuit; despondi; hic nuptiis dictus est dies.

When Virgins had no Fathers, their Brothers disposed of them. Thus we find *Creon* promising his Sister *Jocasta* to any Person who should destroy the *Spinx* that infested *Thebes*; and *Orestes* gave his Sister *Electra* to his Friend *Pylades*. When they had neither Parents nor Brethren, or if their Brethren were not arrived to Years of Discretion, they were disposed of by their Grandfathers, those especially by the Father's side; when these fail'd, they were committed to the care of Guardians, called *ἐπιτροπῶν*, or *κῦριοι* (e). Sometimes Husbands betrothed their Wives to other Persons upon their Death-beds; as appears from the Story of *Demosthenes's* Father, who gave his Wife *Cleobule* to one *Aphobus* with a considerable Portion. When he was dead, *Aphobus* took the Portion, but refused to marry the Woman; whereupon *Demosthenes* made his Complaint to the

(a) *Andromache*. (b) *Iphigen. in Aulide*. (c) *Iliad*. i. v. 39.
(d) *Andriae* Act. I. Scen. I. (e) *Demosthenes* in *Stephanum* testem.
Magistratos,

Magistrates, and accused him in an elegant Oration (a). And that this Custom was not unusual, appears from the same Orator's Defence of *Phormio*, who being a Slave, and faithful in his Business, his Master gave him both his Liberty and his Wife.

They had several Forms of betrothing, such as this cited by *Clemens* the *Alexandrian* (b) out of *Menander*, Παιδῶν σπόρον τῇ θυγατρὶ δίδωμι σοι τὴν ἐμὴν θυγατέρα; i. e. *I give you this my Daughter to make you Father of Children lawfully begotten.* The Dowry was sometimes mentioned, as we find in *Xenophon* (c), where *Cyaxares* betroths his Daughter to *Cyrus*, δίδωμι σοι, ὦ Κύρε, αὐτὴν τὴν τὴν γυναῖκα θυγατέρα ἐξ ἐμῶν, ἧς δίδωμαι δ' αὐτῇ ἐγὼ καὶ οὐρανὸν Μυθίαν παῖδα, i. e. *I give you, Cyrus, this Woman, who is my Daughter, with all Media for her Dowry.* The Persons to be married plighted their Faith to one another, or to their Relations. Thus *Clitophon* and *Lucippe* swear to each other (d), the former to be constant and sincere in his Love, the latter to marry him, and make him Master of all she had. *Ovid* makes the next Ceremony after betrothing, to be the Virgin's Oath to her Lover;

Promissit pater hant, hæc & juravit amanti.

Her Father promis'd, she an Oath did take
Her faithful Lover never to forsake.

The Ceremony in promising Fidelity was kissing each other, or giving their Right-hands, which was the usual Form of ratifying all Agreements. Hence *Clytemnestra* in *Euripides* calls for *Achilles*'s Right-hand, to assure her of his sincere Intention to marry her Daughter (e);

----- Δεξιάν γ' ἐμὴν χεῖρα
Συνάψον, ἀρχὴν μεταχείαν νυμφουμένων.

Join your Right-hand to mine, a sacred Tye
Of this our Compact. —————

The *Thebans* had a Custom for Lovers to plight their Faith at the Monument of *Iolaus*, who was a Lover of *Hercules*, and assisted him in his Labours (f), and was therefore believed to take care of Love Affairs when advanced into Heaven.

In the primitive Ages Women were married without Portions from their Relations, being purchased by their Husbands, whose Presents to the Woman's Relations were called her *Dowry*. Thus we find *Shechem* bargaining with *Jacob* and his Sons for *Dinah*: *Let me find grace in your Eyes* (saith he) *and what ye shall say unto me, I will give: Ask me never so much Dowry and Gift, and I will give according as ye shall say unto me; but give me the Damself to Wife* (g).

(a) Orat. in *Aphobum*. (b) *Stromat.* lib. II. (c) *νεγμπαιδ.* lib. VIII. (d) *Achill. Tat.* lib. V. (e) *Iphigen.* in *Aulid*, v. 831. (f) *Plutarchus Pelopida.* (g) *Gen.* xxxiv. 2.

Chap. XI. Of the Miscellaneous Customs of Greece. 273

Several Instances may be produced to the same purpose, were not this Custom too well-known to need farther Confirmation; only thus much must be observed, that when Civility and good Manners came to be established, in any place, it was usually laid aside; for *Aristotle* makes it one Argument to prove that the Ancient *Grecians* were an unciviliz'd People, because they used to buy their Wives (a). No sooner therefore do we find them beginning to lay aside their barbarous Manners, but this Practice was left off; insomuch that *Medea* in *Euripides* complains that Women were the most miserable of all rational Creatures, because lying under a necessity of purchasing their own Masters at a dear rate (b). So frequent became the Custom for Women to bring Portions to their Husbands, that some make the most essential difference between *γυνή* and *παλλακή*, i. e. *Wife* and *Concubine*, to consist in this, that Wives had Dowries, whereas Concubines were usually without; whence one in *Plautus*, the Scene of whose Action is laid in *Greece*, speaks thus (c);

— — — Sed ut inops,
Infamis ne sim, ne mihi hanc famam differant, ne
Germanam meam sororem in concubinatum tibi
Sic sine dote dedisse magis, quam in matrimonium.

Tho' I am low i'th' World, and am but mean,
I'll offer some small Matter for her Dowry,
Lest this Asperision should be thrown abroad,
That she as *Mistress*, not as *Wife*, is to you.

Hence Men who were content to marry Wives who had no Fortune, commonly gave them *σφραγίδα*, an Instrument of Writing, whereby the Receipt of their Dowry was owned. The rest of their Distinction was chiefly founded upon this; for she that had a Dowry, thought it a just Title to a greater Freedom with her Husband, and more Respect from him, than such as owed their Maintenance to him. Hence *Hermione* in *Euripides* is enraged, that the Captive *Andromache* should pretend to be her Rival in *Pyrrhus's* Affections;

Κέσμον ῥ' ἀμφὶ κεφαλῇ χρυσίας χλιδῆς,
Στολμάντε χροτὸς τῶνδε ποιμῆλων πέπλων
Οὐ γὰρ Ἀχιλλέως, εἰδὲ Πηλῆος ἀπο
Δόμον ἀπαρχὰς δεῦρ' ἔχουσ' ἀφικόμενοι·
Ἀλλ' ἐν Λακκαίῃσι Σπαρτιάδῃσι χθονὸς
Μενέλαος ἡμῖν ταῦτα δωεῖ πατὴρ
Πολλοῖς σὺν ἔδνοις, ἅς' ἐλδ' ἀνέροισιν,
Τμῆς μὲν ἔν τοιῶσδ' ἀμείβομαι λόγοις·
Σὺ δ' ἔσσε δέλη, καὶ δεξιότητι γυνῆ,
Δόμους καταχεῖν, ἐβαλῆσ' ἡμᾶς, δέχεις
Τέσδ' (d);

(a) Politic. lib. II. cap. viii. (b) *Euripidis Med.* 230. (c) *Trinumm.* (d) *Euripid. Andromach.* 147.

This rich Attire, these costly Ornaments,
 My various change of Clothes, and all my Jewels,
 Ne'er did *Achilles* or old *Peleus* give;
 No, they are only kind, indulgent Tokens
 Of my dear Father's Blessing; these I brought
 From *Sparta* with a Fortune great and noble,
 To shew my Quality, and that I might
 Speak freely, without any slavish Awe;
 And dost thou think, *thou dirty, servile Woman*,
 To paramount, to cast me out, and gain
 Th' Ascendant o'er my Lord's Affections?

J. A.

So sensible was *Lycurgus* of this, and some other Inconveniences attending this Custom, that partly for fear Wives should domineer over their Husbands, and partly out of a desire that Men should chuse Wives more for the sake of their Persons than their Money, and that no Woman's Poverty should hinder her of a Husband, he quite banished it out of *Sparta* (a). *Solon* agreed herein with *Lycurgus*, for all the Dowry he permitted the *Athenian* Wives to have, was a little inconsiderable Household-stuff, and 3 Suits of Clothes: "For (says *Plutarch*) he would not have Marriages for Gain, or an Estate, but for pure Love, kind Affection, and to get Children (b)." But some are of opinion that this Ordinance had no relation to Dowries, but only to those Gifts which the Bride brought with her, called *παύλια*, of which an Account will afterwards be given. And that *Solon* did not prohibit other Dowries, appears hence, that Men who had no Sons, were allowed to entail their Estates upon Daughters; and every Heiress (the *Athenians* called them *ἐπίκλητοι*) was obliged to marry her nearest Relation, lest her Estate should go out of the Family; but in consideration of her Dowry, she had the Privilege, when her Husband was impotent, to lie with his nearest Kinsman; which Law was contrived against those, who, conscious of their own Inability, would match with Heiresses for the Portion's sake, and make use of Law to put a Violence upon Nature; yet (saith my Author) it was wisely done to confine her to her Husband's nearest Kinsman, that the Children might be of the same Family. A farther Privilege Heiresses had above other Women was, that their Husbands were obliged to lie with them thrice a Month (c). When there were any Orphan-Virgins without Inheritance, whom they termed *ἐπίκλητοι* (d), he that was next in Blood was obliged to marry her himself, or settle a Portion on her according to his Quality; if he was *πρωτογονίδης*, one of the first Rank, five minæ, or 500 Drachms; if *ἑτερογονίδης*, of the second Rank 300; if *τετράγονίδης*, of the third Rank, 150; But if she had many Relations equally allied, all of them contributed their Proportions to

(a) *Justin.* lib. III. *Plutarch* Apothegm. *Laconic.* *Ælian.* Var. Hist. lib. VI. cap. vi. (b) *Plutarchus Solone.* (c) *Idem.* loc. citato. (d) *Eusebius* in *Iliad.* φ'. ex *Aristophane* Grammatico.

Chap. XI. Of the Miscellaneous Customs of Greece. 275

make up the Sum: If there were more than one Virgin, their nearest Kinsman was only obliged to marry, or give a Portion to one of them; and upon his refusal to do this, any Person was allowed to indict him before the *Archon*, who was obliged to compel him to his Duty; and if he refused to put the Law in Execution, was fined 1000 Drachms, which were consecrated to *Juno* the Goddess of Marriage (a). *Terence* has several Hints at these Customs; for his Scenes being laid in *Athens*, he frequently describes the Usages of that City. Thus in *Phormio* (b);

*Lex est, ut orbæ, qui sint genere proximi,
Eis nubant, & illos ducere eadem hæc lex jubet.*

It's an established Form in *Attic Laws*,
That the next Male Kinsman without Demur,
Must be t' an Orphan Girl in Wedlock join'd.

In the same Comedy (c) he expressly mentions the five *Minæ* given by the Men of the first Quality;

*Eti facta mihi injuria est, veruntamen
Potius quam lites seſter, aut quam te audiam
Itidem ut cognata ſi ſit, id quod lex jubet
Dotem dare, abduce hanc, minas quinque accipe.*

Tho' I've been herein bubbled, here's the Sum,
Five *Minæ*, as the Law enjoins, and take her
As my Kinswoman; this I'll rather do
Than sacrifice my Patience to your Talk,
Or enter once the Clutches of the Law.

J. A.

It may be observed further, that afterwards, when Money became more plentiful, the Relations of these Virgins increased their Dowries; for we are told by *Eustathius* (d), that the *Περὶ Λακωνισμίδων* gave ten *Minæ*, and Men of Inferior Quality without doubt raised their Contributions proportionably. When Virgins had no Relations to provide for them, and were descended from Men that had been serviceable to their Country, it was common for the State to take care of them; a remarkable Instance hereof we have in *Aristides's* two Daughters, to each of which the City gave 300 Drachms for her Portion (e). Nor is it to be wondered (saith my Author) that the *Athenians* should make Provision for those that lived in their City, when hearing that the Grand-daughter of *Aristogiton* (a famous Patriot that opposed *Pisistratus's* Sons) was in a low Condition in the Isle of *Lemnos*, and like to want an Husband, because without a Portion, they sent for her to *Athens*, married her to a

(a) *Demosthenes* Orat. ad. *Macartatum* de *Hagniana* hæreditate.
(b) *Act. I. Sc. ii.* (c) *Act. II. Sc. iii.* (d) *Iliad.* φ'. (e) *Plutarch.* *Aristide.*

Person of great Quality, and gave her a Farm belonging to the City for a Dowry. Indeed however generous the Love of the more ancient *Athenians* was, their Successors commonly made Money the chief Tie of their Affections; and the latter *Spartans* were of the same Humour, even whilst the Laws of *Lycurgus* were still in being; for we find, that whilst *Lysander* was in a flourishing Condition, and passed for a wealthy Man, several Persons engaged themselves to his Daughters, who seeing afterwards how poor and honest he died, broke off their Contract. 'Tis true the *Spartans* punished them severely for their Perfidiousness; but that seems done rather out of respect to *Lysander's* Memory (a), than to their ancient Constitution, which, as soon as Riches began to be possessed and admired at *Sparta*, seems to have been laid asleep. The *Grecians*, indeed, notwithstanding the Prohibition of some of their Laws, were generally lovers of Money, and seem to have matched rather for the sake of that, than other more commendable Qualifications. Nor was this a late Corruption, but entertained even in the primitive Times; for we find *Andromache* called by *Homer* (b) Πολύδοτος, i. e. according to *Eustathius*, Πολύπεριος, possessed of a large Dowry; and before the use of Money was common, Virgins increased their Husbands Estates, by adding Sheep and Oxen to their Flocks and Herds, wherein the Riches of those Ages chiefly consisted; whence (as the same Author observes) they are sometimes honoured with the Epithet of ἀλφειόσαι. And from the Expence Fathers were at on this Account, came the Proverb,

Πᾶς μοι τελοχὸς εἴη, μὴ τελοχῆνα.

Which is nothing but a Father's Wish, that his Children might rather be Boys than Girls. As to the Quantity of Dowries, nothing can be determined, the Humours of Persons, and their particular Exigences, being the Laws they were usually directed by in such Cases; only it may be observed, that in *Crete* Sisters were put off with half the Share of their Brothers (c). The Dowry was named περιζ, sometimes μέλια, παρὰ τὸ μελίσσειν τὸ ἄνδρα, or ἔδνα, q. ἔδνα, παρὰ τὸ ἔδεν, as designed to procure the Favour and Goodwill of the Person they were given to; sometimes περιή, from φέρειν, because brought by the Wife to her Husband. Some of the same Names are used for the Man's Dowry or Portion, as *Eustathius* has observed. When the Wife had a Dowry, it was commonly expected her Husband should make her a Settlement, to be a Maintenance for her in case he should happen to be parted from her by Death or Divorce; this was usually an House or Land, and was anciently called δοτῆριμα (d), being a Return equivalent to the Dowry; afterwards it was frequently termed ἀνιδέρην, i. e. a Recompence for her Dowry, or ὑπόβολον from ὑποβάλλειν, because it was ὑποβαλλόμενον τῇ περιῇ, given instead of her Dowry. But where no such Security was

(a) *Plutarchus Lysandro.* (b) *Iliad. ζ'.* (c) *Alexand. ab Alex. Gen. Dier. lib. IV. cap. viii.* (d) *Hesychius, Harpocration, Suidas. Pollux.* given,

Chap. XI. Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece. 277

given, Husbands that divorced their Wives were obliged to return their Dowry. The same Obligation reached their Heirs, upon refusal to maintain the Wives of those whose Estates they inherited: Hence *Telemachus* in *Homer*, having suffered many Affronts, and sustained great Losses by his Mother *Penelope's* Gallants, yet thinks it not prudent to dismiss her to her Father *Icarius*, because that could not be done without returning her Portion (a);

----- Καὶν δὲ με πολλ' ἀποτίναν
Ικαρίῳ, αἶψ' αὐτὸς ἐκὼν ὅτ' ἂν μητίεα πέμψω.

I could not now repay so great a Sum
 To the old Man, should I dismiss her Home
 Against her Will. ———

Which Words seem to intimate farther, that if the Woman departed of her own accord, the forementioned Obligation became void. Yet, in case the Woman departed from her Husband in the manner which was allowed by the Laws, her Dowry was restored to her. This we find to have been the Practice at *Athens*.

In the same City it was the Custom, when any Man's Estate was confiscated, that the Wife's Dowry should be assinged to her.

In the same City it was decreed, that he who did not restore to his Wife, when divorced, her Dowry, should pay nine *Oboli* every Month whilst it was detained for Interest. If this was neglected, an Action termed *σπίς δίκη*, was preferred against him in the *Odeum* by the Woman's (*ἐπίτροπος*) Guardian (b). This is to be understood of the Dowries of those of the lowest Class of Citizens, to whom, as hath been before observed, *Solon* allotted 150 *Drachmæ*; for it being the Custom for one *μνᾶ*, which is equivalent to 100 *Drachmæ*, to bring in an Interest of six *Oboli* every Month, the Interest of 150 *Drachmæ* must amount to nine *Oboli*.

Hence the Payment of the Dowry was also attested by sufficient Witnesses, and also by a written Instrument called *ἐπιμύηα*. If they could not be produced, the Husband was not obliged to allow his Wife a separate Maintenance. If the Woman deceased without Children, her Dowry was repaid to the Person by whom she had been endowed (c); for the Dowry was intended as a Maintenance to the Children, and therefore when the Woman's Sons came to be of Age, they enjoyed their Mother's Dowry whilst she was living, only allowing her a competent Maintenance (d). What other things Wives brought to their Husbands above their Portions, were called *παράφαινα*, *ἐπιπροσκιον*, *ἐπιμείλια*, and by the latter *Greeks* *ἐξ' ἐπιπροσκιον*.

Before Men marry'd 'twas customary to provide themselves another House to settle in; to which Practice *Hesiod's* Advice is an Allusion.

(a) *Odyss.* 6. v. 132. (b) *Demosthenes* in *Neæram*. (c) *Conf. Isæus* *Orat. de hæred. Pyrrhi*. (d) *Demosthenes* in *Phænippum*, & in *Stephanum* *Testem*.

Οἶκον μὲν πρόπτεα, γυναῖκά τε (a); ———

First see you have a *Settlement*, and Wife.

The Woman in *Theocritus* asks her Lover whether he was making an House for her.

Τάξεις μοι θαλάμους, τάξεις κὺ δόμα κὺ αὐλὰς;

What? Are you furnishing an House! Have you Provided Beds? ———

To which he replies,

Τάξω σοι θαλάμους. ———

Beds I procure, don't fear. ———

Protesilaus in *Homer*, being called to the *Trojan War* soon after his Marriage, is said to have left δόμον ἡμιστελῆν, his House half finished (b);

Τῷ δὲ κὺ ἀμφιδρυφὺς ἀλογῶ Φυλάκη ἐλέλειπτο,
καὶ δόμῳ ἡμιστελής. ———

At *Phylace* he left behind his Spouse,
There to lament in an half-finish'd House.

Some indeed will have Οἶκῳ to be meant of his Family, which is called ἡμιστελής, because he left it before he had any Children (c). The same Ambiguity is found in *Valerius Flaccus*, who has thus imitated *Homer* (d);

——— *Conjux miseranda Caico*
Linguitur, & primo domus imperfecta cubili.

Nigh where *Caicus* in clear Streams doth glide,
His solitary House and Wife abide,
Unblest with th' Off-spring of the Bridal Night,
Who might solace the Thoughts, the pensive Mind delight.
J. A.

Catullus has expressed the same Thought thus (e);

Conjugis ut quondam flagrans advenit amore
Protefilaeam Laodamia domum.

(a) *Egy. 6. 23.* vide *Turneb. Adv. lib. XXI.* (b) *Iliad. 6. v. 700.* (c) *Scholiasfes* vetus in loc. cit. (d) *Lib. VI.* (e) *Epigram. ad Mallium.* *Inceptane*

Chap. XI. Of the Miscellaneous Customs of Greece. 279

*Inceptam frustra, nondum cum sanguine sacro
Hostia cælestes pacificasset heros.*

As fair *Laodamia* once did come,
Inflam'd with Passion to th' *unfinish'd* Home
Of her dear Lord, before the Sacrifice
Had e'er appeas'd the heav'nly Deities.

J. A.

But the former Sense seems more agreeable to the way of speaking in those Times, it being then the constant Custom to build an House before Marriage. Hence Women, whose Husbands died soon after Marriage, are said to be left *Widows in a new-built House*; as the *Greek* Scholiast observes upon that Verse of *Homer* (a);

Χηρείου: ὃ γυναικὶ μὴ παλάμῳ νέστο.

The *Athenian* Virgins were presented to *Diana* before it was lawful for them to marry. This Ceremony was performed at *Brauron*, an *Athenian* Borough; it was called *ἀρκτεία*, the Virgins themselves *ἀρκτοι*, and the Action *ἀρκτεία*, the Custom being instituted to appease the Goddess, who had been incensed against some of the *Athenians* for killing a *Bear*; the Story whereof is described at large in one of the precedent Books (b). Another Custom there was for Virgins, when they became marriageable, to present certain Baskets full of little Curiosities to *Diana*; to gain leave to depart out of her Train (Virgins being look'd on as that Goddess's Peculiar) and change their State of Life. To which Custom *Theocritus* has this Allusion (c);

Ἦνδ' αἰ τὴν Εὐβέλοιο Καναρόφ' ἄμμιν Ἀναξὶ
Ἀλοφ' ἐπ' Ἀρίμειδ'.

Anaxo, *Eubul's* Daughter, full of Love,
Came to me with a *Basket* for *Diana's* Grove.

The Action was called *κανηφορεῖν*, and the Virgins *κανηφόραι*, from the *Basket* they carried. The *Bæotians* and *Locrians* had a Custom, for Persons of both Sexes before their Nuptials, to offer Sacrifice to *Euclia*, who had an Image and Altar in their Market-place. This *Euclia* some will have to be the Daughter of *Mencæcius*, and Sister of *Patroclus*; others rather think her the same with *Diana* (d); 'tis not improbable that *Diana* receiv'd this Surname from *Patroclus's* Sister, or that she was worshipped by the Name of *Diana Euclia*; for *Diana* being the Goddess of Virginitie, 'tis not to be wonder'd that one honour'd for the Preservation of her Virginitie, should be worshipped under her Name, since 'tis common to attribute to those

(a) *Iliad*. ε' v. 66. (b) *Lib. II. cap. xx. in Bæotonia*. (c) *Idyll*. ε' v. 66. (d) *Plutarchus Aristide*.

that were first eminent for any sort of Virtue or excellent Quality, the Actions of all that afterwards imitated them. Hence we have several *Jupiters*, *Minerva's*, *Bacchus's*, *Hercules's*, &c. the famous Exploits of many Persons distant as well in Time as Place, being ascribed to one Heroe. To return, we find *Diana* concerned in the preparatory Solemnities before all Marriages; for a married Life being her Aversion, 'twas thought requisite for all that entered upon it, to ask her Pardon for dissenting from her. This was done by Prayers and several sorts of Sacrifices; whence *Agamemnon* in *Euripides*, pretending he was going to match *Iphigenia* with *Achilles*, speaks thus to *Clytemnestra* (a);

Εκπίμπε παῖδα δωμέων πατρὸς μήτηρ,
Ὡς χε' νῆες πάρεσιν νύτρεπισμῶναι,
Γεγυῖο τέ βάλλειν πῦρ καὶ θάραρον ἐν χρεῶν,
Μόχοι τι, πορὶ γάμων ἄς θεᾶ πρὸς χρεῶν
Ἀρτίμηδι, μέλανθ' αἵματιθ' φουσήμετω.

Send *Iphigenia* quickly forth with me,
Hymen is now propitious, all Things wait
To grace the solemn Gladness of this Day,
The *holy Water's* ready, with the *Cakes*,
To cast upon the Fire, the *Calves* are brought,
Whose Blood in grateful Vapours must arise,
T' atone the Breach of chaste *Diana's* Rites.

J. A.

These were called γάμους εὐχαι, πορὶ γάμους, πορὶ τέλει εὐχαι, or πορὶ τέλει, for τέλει and γάμος are Terms of the same Signification (b), the former denoting Marriage, either as a general Name for all sorts of Rites and Ceremonies, or (as some say) because the longing Expectations of married Persons are thereby consummated, and brought to an end, or because Persons that are married become compleat and perfect Men, and renounce all the Customs and Desires of Childhood; whence γάμος, to marry, is termed πελειωθῆναι, to be made perfect (c). Married Persons are called τέλει (d), and are said to be ἐν βίῳ πελειῳ. The same Epithet is commonly given to the Gods that had the Care of Marriage; whence we read of *Jupiter* τέλειθ', *Juno* πελειά (e), &c. These Gods were likewise rendered propitious before the Nuptials, and the Sacrifices with other Devotions offered them, were all known by the same Names with these offered to *Diana*; *Juno's* were called (besides their general Name) Ηεατέλεια, from her own Name, which in Greek is Ηεα. Several other Deities had their Share in these Honours. *Minerva*, surnamed παρθένα, the *Virgin*, had a peculiar Title to them at *Athens*, upon the same Account they were paid to *Diana*; and it was not permitted a Virgin to marry till she had paid

(a) *Iphigen.* in *Aulid.* 1110. (b) *Eustathius* in *Iliad.* 6'. (c) *Eustathius* in *Iliad.* 15'. (d) *Bisetus* in *Aristoph.* *Theognophor.* (e) *Suidas*, alique complures.

her Devotion to this Goddess's Temple, in the Cittadel (a). *Venus* likewise, and all the rest of the *γαμήλιοι θεοὶ*, Gods superintending Marriage, were invoked (b). The *Lacedæmonians* had a very ancient Statue of *Αφροδίτη* *Hec.* i. e. *Venus Juno*, to which all Mothers sacrificed when their Daughters were married (c). The most ancient *Athenians* paid the same Honour to *Heaven* and *Earth*, which were believed to have a particular Concern in Marriages, the latter of these being rendred fruitful by the benign Influence of the former, and therefore a fit Emblem of Marriage (d). The *Fates* and *Graces* being thought first to join, and then preserve the Tie of Love, were Partakers of the like Respect (e); and it is probable that several other Deities at different Places, and for different Reasons, claimed a Share therein. The Day wherein this Ceremony was performed, was usually that which immediately went before the Marriage (f); it is commonly called *γαμλία, κρηῶπις* (g) from the Custom they had of shaving themselves on this Occasion (h), and presenting their Hair to some of the forementioned Deities, or other Gods, to whom they had particular Obligations. *Pollux* (i) mentions some, who offered their Hair to *Diana*, and the fatal Sisters. At *Træzen* the Virgins were obliged to consecrate their Hair to *Hippolytus*, the Son of *Theseus*, who died for his Chastity, before they entred into Marriage-Bonds (k). The *Megarensian* Virgins offered their Hair with Libations at the Monument of *Iphinoe*, Daughter of *Alcathous*, who died a Virgin; the *Delians* to *Hecæerge* and *Opis* (l); the *Agrians* and *Athenians* (to trouble you with no more Instances) to *Minerva*. *Statius* has mentioned this Ceremony (m), speaking of that Goddess's Temple.

— Hic more parentum
Iasides, thalamis ubi casta adolesceret ætas,
Virgineas libare comas, primosque solebant
Excusare toros. —

When Maiden Blushes could make no Pretence,
And vig'rous Age had sully'd Innocence,
As anciently the *Argives* hither came
To vent their Passion, and their Love proclaim,
They paid *Diana* then their Virgin Hair,
T' excuse the first Embraces of their Dear.

J. A.

But these Names (*γαμλία* and *κρηῶπις*) were at *Athens* peculiar to one Day of the Solemnity called *Apaturia*, wherein Fathers had their Children entred into the publick Register, at which time they offered Sacrifices for their Prosperity, with a particular respect

(a) *Suidas*, &c. (b) *Etymologici Auctor*, &c. (c) *Pausanias Lconicis*. (d) *Proclus in Timæum Platonis Comment.* v. (e) *Pollux*, lib. III. cap. iii. *Etymologici Auctor*. v. *γαμλία*. (f) *Hesychius*. (g) *Etymologici Auctor*. (h) *Pollux*. loc. cit. &c. (i) *Onomast.* lib. III. cap. iii. (k) *Lucianus de Dea Syria*. (l) *Pausanias Atticis*. (m) *Thebaid.* II.

to their Marriages, and commonly shaved off some of their Hair to be dedicated to some of the Deities, especially her to whose Honour that Festival was celebrated. But though the Time of presenting their Hair might not be constantly the same, yet the Custom itself seems to have been universally observed, not only by Women, but Men, who rarely failed of performing this Ceremony upon their arrival to Years of Maturity. Some of their Locks were carefully preserved for this Use; and therefore when *Pentheus* in *Euripides* threatens *Bacchus* to shave his Hair, the young God tells him it would be an impious Action, because he designed it for an Offering to some Deity (a);

Ἰσος ὁ πλόκαμος, τῷ θεῷ δ' αὐτῷ ἡρέσα.

This Lock is sacred, this I do preserve
As some choice votive Off'ring for the God.

The Hair was called πλόκαμος θεῷητος, because presented to a God, as an Acknowledgment of his Care in their Education, The Deity thus honoured was commonly *Apollo*, as *Plutarch* reports, when he tells us, that *Theseus*, according to the Custom of the *Grecian* Youth, took a Journey to *Delfi* to offer the First-fruits of his Hair to the God of that Place (b). But this could not concern the poorer sort, to whom such Journeys would have been too expensive: Nor were those of better Quality under any strict Obligation to pay this honour to *Apollo*, it being not unusual to do it to other Gods, such especially as were thought to have protected their Infancy from Danger, and preserved them to Manhood. Instances are needless in a thing so well known, only it may be necessary to observe, that the Deities of Rivers were commonly thought to have Title to this Respect; which Conceit seems to have proceeded from the Opinion of some Philosophers, who thought all Things were first produced out of Water, and still nourished and rendred fruitful by it; whence the Poets took occasion to give the Epithet *νεφεληγερέτης* to watery Deities, as well as *Apollo*, those being no less instrumental in the Growth and Increase of living Creatures than the Sun, whose Influences without Moisture can contribute nothing to the Production or Preservation of Life; hence both were looked on as deserving their Returns of Gratitude for the first Gift, as well as Continuance, of Life (c). I shall only trouble you with the following Example of Hair presented to Rivers, whereby what I have said concerning the reason of this Custom, will be confirmed; for *Achilles* his preserving his Hair as a Present to *Sperchius*, on condition he should return home in Safety, and afterwards shaving it when he had found the Fates had decreed that he should be slain before *Troy*, plainly shews that they used to preserve their Hair to the Gods, as a grateful Acknowledgment of their Care in preserving

(a) *Bach.* v. 594. (b) *Theseo.* (c) *Eustathius Iliad.* ↓. ubi hanc rem fufius enarrat.

Chap. XI. Of the Miscellaneous Customs of Greece. 283

them. Homer's Words run thus, when he speaks of Patroclus's Funeral (a);

Εὐθ' αὖτ' ἀλλ' ἐνόησε ποδάρκης δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς,
 Στάς ἀπάνδρι πυρὸς ξανθὸν ἀπικείρωτο χαίτην,
 Τὼν ῥα Σπερχεῖο πολυμῶ τρέφε τελεσθῆαι.
 Οὐχ ὅσους δ' ἄρ' εἶπεν, ἰδὼν ὅπ' οἴνοπα πόντον.
 "Σπερχεῖ, ἄλλως σοι γὰρ πατὴρ ἠρίσατο Πηλεΐς,
 "Σοὶ τε κόμην κρέειν, ῥέξιν δ' ἱερὴν ἐκατόμβην,
 "Πενήκοσι δ' ἐνορχα παρ' αὐτοῖσι μῆλ' ἱερῶσιν
 "Ες πηγὰς, ὅθι τοι τέμνετο, βωμὸς τε θυήεις.
 "Ὡς ἤραδ' ὁ γέρον, σὺ δέ οἱ νόον ἰαί τελέεσσας,
 "Ναῶ δ' ἐπεὶ κ' ἐνομήσῃ γὰ φίλῳ ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν,
 "Γαλθῶμεν ἥροσι κόλῳ ὅπ' ἑταίρῳ φέρεσθαι.

Then did *Achilles*, that brave Prince, prepare
 For other Rites, he shav'd his golden *Hair*,
 While at a distance from the Pile he stood,
 That *Hair*, he'd nourish'd, *Sperchius*, for thy Flood;
 Then, as he look'd upon the Stream, he said,
 (While Grief and Anguish did his Soul invade)
 "My loving Father made a Vow (in vain)
 "That when I see my native Soil again,
 "I should my *Hair* in pious Duty *shave*
 "To thee, and thou an *Hecatomb* shouldst have;
 "That fifty Rams I to thy Source should bring,
 "And pay them at thy Shrine a thankful Offering:
 "Thus, thus old *Peleus* vow'd; but since I can't
 "Return, and you'll his Wish by no means grant,
 "My dear *Patroclus* I'm resolv'd shall have
 "These Locks. it is for him I do 'em *shave*.

J. A.

And the Custom of nourishing Hair on religious Accounts seems to have prevailed in most Nations. The *Jews* had their *Nazarites*. *Osiris* the *Egyptian* consecrated his Hair to the Gods, as we learn from *Diodorus* (b). And to mention no more, we find in *Arian's* Account of *India*, that it was a Custom there κομᾶν τῇ θεῷ, to preserve their Hair for some God, which they first learnt (as that Author reports) from *Bacchus*.

To return: Before the Marriage could be solemnized, the other Gods were consulted, and their Assistance implored by Prayers and Sacrifices, which were usually offered to some of the Deities that superintended these Affairs, by the Parents, or other Relations of the Persons to be married. Nor can these Offerings be thought the same with those already mentioned, and called *προίλαια*, since we find them plainly distinguished by *Euripides* in a Dialogue between

(a) *Iliad*. Ἀ'. v. 140. (b) *Lib*. i.

Agamemnon and Clytemnestra concerning the Marriage of their Daughter Iphigenia;

ΚΑΤ. Περίλειε δ' ἥδε παῖδες ἱσφαζας θεῶ;

ΑΓΑ. Μίλλω γ', ὅπῃ ταύτη καθεύδαμεν πύχῃ.

ΚΑΤ. Καίπειτα δαίσεις ἐσθ' ἡμέας ἐσόντες;

ΑΓΑ. Θύσας γὰρ θύμεσθ', ἅπερ μ' ἐχρῶν θύσαν θεοῖς (a).

CLY. Well, have you kill'd the Victims for the Goddesses,
My Daughter's Wedding to *initiate*?

ACA. I'll see that done, for that is my Design.

CLY. And then the Wedding-dinner? AGA. That we'll have,
When to the Gods the Victims offer'd are. J. A.

When the Victim was opened, the Gall was taken out and thrown behind the Altar (b), as being the Seat of Anger and Malice, and therefore the Aversion of all the Deities who had the Care of Love, as well as those who became their Votaries. The Entrails were carefully inspected by soothsayers, and if any unlucky Omen presented itself, the former Contract was dissolved, as displeasing to the Gods, and the Nuptials prevented. The same happened upon the appearing of any ill-boding Omen without the Victim; thus we find in *Achilles Tatius*, that *Clitophon's* designed Marriage with *Calligone* was hindred by an Eagle, that snatched a piece of the Sacrifice from the Altar (c). The most fortunate Omen which could appear was a pair of Turtles, because of the inviolable Affection those Birds are said to have for each other. The same may be observed of *καρῶναι*, which were thought to promise long Life or Happiness, by reason of the Length of their Lives, which is proverbially remarkable, and the Perpetuity of their Love; for when one of the Mates is dead, the other remains solitary ever after (d); for which reason the appearance of those Birds single, boded Separation or Sorrow to the married Couple; whence (as we are told by *Horapollo*) it was customary at Nuptials to sing *Κόρη ἐκκέρη καρῶν*, whereby the Maids were put in mind to watch, that none of these Birds coming single should disturb the Solemnity; or perhaps it might be done to avert the pernicious Influences of that unlucky Omen, if it happened to appear. Another Remedy against evil Omens was this, they wrote over their House-doors, ΜΗΔΕΝ ΕΙΣΙΤΩ ΚΑΚΟΝ, LET NO EVIL ENTER. To this Sentence they sometimes joined the Master of the House's Name, as appears from a new-married Person, who wrote thus upon his House;

Ο ΤΟΥ ΔΙΟΣ ΠΑΙΣ ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ ΚΑΛΛΙΝΙΚΟΣ
ΝΕΘΑΔΕ ΚΑΤΟΙΚΕΙ ΜΗΔΕΝ ΕΙΣΙΤΩ ΚΑΚΟΝ.

(a) *Euripid. Iphigen. in Aulid.* v. 718. (b) *Cælius Rhodigin. lib. xxviii. cap. xxi. Plutarchus de conjugal. præcept.* (c) *Lib. II.* (d) *Alex. ab Alex.*

Chap. XI. Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece. 285

i. e. Here dwells Hercules, the victorious Son of Jupiter, let no Evil enter.

This gave occasion to *Diogenes's* Jest; for seeing upon the Door of a vitious Fellow the fore-mention'd Prayer, then (said he) let not the Master of the House enter (a).

The Bridegroom's Garments were all dyed, as *Suidas* (b) has observed out of *Aristophanes*. However that be, both the married Persons and their Attendants were richly adorned, according to their Quality.

Σοὶ ὃ γάμου χάριν ὡς, ἵνα χρὴ καλὰ καὶ αὐτῷ
Εἰμαῖα ἱνυῖσθαι, τὰ ὃ τοῖσι παραχρῆν, οἱ κί σ' ἄγων.

The Time was nigh compleated, when a Bride
You was to be, and richly drest in Clothes,
With your Attendants on that solemn Time.

They were likewise decked with Garlands of various Herbs and Flowers; whence *Clytemnestra* in *Euripides* speaks thus to *Achilles* about her Daughter *Iphigenia* (c);

Αλλ' ἄμυνον, ὦ θεῶς παῖ, τῇ τ' ἐμῇ δυσπραξίᾳ,
Τῇ τε ληχθείσῃ δαίμονι σῇ, μάτῳ μὲν, ἀλλ' ὅμως
Σοὶ καλὰς ἔψας' ἐγὼ νῦν ἦγον ὡς γαμμοφύλῳ.

Thou darling Off-spring of a Goddeſs, help,
Pity, redress, avenge my woful Loss
In my dear Child, thy Wife; but Oh! in vain,
Tho' I had crown'd her to be wedded to thee. J. A.

The Herbs were usuſully ſuch as ſome way or other ſignified the Affairs of Marriage, as thoſe ſacred to *Venus*, or (which are mentioned by the *Scholiaſt* (d) upon *Aristophanes*) *πυμύρον, μύκον, σήταμον, &c.* Cakes made of *Sesame* were likewiſe given at Marriages, that Herb being *πολυρόν*, remarkable for its *Fruitfulneſs*, according to the ſame Author. The *Bæotians* uſed Garlands of wild *Asparagus*, which is full of Prickles, but bears excellent Fruit, and therefore was thought to reſemble the Bride. who had given her Lover ſome Trouble in courting her and gaining her Affections, which ſhe recompens'd afterwards by the Pleaſantneſs of her Converſation. The Houſe where the Nuptials were celebrated was likewiſe decked with Garlands; a Peſtil was tied upon the Door, and a Maid carried a Sieve (e), the Bride herſelf bearing *φρύγανον, φρύγεον, or φρύγιον*, (f) an earthen Veſſel, wherein Barley was parched, to ſignify her Obligation to attend the Buſineſs of her Family.

(a) *Diogenes Laertius* in *Diogene*. (b) *V. Baſil.* (c) *Iphigen.* in *Aulid.* v. 903. (d) *Pace*. (e) *Pollux* lib. III. cap. iii. (f) *Idem* lib. I. cap. xii. *Hefychius*.

Agamemnon and Clytemnestra concerning the Marriage of their Daughter Iphigenia;

ΚΑΤ. Περίλειε δ' ἥδε παῖδες ἱσφαζας θεῶ;

ΑΓΑ. Μέλω γ', ὅτι ταύτη καθεύδαμυ νύχθ.

ΚΑΤ. Καί περτα δαίσεις τῶν γάμων ἐσούσων;

ΑΓΑ. Θύσας γὰρ θύμαθ', ἀπὲρ μ' ἐχρῆν θύσαι θεοῖς (a).

CLY. Well, have you kill'd the Victims for the Goddesses,
My Daughter's Wedding to *initiate*?

ACA. I'll see that done, for that is my Design.

CLY. And then the Wedding-dinner? AGA. That we'll have,
When to the Gods the Victims offer'd are. J. A.

When the Victim was opened, the Gall was taken out and thrown behind the Altar (b), as being the Seat of Anger and Malice, and therefore the Aversion of all the Deities who had the Care of Love, as well as those who became their Votaries. The Entrails were carefully inspected by soothsayers, and if any unlucky Omen presented itself, the former Contract was dissolved, as displeasing to the Gods, and the Nuptials prevented. The same happened upon the appearing of any ill-boding Omen without the Victim; thus we find in *Achilles Tatius*, that *Clitophon's* designed Marriage with *Calligone* was hindered by an Eagle, that snatched a piece of the Sacrifice from the Altar (c). The most fortunate Omen which could appear was a pair of Turtles, because of the inviolable Affection those Birds are said to have for each other. The same may be observed of *κορῖναι*, which were thought to promise long Life or Happiness, by reason of the Length of their Lives, which is proverbially remarkable, and the Perpetuity of their Love; for when one of the Mates is dead, the other remains solitary ever after (d); for which reason the appearance of those Birds single, boded Separation or Sorrow to the married Couple; whence (as we are told by *Horapollo*) it was customary at Nuptials to sing *Κόριν ἐν κόρῃ κορῖνῳ*, whereby the Maids were put in mind to watch, that none of these Birds coming single should disturb the Solemnity; or perhaps it might be done to avert the pernicious Influences of that unlucky Omen, if it happened to appear. Another Remedy against evil Omens was this, they wrote over their House-doors, ΜΗΔΕΝ ΕΙΣΙΤΩ ΚΑΚΟΝ, *LET NO EVIL ENTER*. To this Sentence they sometimes joined the Master of the House's Name, as appears from a new-married Person, who wrote thus upon his House;

Ο ΤΟΥ ΔΙΟΣ ΠΑΙΣ ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ ΚΑΛΛΙΝΙΚΟΣ
ΝΕΘΑΔΕ ΚΑΤΟΙΚΕΙ ΜΗΔΕΝ ΕΙΣΙΤΩ ΚΑΚΟΝ.

(a) *Euripid. Iphigen. in Aulid.* v. 718. (b) *Cælius Rhodigin. lib. xxviii. cap. xxi. Plutarchus de conjugal. præcept.* (c) *Lib. II.* (d) *Alex. ab Alex.*

Chap. XI. Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece. 285

i. e. Here dwells Hercules, the victorious Son of Jupiter, let no Evil enter.

This gave occasion to *Diogenes's* Jest; for seeing upon the Door of a vicious Fellow the fore-mention'd Prayer, then (said he) let not the Master of the House enter (a).

The Bridegroom's Garments were all dyed, as *Suidas* (b) has observed out of *Aristophanes*. However that be, both the married Persons and their Attendants were richly adorned, according to their Quality.

Σοὶ ὃ γάμος χερὲν ὤσ', ἵνα χερὶ καλὰ καὶ αὐτῷ
Εἵματα ἔννυδα, τὰ ὃ τοῖσι παρὰχρῆν, οἱ κέ σ' ἄγωνοι.

The Time was nigh compleated, when a Bride
You was to be, and richly drest in Clothes,
With your Attendants on that solemn Time.

They were likewise decked with Garlands of various Herbs and Flowers; whence *Clytæmnestra* in *Euripides* speaks thus to *Achilles* about her Daughter *Iphigenia* (c);

Ἀλλ' ἄμυνον, ὦ θεῶν παῖ, τῇ τ' ἐμῇ δυσπραξίᾳ,
Τῇ τε λειχθεῖσιν δάμαρτι σῇ, μέτλω μ', ἀλλ' ὅμως
Σοὶ κατὰσέψασ' ἐγὼ νιν ἥγρον ὡς γαμβρῶν.

Thou darling Off-spring of a Goddeſs, help,
Pity, redress, avenge my woful Loss
In my dear Child, thy Wife; but Oh! in vain,
Tho' I had crown'd her to be wedded to thee. J. A.

The Herbs were usually such as some way or other signified the Affairs of Marriage, as those sacred to *Venus*, or (which are mentioned by the *Scholiast* (d) upon *Aristophanes*) πούμελον, μέλι, σήσαμον, &c. Cakes made of *Sesame* were likewise given at Marriages, that Herb being πολυγόνον, remarkable for its Fruitfulness, according to the same Author. The *Bæotians* used Garlands of wild *Asparagus*, which is full of Prickles, but bears excellent Fruit, and therefore was thought to resemble the Bride. who had given her Lover some Trouble in courting her and gaining her Affections, which she recompensed afterwards by the Pleasantness of her Conversation. The House where the Nuptials were celebrated was likewise decked with Garlands; a Pestil was tied upon the Door, and a Maid carried a Sieve (e), the Bride herself bearing φρύγανον, φύλαξον, or φρύγίλεον, (f) an earthen Vessel, wherein Barley was parched, to signify her Obligation to attend the Business of her Family.

(a) *Diogenes Laertius* in *Diogene*. (b) *V. Bætidæ*. (c) *Iphigen*. in *Aulid*. v. 903. (d) *Pace*. (e) *Pollux* lib. III. cap. iii. (f) *Idem* lib. I. cap. xii. *Hesychius*.

The Bride was usually conducted in a Chariot from her Father's House to her Husband's in the Evening (a), that time being chosen to conceal her Blushes. Thus we find in *Catullus's Epithalamium*;

*Vesper adest, juvenes consurgite, vesper Olympo
Expectata diu vix tandem lumina tollit :
Surgere jam tempus, jam pingues linquere mensas :
Jam veniet virgo, jam dicetur Hymenæus.*

She was placed in the middle, her Husband sitting on one side, and one of his most intimate Friends on the other, who for that reason was called *παροχῆς*. This Custom was so frequent, that when the Bride went to her Husband's House on foot, the Person who accompanied her retained the same Name. The same was called *νυμφότης*, *παρὰ νυμφίῳ*, and *παρὰ νυμφῷ* (b), though this is more commonly used in the Feminine Gender, and signifies the Woman that waited upon the Bride, sometimes called *νυμφότρια*. When the Bridegroom had been married before, he was not permitted to fetch the Bride from her Father's House, but that Care was committed to one of his Friends, who was termed *νυμφαγωγός* (c), or *νυμφοστόλῳ*, which Words are likewise taken for the Persons that assisted in making up the Match, and managing the Concerns which related to the Marriage, who if Women, were called *νυμφόστολαι*, *νυμφόζήντριαι*, &c. One thing farther may be observed in the Bride's Passage to her Husband's House, viz. that Torches were carried before her, as appears from the Messenger in *Euripides*, who says he called to mind the time when he bore Torches before *Menelaus* and *Helenā* (d) ;

*Νῦν ἀναμῖμαι ἃ σὺν ὑμῖν αἶνον πάλιν,
Καὶ λαμπάδων μαιήμεθ', ἄε, περὶ αἶσιν
Ἰπποῖς τερχάζαν, παρέερον' οὐδ' ἐν δόρσει
Σὺ δ' ἤδη νύμφη δῶμ' ἔλιπες ὄλβιον.*

I call to mind as yesterday the Pomp
Of your Procession on the Wedding-day,
How you was carried in a Coach and four,
While I with Torches blazing in the Air
Drove foremost on from your dear Parents House,
That happy Nurs'ry of your tender Years.

J. A.

These Torches were usually carried by Servants, as appears from the following Words of *Hesiod* (e) ;

*Τῆλε δ' οἱ π' αἰδομένην δαΐδων σέλας ἐλύφαζον
Χερσὶν ἐνὶ δμῶν. -----*

(a) *Suidas* v. *Ζεῦς* ὁ. *Eustathius Iliad.* λ'. p. 765. (b) *Hesychius* v. *Νυμφαγωγός*. (c) *Hesychius*, vide *Pollucis Onomast.* lib. III. item *Suidam*, *Phavorinum*, cæterisque *Lexicographos*. (d) *Helen.* v. 728. (e) *Scut. Hercul.* v. 275.

The Servants then did flaming Torches bear,
Which darted forth a quiv'ring Light from far.

They were sometimes attended with Singers and Dancers, as *Hesiod* acquaints us in his Description of *Achilles's* Shield (a);

Εν δὲ δύο πόλεις μερόπων ἀνθρώπων
Καλὰς. ἐν τῇ μὲν ῥα γάμοι τ' ἔσθ', εἰλαπίναι τε,
Νύμφας δ' ἐκ θαλάμων, δαΐδων ὑπελαμπόμενων,
Ἡγίεν ἀνὰ ἄστυ, πολὺς δ' ὑμῶν τε ὄρεσσι.
Κῆρυ γ' ὀρχησῆρες ἐδίνεον ἐν δ' ἄρα τοῖσιν
Αὐλοὶ, φόρμιγγες τ' βολῶ ἔχον, αἱ δὲ γυναικες
Ἰστάνμεν δαΐμαζον ὅππῃ παροῦσι τινὲς ἰχασίη.

With nice and curious *Touches* next appear
Two stately Cities, in one Nuptials are;
Here polish'd Art with Nature doth agree
In framing Figures of Festivity,
Fests, Revels, Balls, the Sculpture represents,
With various sorts of Musick-Instruments,
Lamps shine with Brightness on the solemn State,
While the brisk Bridegroom leads his charming Mate;
Measures young Men observe with active Feet
While the Pomp does advance along the Street;
The Musick plays, *Hymen, Hymen*, they cry,
While aged Matrons stand admiring by. J. A.

The Song they were entertained with in their Passage was called ἄρμάτειον μέλῳ, from ἄρμα, the Coach they rode in, the Axletree whereof they burnt when arrived at their Journey's-end, thereby signifying that the Bride was never to return to her Father's House. The *Rhodians* had a peculiar Custom of sending for the Bride by a publick Cryer. When the Bridegroom entred the House with his Bride, it was customary to pour upon their Heads Figs, and divers other sorts of Fruits, as an Omen of their future Plenty (b). The Day of the Bride's Departure from her Father was celebrated in Manner of a Festival, and called περὶ γαμήλια (c). It seems to have been observed at her Father's House before she departed, being distinct from the Nuptial Solemnity, which was kept at the Bridgroom's House, and began at Evening, the usual time of the Bride's arrival there.

The Bride being come to the Bridegroom's House, was entertained with a sumptuous Banquet, called by the same Name with the Marriage, viz. γάμος, as *Pollux* hath observ'd from the following Verse in *Homer*;

(a) *Iliad*. 6. v. 490. (b) *Aristopanis Scholiast*. in *Plutum*, p. 78.
(c) *Harpocraton*, *Suidas*.

Εἰλαπὴν, ἢ γάμου, ἢ πρὶ ἐκ ἑαυτοῦ τὰδε γ' ὄρν.

A Shot-free Banquet, or a Marriage-Feast,
Not such as is by Contribution made.

Whence δαίειν γάμον is to make a *Nuptial Entertainment*. Thus
Homer (a);

----- Δαίσειν ὃ γάμον μὲν Μυρμιδόνων.

To make a Marriage-Feast for th' *Myrmidons*.

The same Poet has this Expression in other places (b);

----- Δαίνωμαι γάμον πολλοῖσιν ἑταῖρον.

Making a Nuptial-Banquet for his Friends.

What was the Design of this Entertainment we learn from *Athenæus*, who (to pass by the Joy and Mirth it was intended to promote) tells us there were two Reasons for it; the first was, the Respect due to the Gods of Marriage, who were invoked before the Feast, and had no small Share in it; and it is thought by some that most of the *Grecian* Festivals were first observed on this Ground. The second End of this Entertainment was, that the Marriage might be made publick (c), for all the Relations of the married Couple were invited as Witnesses of the Marriage, and to rejoice with them; whence the young Man in *Terence* concludes, the Marriage he there speaks of could not be presently consummated, because Time was required to invite Friends, and to make necessary Preparations (d);

*Ducenda est uxor, ut ais; concedo tibi;
Spatium quidem apparandis nuptiis,
Vocandi, sacrificandi dabitur paululum.*

That he's oblig'd to marry her, I grant;
But then some Time before must be allow'd
For the procuring of all Requisites;
His Friends must be invited to the Wedding,
And he address the Gods with Sacrifice.

H. H.

During the Solemnity the Company diverted themselves, and honoured the Gods of Marriage with Musick and Dancing; we seldom read of a Marriage without them. All the Songs were called ὑμῳδοί, or ὑμνοί. Thus both *Homer* and *Hesiod*.

(a) *Iliad*. τ'. (b) *Odyss.* δ'. (c) *Athenæus*, lib. V. cap. I. initio.
(d) *Phorm.* Act. IV. Sc. IV.

----- Πολὺς δ' ὑμῶν ὁρᾶται.

Many *Hymens* sung. ———

The *Romans* used the same Term (a);

Hymenæum, turbas, lampadas, tibicines.

Your *Hymens*, Hubbubs, Flambeaus, and Scrapers.

This Name was taken from the frequent Invocations of *Hymen*, or *Hymenæus*, the God of Marriage, always made in these Songs; as in this Verse of *Catullus*,

Io Hymen, Hymenæe Hymen ades, O Hymenæe.

This *Hymæneus*, we are told, was an *Argian*, whom (b) they received into the Number of their Gods, and thus remembered for a generous Action, in delivering certain *Athenian* Virgins from the Lust and Cruelty of some *Pelasgians*. Others derive the Word *ἄνδρ' αὖ ὁμῶς καίεν* from the married Couple's *inhabiting together*; others, lastly, from *ὑμῶν*, which signifies the *membrana virginalis*.

About the time of their Entertainment there were several significant Ceremonies relating some way or other to the State of Marriage. One at *Athens* was this: There came in a Boy covered with Thorn-boughs and Acorns, carrying a Basket full of Bread, and singing *ἔφυγον κακὸν, εὑρεν ἀμεινον*, i. e. *I have left the worse, and found the better*. Which saying was used at one of their Festivals, when they commemorated their change of Diet from Acorns to Corn; but seems at this time to have signified also the Happiness which the married Persons were entering upon, and that Marriage was preferable to a single Life. The *Lacedæmonians* had a Custom of carrying about a sort of Cakes made in various Figures, and called *ωρεῖλαι*, whilst they danced and commended the Bride in Songs (c).

When the Dances were ended the married Couple were conducted to the Marriage-Bed, called in *Latin*, *lectus genialis*, in *Greek*, *κλίνη νυμφαίδιον*, or *γαμικὴ*, or (when the Persons were first married, and in their Youth) *κρηίδιον λέχων*. It was richly adorned, as the Quality of the Person would bear, the Covering was usually Purple, whence the Poet (d),

Purpureumque tnum consternens vèstè cubile.

Spreading a Garment o'er thy Purple Bed.

Apollonius speaks of the same Colour, and Flowers wherewith they used to strow it (e);

(a) *Terentius Adelph.* (b) *Homeri Scholiastes Iliad.* σ'. v. 593.
 (c) *Athenæus lib. X.* (d) *De nuptiis Pelei & Thetidis* v. 1402.
 (e) *Argon. IV. v. 1141.*

Εἴδα τὸτ' ἐστράγγ' λίχλεον μέγα, τοῖοδ' ὑπερθε
 Χρύστον αἰγλῆεν κῶας βάλλον. ὄρεα πέλοιτο
 Τιμήεις τε γάμου καὶ αἰείδимуτ' ἄνθεα δ' ἡσθε
 Νύμφαι ἀμυγρόμηναι λευκοῖς ἐν ποικίλῃ κάλπιδι
 Εσφόρεον. -----

Then richly they adorn'd the Marriage-Bed,
 A costly purple Skin they o'er it spread;
 And that the Nuptials they might celebrate
 With more magnificent and pompous State,
 The beautiful Nymphs brought in their snowy Breasts
 Flowers of various Colours, ----- H. H.

In the same Room there was commonly placed a Side-Bed, called *κλίνη παρὰ εὐς* (a), *ἡ ἐν τῇ πύλῳ παῖδα μὴ ἀδυμῆσαι*, as *Pollux* accounts for the Custom (b). But before they went to Bed the Bride bathed her Feet; whence *Trygæus* in *Aristophanes* (c) intending to marry *Opora*, no sooner brings her to his House, but commands his Servants to provide a Vessel of Water, then to make ready the Bed,

Ἀλλ' εἴσαγ' ὡς τάχιστα ταυτηνὲ λαβὼν,
 Καὶ τὴν πύλον κατακλύζει καὶ θερμαίνει ὕδωρ,
 Στόρυδι μοι καὶ τῇδε κρεῖδον λίχου.

Bring home my Bride as soon as possible;
 Then wash the Vessel, and the Water warm,
 And next prepare for us the Nuptial Bed.

This Water the *Athenians* always fetched from the Fountain *Callirhoe*, afterwards called *Εννεάκρην*, from nine Cisterns supplied by it with Water; the Person that brought it was a Boy nearly allied to one of the married Couple, whom they termed *λεῖσεφόρος*, from his Office (d). This being done, the Bride was lighted to Bed with several Torches, for a single Torch was not enough, as may be observed from the *Miser* in *Libanius* (e), that complains he could not light the Bride to Bed with one Torch. Round one of the Torches the married Person's Mother tied her Hair-lace, which she took from her Head for this Use. *Seneca* alludes to this Custom (f);

----- *Non te duxit in thalamos parens*
Comitata primos, nec sua festas manu
Ornavit ædes, nec sua lætas faces
Vitta revinxit. -----

(a) *Hesychius*. (b) *Lib. III. cap. iii.* (c) *Pace*. (d) *Suidas*,
Pollux loc. cit. (e) *Declamat. xxxvii.* (f) *Theb. v. 605.*

Your Mother did not at the Wedding wait,
Nor you into your Chamber introduce,
Nor with her Hand the Bridal House adorn'd,
Nor with her Hair-lace ty'd the joyful Torch.

H. H.

The Relations of the married Persons assisted in the Solemnity, and it was looked on as no small Misfortune to be absent ; the Mothers especially were assiduous in lighting Torches when their Sons Wives entered the Houses. *Jocasta* in *Euripides* severely chides *Polynices* for marrying in a foreign Country, because she, with the rest of his Relations and Friends, were deprived of their Offices at his Nuptials (a) ;

Σὺ δ', ὦ τέκνον, καὶ γάμοισι δὴ κλυτὰ
Ζυγόντα, παιδοποιὸν ἄδιναν
Ξένοισιν ἐν δόμοις ἔχεν,
Ξένον τε κῆρ' αἰμώπειν
Ἀλγιστα μάλ' ἐγὼ τὰδε,
Λαῖα τε σὺ παλαιγοῦε,
Γάμων ἐπακτὰν ἅπαν'
Εἰ γὰρ δ' ἔτι σοι πυρρὸς ἀνῆψα φῶς
Νόμιμον ἐν γάμοις
Ὡς πρέπ' μάλ' ἀμειβεῖσθαι,
Ἀνυμψάμενα δ' Ἰσμενὸς ἐκκιδέσθαι
Ἀεθρόφους χλιδαῖς
Ἀνὰ τὴν Θηβαίαν πόλιν
Επηγάδῃ σῶς εἴσοδ' ὁ νόμος.

But you, my Son, not without Grief I hear,
Are join'd in Wedlock in a foreign Land,
There taste the Pleasures of the genial Bed,
And on a Stranger propagate your Kind ;
This, this is Matter of most killing Grief
To me, and your good Grandfire *Laius*,
When we reflect upon those coming Ills,
That must undoubtedly attend the Match :
For neither I, as well becomes the Care
Of happy Mothers, lighted up the Torch,
And blest the Nuptials by that pious Act ;
Nor old *Ismenus*, rich in rowling Streams,
Furnish'd out Water for your Nuptial Washings,
Nor was the Entrance of your Bride proclaim'd
Thro' *Theban* Streets, but all as unconcern'd
As when no Native does bring home his Bride.

H. H.

(a) *Phœniss.* v. 339. in quem locum vide *Scholiassem.*

The Bride's Mother had no less a Right to this Office, for we find *Clytemnestra*, though professing all due Submission to *Agamemnon*, when desired by him to absent herself from *Iphigenia's* Marriage, steadfastly refusing it, as a Thing against all Justice, notwithstanding his Promise to perform her Part of the Ceremony (a);

ΚΛ. Ημᾶς ὃ πᾶ τῶν αὐτῶν τυγχάνειν;

ΑΓ. Χάρις ποῦς Ἀργῶ, παρθένας τε τιμίζει.

ΚΛ. Λιπῶσα παῖδα; τίς δ' ἀναστήσει φλόγα;

ΑΓ. Εἰώ παρίζα φῶς, ὃ νυμφίοις πρίπι.

ΚΛ. Οὐχ ὁ νόμος ἔτι, καὶ σὺ ὃ φαῦλ' ἤγῃ τάδε.

CL. Whither mean time shall wretched I repair?

AG. To *Argos*, let those Maids employ your Care.

CL. And leave my Child? Who then the Torch will light?

AG. That be my Care, I will perform that Rite.

CL. And is that fit? let *Agamemnon* judge. H. H.

After a little disputing they proceed thus:

ΑΓ. Πιθῶ. ΚΛ. Μὰ τίλῳ ἀνασταν Ἀργεῖαν θιάν.

Ελθὼν ὃ, τᾶξά περᾶσε, τὰ ν δόμοις δ' ἐγώ;

Α χρὲ παρῖναι νυμφίοισι παρθένοισι.

AG. Without more Reas'nings my Demands obey.

CL. By *Juno*, that o'er *Argos* bears the Sway,
Sooner would wretched *Clytemnestra* bleed
Than give Consent to so unjust a Deed;
Affairs abroad better my Lord become,
'Tis fit that I should manage Things at home.

H. H.

The married Couple being shut together in the Chamber, the Laws of *Athens* obliged them to eat a Quince, whereby was intimated that their first Conversation ought to be pleasing and agreeable (b). The Husband then loosed his Wife's Girdle, whence *ἀνὴρ ζώνῳ* is to deflower, and *γυνὴ λυσίζωνῶν*, a Woman who has lost her Virginity. This Girdle was not (as some seem to fancy) worn by Maids only, but used as well after Marriage as before, being designed to secure the weaker Sex from the sudden Attempts of Men inflamed with Lust, whence *Nonnus* calls it *σάκερον*, and when he introduces the *Satyrs* endeavouring to embrace certain Virgins, we find their Honour secured by it (c). The same appears farther from the mention which Authors make of untying Womens Girdles in Childbirth, and from calling such Girls only *ἄμμεσι*, i. e. not having a Girdle, as were not arrived to Maturity.

(a) *Iphigen. in Aulid.* v. 731. (b) *Plutarchus Solone*, & in *Conjugal. præcept.* (c) *Lib. XII.* circa finem.

Chap. XI. *Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece.* 293

At this time the young Men and Maids stood without the Door, dancing, and singing Songs, called *ἑπιθαλάμια*, from *θαλάμῳ*, the *Bride-chamber*, and making a great Noise by shouting and stamping with their Feet, which was termed *κτυπία*, or *κτυπίον* (a), and designed to drown the Maid's Cries. Lest the Women should go to her Assistance, one of the Bridegroom's Friends stood Centinel at the Chamber-door, and from his Office was called *θυρωρός* (b). This Song, as likewise all the rest, was termed *Γυμναῖον*, and consisted of the Praises of the Bridegroom and Bride, with Wishes for their Happiness, as may appear (to pass by other instances) from *Theocritus's Epithalamium of Helena*, which begins thus :

Εν ποτ' ἄρα Σπάρτα ξανθότριχ' παρ Μενελάῳ,
 Παρθενικαὶ δάλλοντα κόμαις ὑάκινθον ἔχουσιν,
 Πρὸς νυκτέπιν θαλάμῳ χροὸν ἐσέσταντο,
 Δώδεκα τὰ περὶ πόλιν μέγα χρῆμα Λακωνᾶν,
 Αἶψα Τιωδάρεω κατεκλῆξ' αὐτὸν τὰν ἀγαπῶν
 Μνηστῆρας ἑλόντα ὁ γέροντ' Ἀρτίῳ ὤς
 Αἰδοῖν δ' ἄρα πάσαι ἐς ἐν μίλῳ ἐγκροτίσσαι
 Ποσσὶ πτεπλίκτοις, περὶ δ' ἱαχὲ δῶμ' ὑμναῖον.

At *Sparta's* Palace twenty beautiful Maids
 The Pride of *Greece*, fresh Garlands crown'd their Heads
 With Hyacinth and twining Parsley drest,
 Grac'd joyful *Menelaus's* Marriage-Feast,
 When lovely *Helen*, great in conq'ring Charms,
 Resign'd her willing Beauty to his Arms :
 They danc'd around, Joy flow'd from every Tongue,
 And the vast Palace sounded with the Song. *Mr. Creech.*

They returned again in the Morning, saluted the married Couple, and sang *ἑπιθαλάμια ἑγερτικὰ*, for that was the Name of the Morning Songs, which were designed to awake and raise the Bridegroom and Bride; as those sung the Night before were intended to dispose them to Sleep, and are on that account termed *ἑπιθαλάμια κοιμητικὰ*. This Custom appears from *Theocritus's Chorus of Virgins*, who conclude the forecited *Epithalamium* with a promise to return early in the Morning ;

Εὐδετ' ἐς ἀκάλων σέρνον φιλότῃτα πνέοντες
 Καὶ πόδον ἔγρειδε ὃ πορὶ αὖ, μήτι λάθῃσι
 Νύμμεθα καίμεις ἐς ὄρθρον, ἐπεὶ καὶ περὶ αἰοῖδες
 Εξ ἰονᾶς καλαδίσσῃ ἀνασχὼν εὐτραχεῖ δειρῶ
 Τμεν, ὦ Γυμναῖε, γάμοι ὅτι τῆδε χερσίν.

Sleep in each others Arms, and raise Desire,
 Let ardent Breathings fan your mutual Fire.

(a) *Hesychius.* (b) *Pollux* lib. III. cap. iii,

But rise betimes, forget not, we'll return
 When first the crowing Cock shall wake the Morn,
 When thro' his feather'd Throat he sends his Voice:
 O Hymen, Hymen, at this Feast rejoice. Mr. Creech.

The Solemnity lasted several Days. The Day before the Marriage was termed *προύλια*, as preceeding that whereon the Bride did *αὐλιζεῖσθαι τῷ νυμφίῳ*, lodge with the Bridegroom. The Marriage day was called *γάμοι*; the Day following, according to *Pindar*, *ὑπέρθεος*, which Word signifies a Day added to any Solemnity; *Hesychius* (a) calls it *παλία*, which may perhaps be derived from *παλιν*, because the former Day's Mirth was as it were repeated, whence the *Romans* called it *reposita*; unless for *παλία* we might be allowed to read *παλαιά*, and then it would be the same with *Athenæus's* *ἑωλὸς ἡμέρα* (b), for *ἑωλὸς* denotes any thing that has ceased to be new, whence *Tully* calls a Book *ἑωλον*, when Mens first and eager Enquiry after it is cooled: And *Athenæus* in another place has opposed *τὰς ἀμύαιας γάμου ἡμέρας* to the *τὸ ἑωλον τὴν συμποσίαν* (c); others call the second Day *ἱπαύλια* or *ἱπαύλια*: The third Day was termed *ἀπαύλια*, or rather *ἀπαύλια*, because the Bride returning to her Father's House, did *ἀπαυλιζεῖσθαι τῷ νυμφίῳ*, lodge apart from the Bridegroom, though some place this upon the seventh Day after Marriage; others will have it so called, because the Bridegroom lodged apart from his Bride at his Father in Law's House; 'tis possible both may be in the right, and that both Bridegroom and Bride might lie at her Father's House, but in different Beds. Others make *ἀπαύλια* to be the same with *ἱπαύλια*, whence a seeming Difficulty arises, since those two Words import Contraries, one seeming to denote the Bride's lodging apart from the Bridegroom, the other with him; but this may be easily solved by applying *ἱπαύλια* to her lodging with her Husband, and *ἀπαύλια* to her departure from her Father's House (d). On the Day called *ἀπαύλια* (whenever that was) the Bride presented her Bridegroom with a Garment called *ἀπαυληθρία*. Gifts were likewise made to the Bride and Bridegroom by the Bride's Father and Friends, called sometimes *ἀπαύλια*, sometimes *ἱπαύλια*; they consisted of golden Vessels, Beds, Couches, Plates, Ointment-boxes, Combs, Sandals, and all sorts of Neccessaries for House-keeping, which were carried in great State to the House by Women, who followed a Person called *κατηφόρος*, from carrying a Basket in the manner usual at Processions, before whom went a Boy in white Apparel with a Torch in his Hand. It was also customary for the Bridegroom and his Friends to give Presents to the Bride, which they called *ἀνακαλυπτήρια* (e); and *Hesychius* will have the third Day to be called *ἀνακαλυπτήριον*, because then the Bride first appeared publicly un-

(a) *Γάμοι*. (b) *Lib. III. cap. xv.* (c) *Lib. IV.* (d) *Vide Pollucem lib. III. cap. iii. Hesychium, Suidam, Etymologici Auctorem, Phavorinum, &c. in v. ἀπαύλια & ἱπαύλια.* (e) *Suidas.*

veil'd. *Suidas* tells us the Gifts were so called, because she was then first shewn to her Bridegroom. For the same reason they are sometimes called *διάρρητα*, *ὀπίθητα*, *ἀδρήματα*, and *προσφθιγθήτα*, because the Bridegroom had then Leave to converse freely with her; for Virgins before Marriage were under strait Confinement, being rarely permitted to appear in publick, or converse with Men; and when allowed that Liberty, wore a Veil over their Faces; this was termed *καλύπτεν*, or *καλύπτειν*, and was not left off in the Presence of Men till this time; whence some think the Bride was called *νύμφη* ὅτι τὸ νύον, i. e. *πρώτως φαίνεται*, that being the first time she appeared in a publick Company unveiled (a); Hence the Poets speak of *Pluto's* Gifts to *Proserpina*, when she unveiled herself, as we read in those Verses of *Euphorion* cited by the *Scho-liast* upon *Euripides* (b);

Τῇ ῥά ποτε Κρονίδης δῶκεν πόρε Περσεφονείῃ
Εἰνὶ γάμοις. ὅτε πρῶτον ὀπωπίαδ' ἔμελλε,
Νυμφίδ' ἀπείροιο παρακλίνουσι καλύπτεν.

Pluto to *Proserpine* a present gave,
When first she laid aside her Maiden Veil,
And at the Marriage shewed herself uncover'd.

There is a Story of the Sophister *Hermocrates* relating to this Custom, that having a Woman not very agreeable imposed upon him by *Severus* the Roman Emperor, and being asked his *ἀνακαλυπτήρια* when she took off her Veil, he replied, *ἡ ἀνακαλυπτήρια μὲν εἴ τι τοιαύτω λαμβάνω*, *It would be more proper to make her a Present to keep her Veil on, unless her Face was more agreeable.*

The Ceremonies of the *Spartan* Marriages being different from all others, I have reserved them for this place, and shall set them down in *Plutarch's* own Words (c): “When the *Spartans* had a mind to marry, their Courtship was a sort of Rape upon the Persons they had a fancy for, and those they chose not tender and half Children, but in the Flower of their Age, and full ripe for an Husband. Matters being agreed between them, the *Νυμφαγωγία*, or Woman that contrived and managed the Plot, shaved off the Bride's Hair close to her Skin, dressed her up in Man's Clothes, and left her upon a Mattress; this done, in comes the Bridegroom in his every-day Clothes, sober and composed, as having supped at his Ordinary in the Common-Hall, and steals as privately as he can into the Room where the Bride lay, unties her Virgin-Girdle, and takes her into his Embraces; thus having stayed a short time with her, he returns to the rest of his Comrades, with whom he continues to spend his Life, remaining with them as well by Night as by Day, unless he steals a short Visit to his Bride, and that could not be done without a

(a) *Pburnutus* de Natura Deorum in *Neptuno*. (b) *Phænissis*.
(c) *Lycurgo* p. 48. Edit. Paris.

“ great deal of Circumspection and fear of being discovered. Nor
 “ was she wanting (as may be supposed) on her part to use her
 “ Woman’s Wit in watching the most favourable Opportunities for
 “ their meeting, and making Appointments when Company was
 “ out of the way. In this manner they lived a long time, inso-
 “ much that they frequently had Children by their Wives before
 “ they saw their Faces by Day-light. The Interview being thus
 “ difficult and rare, served not only for a continual Exercise of
 “ their Temperance, and furthered very much the Ends and In-
 “ tentions of Marriage, but was a Means to keep their Passion still
 “ alive, which flags, and decays, and dies at last, by too easy Ac-
 “ cess and long Continuance with the beloved Object.”

C H A P. XII.

Of their Divorces, Adulteries, Concubines, and Harlots.

THE Grecian Laws concerning Divorces were different; some permitted Men to put away their Wives on slight Occasions; the *Cretans* allowed it any Man that was afraid of having too great a Number of Children; the *Athenians* likewise did it upon very small Grounds, but not without giving a Bill, wherein was contained the Reason of their Divorce, to be approved (if the Party divorced made an Appeal) by the chief Magistrate (a). The *Spartans*, though marrying without much Nicety in Choice, seldom divorced their Wives; for we read that *Lyfander* was fined by the Magistrates called *Ephori* on that Account; and though *Aristo*, one of their Kings, put away his Wife with the Approbation of the City, yet that seems to have been done rather out of an earnest Desire to have a Son to succeed in his Kingdom, which he could not expect by that Woman, than according to the Custom of his Country (b). But whatever Liberty the Men took, their Wives were under a greater Restraint, for it was extremely scandalous for a Woman to depart from her Husband: Hence we find *Medea* in *Euripides* complaining of the hard Fate of her Sex, who had no Remedy against the Men’s Unkindness, but were first under a necessity of buying their Husbands with large Portions, and then to submit to their ill Usage without hopes of Redress (c).

Πάντων δ', ὅσ' ἐς' ἑμψυχα, καὶ γυνάμιν ἔχῃς
 Γυναικὶς ἰσμὴν ἀθλιότατον φετόν'
 Ἀς πρῶτα μὲν δεῖ χρημάτων ὑπερβολῇ

(a) Genial. Dier. lib. IV. cap. viii. (b) *Herodotus* lib. VI. cap. lxiii. (c) *Medea* v. 230.

Γόνυ πείραδι, διαπύτω τε σώματ' ὅ
 Λαβὼν κακὴ γὰρ ἦν δ' ἔτ' ἄλλον κακόν,
 Κἀν τῷδ' ἀγῶνι μάγιστ' ἢ κακὸν λαβὼν,
 Ἢ χρυσὸν ἔ γδ' ὀκλίεις ἀπαλλαγὰς
 Γυναιξίν, εἰδ' οἷον τ' ἀνῆναδι πόσιν.

Of all those Creatures to whom kinder Heav'n
 Has life and more exalted Reason giv'n,
 We Women the most wretched Fate endure;
 First Husbands we at highest Rates procure,
 Then yield ourselves submissive to their Pow'r.
 But oh! the Curse, the Hazard lies in this,
 If he's unkind I chuse, there's no Redress,
 But good, or bad, I am for ever his.
 Divorces are too scandalous to name.
 And no Law suffers us to throw off them.

H. H.

The *Athenians* were somewhat more favourable to Women, allowing them to leave their Husbands upon just Occasions: only they could not do it without making Appeal to the *Archon*, and presenting him a Bill of their Grievances with their own Hands. *Plutarch* (a) has a Story of *Hipparete*, *Alcibiades's* Wife, "who (he tells us) was a virtuous Lady, and fond of her Husband, but at last growing impatient of the Injuries done to her Bed by his continual entertaining of Courtisans, as well Strangers as *Athenians*, she departed from him, and retired to her Brother *Callias's* House. *Alcibiades* seemed not at all concerned at it, living on still in his former lewd course of Life; but the Law requiring that she should deliver to the *Archon* in Person, and not by a Proxy, the Instrument whereby she sued for a Divorce, when in Obedience to it she presented herself before him, *Alcibiades* came in, took her away by force, and carried her Home through the *Forum*, no Man daring to oppose him, or take her from him; and she continued with him till her Death. Nor was this Violence to be thought a Crime; for the Law, in making her who desires a Divorce, appear in publick, seems to design her Husband should have an opportunity of discoursing with her, and endeavouring to retain her." Persons that divorced their Wives were obliged to return their Portions, as has been observed in the foregoing Chapter; if they failed to do that, the *Athenian* Laws obliged them to pay her nine *Oboli* a Month for Alimony, which the Woman's Guardian was empowered to sue for at the Court kept in the *Odeum* (b). It may be observed, lastly, that the Terms expressing Men and Womens Separation from each other were different, Men were said *ἀπολύειν*, *ἀπολείπειν*, *dimittere*, to dismiss their Wives, or loose them from their Obligation; but Wives, *ἀπολείπειν*, *divertere*, *discedere*, to leave or depart from their Husbands.

(a) *Alcibiade*. (b) *Demosthenes* Orat. in *Neæram*. Vide caput præcedens.

298 Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece. Chap. XII.

It was not unusual to dissolve the Marriage-Tie by Consent of both Parties, and that done, they were at liberty to dispose of themselves how they pleased in a second Match; an Instance hereof we find in *Plutarch*, who reports, that when *Pericles* and his Wife could not agree, and became weary of one another's Company, he parted with her, willing and consenting to it, to another Man (a). There is somewhat more remarkable in the Story of *Antiochus* the Son of *Seleucus*, who falling desperately in love with *Stratonice* his Mother-in-law, married her with his Father's Consent (b). The *Romans* had the same Custom, as appears from *Cato's* parting with his Wife *Martia* to *Hortensius*, which, as *Strabo* assures us, was a thing not unusual, but agreeable to the Practice of the old *Romans* (c), and some other Countries.

What may appear more strange, is, that it was frequent in some Parts of *Greece* to borrow one another's Wives. At *Athens*, *Socrates* lent his Wife *Xantippe* to *Alcibiades* (d), and the Laws of that City permitted Heiresses to make use of their Husband's nearest Relation, when they found him deficient. And we have the following Account of the Practice of the *Spartans* from *Plutarch* (e): "*Licurgus* the *Spartan* Law-giver, he tells us, thought the best Expedient against Jealousy, was to allow Men the freedom of imparting the Use of their Wives to whom they should think fit, that so they might have Children by them; this he made a very commendable piece of Liberality, laughing at those who thought the Violation of their Bed such an insupportable Affront, as to revenge it by Murders and cruel Wars. He had a good Opinion of that Man, who being grown old, and having a young Wife, should recommend some virtuous, handsome young Man, that she might have a Child by him to inherit the good Qualities of such a Father, and should love this Child as tenderly as if begotten by himself. On the other side, an honest Man, who had Love for a married Woman, upon the Account of her Modesty, and the Well-favouredness of her Children, might with good Grace beg of her Husband his Wife's Conversation, that he might have a Cyon of so good a Tree to transplant into his own Garden; for *Lycurgus* was persuaded that Children were not so much the Property of their Parents as of the whole commonwealth, and therefore would not have them begotten by the first Comers, but by the best Men that could be found. Thus much (proceeds my Author) is certain, that so long as these Ordinances were observed, the Women were so far from that scandalous Liberty, which hath since been objected to them, that they knew not what the Name of Adultery meant." We are farther told by others, that Strangers, as well as Citizens of *Sparta*, were allowed the same freedom with their Wives, provided they were handsome Men, and likely

(a) *Pericle*. (b) *Plutarchus Demetrio*, *Valerius Maximus*, Lib. V. cap. vii. (c) *Geopragh*, Lib. VII. (d) *Tertullianus* Apolog. cap. xxxix. (e) *Lycurgo*.

Chap. XII. Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece. 299

to beget lusty and vigorous Children (a); yet we find their Kings were exempt from this Law, that the Royal Blood might be preserved unmixed, and the Government remain in the same Lineal Descent.

Notwithstanding this Liberty, which was founded upon mutual Consent, they accounted all other Adulteries the most heinous Crimes in the World, and whilst they kept to their ancient Laws, were wholly Strangers to them; for we are told by *Plutarch* (b), "That *Geradas*, a primitive *Spartan*, being asked by a Stranger, "What Punishment their Law had appointed for Adulterers? replied, "There were no Adulterers in his Country: But, return'd the Stranger, suppose there were one, and the Crime were proved against him, how would you punish him? He answered, That the Offender must pay to the Plaintiff a Bull with a Neck so long as that he might reach over the Mountain *Taygetus*, and drink of the River *Eurotas*, that runs on the other side. The Man, surprized at this, said, Why, it is impossible to find such a Bull. *Geradas* smilingly replied, 'Tis just as impossible to find an Adulterer in *Sparta*."

The Punishments inflicted upon Adulterers in *Greece* were of divers sorts, some of which are those that follow.

To begin with the heroick Ages: If the Rapes of Women may be allowed room in this place, we shall find they were revenged by many cruel and bloody Wars. *Herodotus* makes them to have given the first occasion to that constant Enmity that was kept up for many Ages between *Greece* and *Asia*, and never allayed till the latter was conquered, and become subject to the former (c). *Lycophron* agrees with *Herodotus*, and makes the Rape of *Io* by the *Phœnicians* to have incensed the *Grecians* against the Inhabitants of *Asia*, and after frequent Injuries committed, and Wars waged on both sides, to have reduced the *Asian* Empire, under the Dominion of the *Europeans*, under *Alexander* of *Macedon*; the Poet's Words run thus (d):

Ολεῖντο ναῦ' ὃ περὶ τα Καρὶ' ὃ κώες,
Οἱ τὼ βεῶνιν ταυεσπαρθέον κόρην
Λέρνης ἀντρεΐσαντο φορτηγὸν λύκοι,
Πλάτν' πορεύσασιν κῆρα Μαιμώτῃ πέδμα,
Εχθερε ὃ πυρσὸν ἦεν ἠπείρεος διπλαῖς.

May those *Phœncian* Sailors be accurs'd
That *Io* did convey from *Lerna* first,
Those savage Mariners that forc'd the Maid
To be the Partner of *Osiris*'s Bed,
And the two Empires thus embroil'd in War. H. H.

He goes on to enumerate the continual Quarrels between the two Continents, till *Alexander*'s Time. But however the Truth of this may be questioned, there being in those early Ages no Distinction of the World into *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, nor any common Associa-

(a) *Nicolaus* de moribus apud *Stobæum*. (b) Loco citato. (c) Lib. I. initio. (d) *Cassandra*, v. 1291. tion

tion of those amongst themselves, or against the others; yet we have a remarkable Instance (to omit several others) of a long and bloody War, occasioned by *Paris's Rape of Helen*. But to bring some Instances, which may seem more pertinent to our present Design; what Sentence the heroick Ages past upon Adultery may appear, as from the Revenge of *Atreus* upon his Brother *Thyestes*, who was entertained at a Banquet with the Flesh of his own Son, for defiling *Aerope*, *Atreus's* Wife; and other Examples of the Cruelty of the Men of those Times, against such as committed Adultery with their Wives, or other near Relations; so more clearly from the Punishments inflicted by Laws or Magistrates upon such Offenders, who were usually stoned to death; whence *Hector* in *Homer* tells *Paris* his Crime in stealing another Man's Wife, deserves no less a Punishment than *λαίνῳ χιτῶν*, a Stone Coat, which, if he had received his Demerits, he should have put on, meaning that nothing but this Death could expiate so black an Action;

Λαῖνον ἔσσο χιτῶνα κακῶν ὕμῃ· ὅσσα ἔσθρας (a).

For these your Crimes you had been ston'd to death.

The same Punishment seems to have been frequent in more Eastern Countries; the *Jews* were particularly obliged to inflict it both on Men and Women, as appears from the express Words of their Law (b). Rich Adulterers were sometimes allowed to redeem themselves with Money, which was called *μοιχάγεια*, and paid to the Adulterers's Husband; whence *Mars* being taken with *Venus*, *Homer's* Gods all agree that he must pay his Fine to *Vulcan* (c);

Οὐκ ἀρίστ' κακὰ ἔργα, κικάνη τοι βροχὺς αἰκύω·
ὧς κ' νῦν ἦραις ἰὼν βροχὺς εἶλεν Ἀρηα,
Ὀκύταπ' περ ἰόντα θιῶν οἱ Ὀλυμπον ἔχευ,
Χαλὸς ἰὼν, τέχνησι τὸ κ' μοιχάγει ἐφέλλει.

An ill Event does still on Ills depend,
Not *Mars* his Swiftneſs cou'd the God defend
From limping *Vulcan's* most unerring Snare,
But in it he surpriz'd th' adult'rous Pair,
Therefore a greater Fine *Mars* ought to pay.

H. H.

Nor would *Vulcan* consent to set his Prisoner at liberty till *Neptune* had engaged for the Payment of it (d);

Τὸν δ' αὖτε ποσειδέεω Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων,
ἦραις, εἴπερ γ' ἔκιν Ἀρης χρεῖε ὑπαλόξας
Οἰχνη φέρον, αὐτὸς τοι ἐγὼ τάγε τίσω.

(a) *Iliad*. γ'. (b) *Deuteronom.* cap. xxii. (c) *Odyss.* θ' v. 329. ubi *Græcus Scholiastes* consulendus. (d) *Ibid.* 354.

Then

Then *Neptune*, who the well-fix'd Earth doth shake,
In answer to distrustful *Vulcan*, spake ;
" If you're afraid that *Mars* will play the Cheat,
" That he'll abscond, and never pay the Debt,
" I'll it discharge. —————

H. H.

It appears from the same place to have been customary for the Woman's Father to return all the Dowry he had received of her Husband ; whence *Vulcan* is introduced threatening to secure both *Mars* and *Venus* in Chains till that was done (a) ;

----- Σφῶτε δόλῳ καὶ δεσμοῖς ἐρύξτε,
Εἰσὶν καὶ μοι μέλα πάντα πατρὶς ὑποδωσὶν ἑσθλὰ ;
Ὅσα οἱ ἐγὼ δόλω καὶ πατρίδι εἴνεκα κέρως,
Ὅν κεν οἱ καλὴ θυγάτηρ, αἰτάρ ἐκ ἐχέθουμῳ.

I'll not release them from the binding Chain,
Till I that Dowry have receiv'd again,
Which I for *Venus* to her Father paid
'Cause she was handsome, tho' a Jilt. —————

H. H.

Some think this Sum was refunded by the Adulterer, because it was reasonable he should bear the Woman's Father harmless, since it appears not that *Mars*'s Mulct was a distinct Sum ; for upon *Neptune*'s becoming Surety for it, *Vulcan* loosed him from his Bonds without farther scruple.

Another Punishment was putting out the Eyes of Adulterers, which seems to have been no less ancient than the former, and may be thought just and reasonable, as depriving the Offender of that Member which first admits the Incentives of Lust. Fabulous Writers tell us, that *Orion* having defiled *Candiope*, or *Merope*, had his Eyes put out by *Oenopion*, whom some will have to be the Lady's Husband, others her Father (b). *Phœnix*, *Achilles*'s Guardian, suffered the same Punishment for defiling *Clytia*, his Father's Concubine (c), which is thus expressed by *Lycophron* (d) ;

Τὸν πατρὶς πλεῖστον ἐς συγμύον βροτῶν,
Ὀμηρον ὅς νιν σῆκε τετρήνας λύχνους,
Ὅτ' εἰς νόθον τέκερον ὑπὸ νύκτι λείχῳ.

The Object of *Amyntor*'s greatest Hate,
And whom, since he his *Clytia* had defil'd,
He most inhumanly depriv'd of Sight.

(a) V. 317. (b) *Natalis Comes Mytholog. Servius in Æneid.*
(c) *Apolledorus, Lib. III.* (d) *Cassandra, v. 421.*

Homer indeed has no mention of this Punishment, but only informs us, that his Father having discovered him, prayed that he might never have any Children (*a*) which *Tzetzes* (*b*) thinks is meant by losing his Eyes, because Children are dearer to Parents, and afford them greater Comfort than their most necessary Members; but this Interpretation is forced, and contrary to the Sense of *Mythologists* ancient as well as modern, who relate the Story agreeably to the literal Meaning of *Lycophron's* Words. The *Locrians* observed this Custom in later Ages, being obliged thereto by *Zaleucus* their Law-giver, whose Rigour in executing this Law is very remarkable; for having caught his Son in Adultery, he resolved to deprive him of Sight, and remained a long time inexorable, notwithstanding the whole City was willing to remit the Punishment, and requested him to spare the Youth; at length, unable to resist the People's Importunity, he mitigated the Sentence, and redeemed one of his Son's Eyes by another of his own (*c*). so at once becoming a memorable Example of Justice and Mercy.

At *Gortyz* in *Crete* there was another Method of punishing Adulterers; they were covered with Wool, an Emblem of the Softness and Effeminacy of their Tempers, and in that Dress carried through the City to the Magistrate's House, who sentenced them to *Ignominy*, whereby they were deprived in a manner of all their Privileges, and their Share in managing publick Business (*d*).

It would be endless to enumerate all the Penalties ordered for these Offenders, I shall therefore pass to the *Athenian* Laws, when I have first acquainted you, that if Credit may be given to *Pausanias* (*e*), the first who made a Law, and constituted Punishments against Adulterers, was *Hyettus*, an Inhabitant of *Argos*, who having caught *Molurus*, the Son of *Arisbas*, too familiar with his Wife, slew him, and fled to *Orchomenus*, the Son of *Minyas*, then King of that City of *Bæotia*, which bore his Name; the King received him kindly, and gave him part of his Territories, where he called a Village *Hyettus*, after his own Name, and established severe Laws against Adultery.

The *Athenian* Punishments seem to have been arbitrary, and left to their supreme Magistrate's Discretion; whence we find *Hippomenes*, one of *Codrus's* Posterity, and *Archon* of *Athens*, pronouncing a very odd Sentence upon his own Daughter *Limone*, and the Man caught in Adultery with her; he yoked them to a Chariot till the Man died, and afterwards shut up his Daughter with an Horse, and so starved her to death (*f*). Some time after *Draco* being invested with Power to enact Laws, left Adulterers at the Mercy of any Man that caught them in the Act, who had free License to dismember, murder, or treat them in what other manner he pleased, without being called to account for it; which Punishment was the same that had been before appointed for this Crime by *Hyettus* (*g*);

(*a*) *Iliad*. i. v. 455. (*b*) In *Lycophron*. loc. citat. (*c*) *Valerius Maximus*, Lib. VI. cap. v. (*d*) *Cælius Rhodiginus*, Lib. XXI. cap. xlv. (*e*) *Bæoticis*, 597; 598. Ed. Hanov. (*f*) *Heraclides de Polit. Athen.* (*g*) *Pausanias*, loc. cit. *Demosthenes* in *Aristocratem.* and

Chap. XII. Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece. 303

and was continued afterwards by *Solon* (a). Several other Punishments were ordered by *Solon* against the same Crime, when proved by Evidence in lawful Judicature. A Man that ravished a free Woman was fined 100 Drachms, one that enticed her 20 (b), or (as some say) 200, it being a greater Injury to a Woman's Husband and her Family to corrupt her Mind than her Body; but he that forced a free Virgin, was to pay 1000, and whoever deflowered one, was obliged to marry her; whence *Plautus* introduces one who had corrupted a Man's Daughter, speaking to her Father thus (c);

*Siquid ego erga te imprudens peccavi, aut gnatam tuam,
Ut mihi ignoscas, eamque uxorem des, ut leges jubent.*

If, Sir, I've injur'd you, I crave your Pardon,
And if I've wrong'd your Daughter's Chastity,
The Laws command it, and I'll marry her.

But if the Virgin, or her Mother, had accepted any present from her Gallant, he was not obliged to make her his Wife, but she was looked on as a common Strumpet; whence *Sostrata* in *Terence* has these Words, after her Daughter had been defiled (d);

*Pejore res loco non potis est esse, quam in hoc, quo nunc sita est;
Primum indotata est; tum prætoræa, quæ secunda ei dos erat,
Periit, pro virgine dari nuptum non potest: hoc reliquom est,
Si inficias ibit, testis mecum est annulus, quem amiserat:
Postremo, quando ego conscia mi sum, a me culpam esse hanc procul,
Neq; pretium, neq; rem ullam intercessisse illa, aut me indignam,
Experiar. —————* [Geta]

Matters were never worse than now they are;
For first, she has no Portion; and for that,
Which might have been instead of one, she's lost;
So that she can't pass for a Virgin now:
I have but this one thing that gives me Hopes,
If he deny't, the Ring he lost will prove it:
And, *Geta*, since I know my Conscience clear,
Since I no By-ends had in this Mishap,
Nor took a Bribe, that I might blush to own,
I'll stand a Tryal with him at the Law.

H. H.

When a Man was clapt up on Suspicion of Adultery, he was allowed to prefer his Appeal to the Magistrates called *Thesmothetæ*, who referred the Cause to proper Judges, and these, in case the Crime was proved against him, had power to lay on him, Death

(a) *Plutarchus Solone, Lyfias Orat.* (b) *Plutarchus loc. cit.*
(c) *Aulularia.* (d) *Adelpb. Act. III. Sc. II.*

364 *Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece. Chap. XII*

only excepted, what Punishment they pleased (a). There was another remarkable Punishment for Adulterers, called *παρελκνίς*, or *παρ-νίδωσις*, the part being put for the whole; for having plucked off the Hair from their Privities, they threw hot Ashes upon the place, and thrust up a Radish, Mullet, or some such thing, into their Fundament, whence they were ever after termed *ἑπελακτοί*, *Juvenal* mentions this Usage (b);

———— *Quosdam mæchos & mugilis intrat.*

And some Adulterers a Mullet bores.

But poor Men were only thus dealt with, the rich being allowed to bring themselves off with paying their Fine, as the *Greek Scholiast* hath observed from the following Passage of *Aristophanes*, wherein *Chremylus* upbraids *Poverty* for exposing Men to this disgraceful Punishment:

Ο δ' ἀλὲς γὰ μωρὸς διὰ δὲ πρὸς παρελκνίῃ (c).

Women thus offending were treated with great Severity. *Plutarch* tells us, that if any Person discovered his Sister or Daughter, whilst unmarried, in this Crime, he was allowed by *Solon's* Laws to sell her for a Slave. Adulteresses were never after permitted to adorn themselves with fine Clothes; and in case they appeared to do so, were liable to have them torn off by any that met them, and likewise to be beaten, though not so as to be killed or disabled; the same Liberty was permitted to any that found them in the Temples, which were thought polluted by the Admission of Persons so infamous and detestable. Lastly, their Husbands, though willing to do it, were forbidden to cohabit any longer with them, upon pain of *Ignominy*, *ἀπμια* (d); but Persons that prostituted Women, were adjudged to die (e).

We have seen what the *Greeks* thought of Adultery; but they appear to have had a more favourable Opinion of Concubinage, it being permitted every where, and that without Scandal, to keep as many Concubines as they pleased; these they stiled *παλλακίδες*, they were usually Women taken Captives, or bought with Money, and always inferiour to lawful Wives, whose Dowry, or noble Parentage, or some other Excellency, gave them Pre-eminence. There is continual mention of them in *Homer*; *Achilles* had his *Briseis*, and in her Absence *Diomedes*; *Patroclus* his *Iphis*, *Menelaus* and *Agamemnon*, and to mention no more, the wisest, gravest, and eldest of them all, such as *Phœnix* and *Nestor*, had their Women. Nor is it to be wondered that Heathens should run into such Excesses, when the *Hebrews*, and those the most renowned for Piety, such as *Abraham* and *David*, allowed themselves the same Liberty. Yet the *Grecian*

(a) *Demosthenes* in *Neæram*. (b) *Sat. X. 317*. (c) *Plut. Act. I. Scen. II.* (d) *Demosthenes* *Orat. in Neæram*. (e) *Vide Leges Atticas* fine *Lib. I. p. 161, 162.*

Chap. XII. Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece. 305

Wives always envied their Husbands this Freedom, looking on it as an Encroachment upon their Privileges; whence we find in *Homer*, that *Laertes*, tho' having a great respect for his Slave *Euryclea*, never took her to his Bed for fear of his Wife's Displeasure (a);

Ἰσα δὲ μιν κεδνὴ ἀλόχοῃ τίεν ἐν μαγάρῳ,
Εὐνὴ δ' ἔποτ' ἐμικλο, χόλον δ' ἀλείνει γυμναίῳ;

Not his own Wife he lov'd above the Maid,
Yet never her admitted to his Bed,
The better to prevent Domestick Strife.

Phœnix's Mother persuaded him to defile his Father's Concubine, to free her of so troublesome a Rival, as himself relates the Story (b);

Αἶπον Ἑλλάδα καλλιγύναικα,
Φόβον νείκεα πατρὸς Ἀμύτορ Οὐρμήδαο,
Ὅς μοι παλλακίδ' ἔπει χάσαστο καλλιγύναικα,
Τὼ αὐτὸς φιλείσκειν, ἀπυρρίσκε δ' αἰσίν,
Μητὴρ' ἐμὴν ἢ δ' αἰὲν ἐμὲ λισσέσθω γένων
Παλλακίδ' ἁρμιγύναι, ἐν ἐχθήρει γέροντι,
Τῇ πατρὶ μὲν, καὶ ἔρεξαι. -----

Hellas I left to shun my Father's Hate,
Who for his violated *Mis*s contriv'd my Fate:
For I mov'd with my Mother's earnest Pray'r,
(Who griev'd to see a *Filt* preferr'd to her)
Debauch'd, to make him loath, his *Clytia*.

H. H.

More Instances may be collected, but it will suffice to add that of *Clytemnestra*, who having slain her Husband *Agamemnon*, wreaked her Malice upon *Cassandra* his Concubine; whence *Seneca* has introduced her speaking these Words (c);

At ista pœnas capite persolvat suo
Captiva conjux, regii pellex tori;
Trabite, ut sequatur conjugem ereptum mihi.

My Rival too, his Concubine, shall share
The sad Effects of Rage for injur'd Love;
Drag out the captive Harlot, she that dar'd
Lewdly to violate the Royal Bed,
That she may follow him to th' Shades below.

H. H.

(a) *Odyss.* α. v. 433. (b) *Iliad.* ι. v. 447. (c) *Agamemnon*, v. 995.

Harlots were no less common than Concubines, being tolerated in most of the *Grecian*, and other Commonwealths. Nor was the Use of them thought repugnant to good Manners; whence the *Latin Comedian* speaking of *Athens*, saith;

Non est flagitium scortari hominem adolescentulum.

For Youth to wench and whore is not a Sin.

The wisest of the *Heathen Sages* were of the same Mind. *Solon* allowed common Whores to go publickly to those that hired them (a), and encouraged the *Athenian Youth* to empty their Lust upon these, to hinder them from making Attempts upon the Wives and Daughters of his Citizens. *Philemon* has elegantly expressed that Lawgiver's Design in the following Fragment (b);

Εὖ δ' εἰς ἅπαντας εὖρες ἀνθρώποις, Σόλων
 Σὲ γὰρ λέγουσι πῦρ' ἰδεῖν πρῶτον βελῶν,
 Δημοπκόν, ὃν Λεῶ, πρῶτα γὰρ, καὶ σωτήριον,
 (καὶ μοι λέγουσι πῦρ' ἔστιν ἄρμοςδον, Σόλων)
 Μετὰ δὲ ὁρῶντα τίω πόλιν νοστήσαν,
 Τάτας τ' ἔχοντας τίω ἀναγκαίαι φύσιν.
 Ἀμφιπόνοιάς τ' εἰς ὃ μὴ περισσῆκεν ὤν,
 Στῆσαι περιμέτρον γυναικας μὲν τόπως
 Κοινὰς ἅπασιν καὶ κατισχυασσάμεναι
 Ἐσῶσι γυναικας, μὴ ἔξαπατηθῶσι, πάνθ' ὅρα
 Οὐκ εὖ σταυρῶσι τυγχάνεις ἔχον; ἔχεις
 Πῶς ἢ δύρα σοι ἔστιν ἂν ἀνωγμένη
 Εἰς ὅσολος εἰσπήδησεν καὶ ἔς' ἐδρεῖς
 Ἀκκιμοῖς, εἰδὲ λήρω, εἰδὲ ὑπαρπαγῇ.
 Ἀλλ' αἰθὺς ὡς βέλῃ σὺ καὶ συχρὸν τέρεται
 Εξῆλθεις; οἰμώζειν λέγ', ἀλλοθρία ἔτι σοι

Cato, the *Roman Censor*, was of the same Opinion, as appears from the known Story, that meeting a young Nobleman of *Rome* coming out of the common Stews, he commended him for diverting himself in that place, as we read in *Horace* (c),

*Quidam notus homo, cum exiret fornice, mæste
 Virtute esto, inquit, sententia dia Catonis,
 Nam simul ac venas inflavit tetra libido,
 Huc juvenas æquum est descendere. —*

When from the Stews a certain Noble came,
 This, says he, was the heav'nly *Cato's* Theme,
 "Go on brave Youth, and may you e'er succeed,
 "And never be abash'd to own the Deed;

(a) *Plutarchus Solone.* (b) *Delphis.* (c) *Lib. I. Sat. ii. v. 31.*
 "When

Chap. XII. Of the Miscellaneous Customs of Greece. 307

"When Lust and burning Love swell ev'ry Vein,
 "'Tis lawful to come here and quench the Flame.

H. H.

I forbear to mention other Instances, the Testimony of *Cicero* being sufficient to confirm what I have said, when he challenges all Persons to name any Time wherein *Men were either reprov'd for this Practice, or not countenanced in it (a)*. Nor can it be wondered that Heathens allowed themselves this Liberty, when the *Jews* looked on it as lawful; they were indeed forbidden to commit Adultery, and Fornication also was prohibited under severe Penalties, but these (as *Grotius (b)* observes) were thought to concern only Women of their own Nation, their Law not extending to Foreigners; and we find accordingly that publick Stews were openly tolerated amongst them, and Women residing there taken into the Protection of the Government, as appears from the two Harlots that contended about a Child, and were heard in open Court by King *Solomon (c)*. But the *Jewish* Women were not permitted to prostitute their Bodies; and therefore strange or foreign Women are sometimes taken for Harlots, as when *Solomon* advises his Son to embrace *Wisdom and Understanding, that they may keep him from the strange Woman, from the Stranger, which flattereth with her Words (d)*; and to arm him against the Allurements of Harlots, he tells him, *The Lips of a strange Woman drop as an Honey-comb, and her Mouth is smoother than Oil, but her End is bitter as Wormwood, sharp as a two-edged Sword (e)*. The *Athenians*, as in many other things, so here had the same Custom with the *Jews*; for though severe Penalties were laid on such as defiled Women that were Citizens of *Athens*, yet Foreigners had the Liberty of keeping publick Stews, and there Harlots were for that Reason, like those amongst the *Jews*, called *ἑταῖραι, strange Women*.

The Harlots of the primitive Ages were not so wholly divested of Modesty as afterwards, for they never went abroad bare-faced, but, as was the Custom of other Women, covered themselves with Veils or Masks; nor were they allowed (as some think) to prostitute themselves within the Cities (*f*); which Custom seems to have been derived from the Eastern Nations; for we find *Tamar* in *Genesis (g)*, when she had a mind to appear like a Harlot, *covering herself with a Veil, and sitting in an open place by the way to Timnath*; but it may be her Design in placing herself there, was only that she might meet with *Judab*, or his Son, whom she desired to entice to her Embraces. We find however, that in After-ages, when Harlots were certainly permitted to reside in Cities, they used to post themselves in the High-ways, as places of resort. In *Solomon's* Reign they frequented the Cities; for speaking of an Harlot, he saith, *She is loud and stubborn, her Feet abide not in her House; now is she without, now in the Streets, and lieth in wait in every Corner (h)*. Yet some Ages

(a) Orat. pro. *M. Caelio*. (b) In *Matthæi* cap. V. 27. (c) 1 *Reg.* III. 16. (d) *Proverbs* VII. 4, 5. (e) *Proverbs* V. 3, 4. (f) *Cbrysippus* citante *Grotio* in *Matthæi* cap. V. 27. (g) *Cap.* xxxviii. 15. (h) *Proverbs* VII. 11.

after, when 'tis certain they were no more restrained from abiding in Cities than in *Solomon's* Days, they resorted to Places of general Concourse out of them, such as High-ways, especially where several Ways met, and had Tents erected to wait in for Custom; hence (to omit other Instances) those Words of *Ezekiel*: *Thou hast built thy high-place at every head of the Way, and hast made thy Beauty to be abhorred, and hast opened thy Feet to every one that passed by, and multiplied thy Whoredoms* (a). Again, *Thou buildest thine eminent place in the head of every Way, and makest thy high-place in every Street* (b). At *Athens* the Harlots chiefly frequented the *Ceramicus*, *Sciros*, and the old *Forum*, in which stood the Temple of *Venus Πάνδη*, where *Solon* permitted them to prostitute themselves. They also very much frequented a certain *Forum* in that part of the Haven *Piræus* which was called (στοὰ μακρά) the long Portico, the Parts whereof are thus described by *Julius Pollux*, δειγμα, ἐμπορεύον ἐμπορεύει δὲ μέν, καπηλεύει, καὶ πορνεία. And in other Parts there were commonly great Numbers of Stews, as hath been observed in the precedent Book.

In some places Harlots were distinguished from other Women by their Apparel, whence those Words of *Solomon* (c), *There met him a Woman with the Attire of an Harlot, and subtil of Heart*. What sort of Habit this was, is not certain; but if the *Athenian* Custom was in this, as in many other things, taken from the *Jews*, we may conclude that their Whores wore flowered Garments; for the *Athenian* Lawgiver thinking it necessary to distinguish Women of innocent Conversation from Harlots by some open and visible Mark, ordered that those should never appear abroad but in grave and modest Apparel, and that the rest should always wear flowered Garments. Hence *Clemens* of *Alexandria* hath remarked, that as fugitive Slaves are known by their Stigmata, ἐπὶ τῷ μοιχαλίδι δέκνυνται τὰ ἀνδρίσματα, so flowered Garments are an Indication of an Harlot (d). The same Law was enacted among the *Locrians* by *Zaleucus*, as we are told by *Diodorus* the *Sicilian*, and was also observed at *Syracuse*, as we learn from *Phylarchus* in *Athenæus* (e). For though Harlots were tolerated in the *Grecian* Commonwealth, yet they were generally infamous, and consisted chiefly of Captives and other Slaves. Hence it was forbidden by the Laws of *Athens* to derive the Name of an Harlot from any of the sacred Games, as *Athenæus* hath observed from *Polemo's* Description of the *Acropolis*; whence that Author seems to wonder how it came to pass that a certain Harlot was called *Nemea* from the *Nemean* Games (f).

Corinth is remarkable for being a Nursery of Harlots, there being in that City a Temple of *Venus*, where the readiest Method of gaining the Goddess's Favour was to present her with beautiful Damselfs, who from that time were maintained in the Temple, and prostituted themselves for Hire. We are told by *Strabo* (g), that there

(a) *Proverbs* XVI. 25. (b) *Ibid* com. 31. (c) *Proverbs* VII. 10. (d) *Pædag.* lib. III. cap. iii. (e) *Deipnosoph.* lib. XII. (f) *Vide Architectæolog.* hujus lib. I. cap. de Servis. (g) *Lib.* VIII.

Chap. XII. Of the Miscellaneous Customs of Greece. 309

were no less than a thousand there at that time. Hence κορυθαί-
ξεν, to ask the Corinthian, is ἐταυρῶναι, to commit Fornication, accord-
ing to Hesychius. Λισσαίξεν, λισσαῖν, and φοινικίζειν, are used in
the same Sense, the Lesbians and Phœnicians being infamous for
this Vice. Λισσαίξεν also signifies an impure way of kissing, whence
it is interpreted by the same Author, πρὸς ἄνδρα συμπόδισεν and
λίσσα is expounded λαικήστρια, an Harlot. The Corinthians were
a gentiler sort of Harlots, and admitted none to their Embraces but
such as were able to deposite a considerable Sum, as we learn from
Aristophanes (a);

Καὶ τὰς δ' ἱταίρας παρὶ τὰς Κορινθίας,
ὅταν μὴ αὐταῖς τις πίνης ὦν τύχη,
οὐδὲ σφισίχην ἢ γέν' ἐὰν ᾗ πλείστῳ,
τὸν προκτὸν αὐτὰς δίδως ὡς πῖλον τρίπειν.

This gave occasion to the Proverb,

Οὐ πάντες ἀνδρὸς ἐς Κόρινθον ἰδὲ ὁ πλεῖς.

Which *Horace* has thus translated,

Non cuivis homini contingit adire Corinthum.

To Corinth ev'ry Person cannot fail.

Some rather refer it to the famous Corinthian Strumpet *Lais*, and
others assign other Reasons. Their Occupation indeed was very
gainful, insomuch that those whom Beauty and Parts recommended,
frequently raised great Estates. A remarkable Instance hereof we
have in *Phryne*, who offered the *Thebans* to re-build the Walls of
their City, when demolished by *Alexander*, on condition they
would engrave on them this Inscription;

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΑΝΕΣΚΑΨΕΝ ΑΝΕΣΤΗΣΕ ΔΕ ΦΡΥΝΗ
Η ΕΤΑΙΡΑ.

i. e. *These Walls were demolished by Alexander, but raised by
Phryne the Harlot.*

To render their Conversation more agreeable to Men of Parts and
Quality, they frequently employed their vacant Hours in the Study
of *Mathematicks*, and other Sciences, frequenting the Schools and
Company of Philosophers. *Aspasia*, *Pericles's* beloved Mistress, used
to converse with *Socrates*, and arrived to such a Pitch in Learning,
that many of the *Athenians* resorted to her on account of her Rhe-
torick and Abilities of Discourse; the most grave and serious a-
mongst them frequently went to visit her, and carried their Wives

(a) *Plut. Aët. I. Sc. II.*

with them, as it were, to Lecture, to be instructed by her Conversation. *Pericles* himself used her Advice in the Management of Publick Affairs; and after his death, one *Lyficles*, a silly and obscure Clown; by keeping her company came to be a chief Man at *Athens* (a). Several other Examples of this sort occur in Authors, as of *Archianassa* the *Colophonian*, who was *Plato's* Mistress; *Hepyllis*, who conversed with *Aristotle* till his death, and bore him a Son called *Nicomachus*; lastly (to mention no more) *Leontium*, who frequented *Epicurus's* Gardens, there prostituting herself to the Philosophers, especially to *Epicurus* (b).

C H A P. XIII.

Of the Confinement, and Employments of their Women.

THE barbarous Nations, and amongst them the *Persians* especially, saith (c) *Plutarch*, were naturally jealous, clownish, and morose towards their Women, not only their Wives, but their Slaves and Concubines, whom they kept so strictly, that never any one saw them beside their own Family; when at Home, they were cloystered up; when they took a Journey, they were carried in Coaches or Waggon, close covered at the top, and on all sides: Such a Carriage, my Author tells us, was prepared for *Themistocles*, when he fled into *Persia*, to keep him secret; so that the Men who conveyed him, told all they met and discoursed with upon the Road, that they were carrying a young *Grecian* Lady out of *Ionia* to a Nobleman at Court.

By the manner of *Plutarch's* relating this Story, it may be perceived that neither he, nor his Countrymen the *Greeks*, approved of the Severity used by barbarous Nations toward their Women; yet themselves, tho' remitting something of the *Persian* Rigor, kept their Women under strict Discipline, and were no less excelled by the *Romans* in their Behaviour to them, than themselves surpassed the *Barbarians*; for whereas the *Roman* Women were allowed to be present at publick Entertainments, and to converse with the Guests, and were complimented by their Husbands with the best Rooms in their Houses; those of *Greece* rarely or never appeared in strange Company, but were confined to the most remote Parts of the House (d).

To this end the *Grecian* Houses were usually divided into two Parts, in which the Men and Women had distinct Mansions assigned. The Part wherein the Men lodged was towards the Gate, and

(a) *Plutarch. Pericle.* (b) *Athenæus lib. XIII. cap. v. sub finem.*
(c) *Themistocle.* (d) *Cornelius Nepos præfat. in vitas excellent. Imperatorum.*

called ἀνδρῶν, or ἀνδρώνιτις. The Part assigned for the Women was termed γυναικῶν, γυναικωνίτις, or γυναικωνίτις, it was the farthest Part of the House, and behind the αὐλή, before which there were also other Parts, called προδιδυμοί, and περαύλιον. The Sons of *Priam* in *Homer* were all placed by themselves, and separated from his Daughters, who lived in more remote places (a);

Ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ Πριάμοιο δόμον περικαλλὲ' ἵκανε,
 Ξεστὸν αὐδύσσει πτυγμύρον, αὐτὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ
 Παιήκοντ' ἐνὲθ' θαλάμοις ξεστῷ λίθοιο,
 Πλοσίον ἀλλήλων διδυμυμένοι· ἴνδα ὃ παῖδες
 Κοιμῶντο Πριάμοιο παρὰ μνηστῶν ἀλόχοισι
 Κυρῶν δ' ἐτέρωθεν ἐναντίοι ἐνδοθεν αὐλῆς,
 Δώδεκ' ἐὼς τίθοι θαλάμοις ξεστῷ λίθοιο
 Πλοσίον ἀλλήλων διδυμυμένοι. -----

At *Priam's* Royal Palace he arriv'd,
 In which were fifty beauteous Rooms contriv'd
 Of polish'd Stones, by one another join'd,
 And these were for his marry'd Sons design'd;
 Twelve gaudy Rooms were built with equal Art
 O'th' other side, but these were set apart
 For *Priam's* Daughters. —————

H. H.

Where it may be observed that the Women's Chambers are called τῆμοι θαλάμοι, as being placed at the top of the House; for the Women's Lodgings were usually in the uppermost Rooms, as *Eustathius* remarks upon this Passage (b), which was another Means to keep them from Company. Hence *Helen* is said to have had her Chamber in the loftiest part of the House (c);

Ἡ δ' εἰς ὑψέροτον θαλάμον κίε δῖα γυναικῶν.

Into the upper Chamber *Helen* went.

Penelope appears to have lodged in such another place, to which she ascended by a κλίμαξ; whence the same Poet,

Κλίμακα δ' ὑψηλῇ κατεβήσατο εἰς δόμοιο.

By a long Ladder came down from her Room.

This Word signifies a Stair-case, but in this place may as well denote a Ladder, which seems to have been used in those days, when Architecture was not much understood; whence *Antigone* in *Euripides* calls out to her Guardian to help her up (d).

(a) *Iliad*. 2. v. 242. (b) P. 409. Ed. Basil. (c) *Iliad*. 2. v. 423. (d) *Phœniss*. v. 103.

Ορεγν νυθ, ὄρεγν γραιαὺν
 Νῆα χεῖρ' ἀπὸ κλισιάων,
 Ποδὲς ἰχνηεῖ παυτέλλαν.

Reach out your Hand, and help me up the Ladder.

These upper Rooms were sometimes, especially at *Lacedæmon*, called ὄρεγν, ὄρια, or ὑπερῶνα, which Words being distinguished only by the Accent (the Use whereof seems not to have been known by the ancient *Grecians*) from ὄα, Eggs, are thought by some to have ministered occasion to the Inventors of Fables to feign that *Castor*, *Pollux*, *Helena*, and *Clytemnestra*, were hatched out of Eggs, when they were born in one of these Lofts, or upper Chambers.

The Women were straitly confined within their Lodgings, such especially as had no Husbands, whether Virgins or Widows (a), whereof the former were most severely looked to, as having less Experience in the World. Their Apartment, which was called παρθενῶν, was usually well guarded with Locks and Bolts, whence *Agamemnon* in *Euripides* desiring *Clytemnestra* to go home, and look after the Virgins, which, he tells her, were by no means to be left in the House alone, receives this Answer (b);

Οχυροῖσι παρθενῶσι φερέειν καλᾶς.

They're close kept up in their well-guarded Lodgings.

Sometimes they were so straitly confined, that they could not pass from one part of the House to another without Leave; whence *Antigone* in *Euripides* obtains her Mother's Leave to go to the top of the House to view the *Argian* Army that besieged *Thebes*; notwithstanding which her Guardian searches the Passage, for fear any Person should have a sight of her, which, he says, would be a Reflection upon her Honour, and his own Fidelity. The Old Man's Words are thus addressed to the young Princess (c);

Ω κλεινὸν οἶκος, Ἀλιγρόν, δάλοισ' παῖρσι,
 Ἐπεὶ σε μήτηρ παρθενῶνας ἐκλιπείν
 Μεδῆκε, μελέσθαι δ' ἐς διῆρες ἔχασον
 Στρατόδωμ' ἰδέειν Ἀργεῖον ἱκατίασι σάως.
 Ἐπίχες, ὡς ἂν πρεξερθούσῳ σέβον,
 Μὴ τις πολιτὶς ἐν οἴκῳ παῖδάς τις,
 Κάμοι μὲν ἔλθοι βαῦλον ὡς δάλοισ' ἴδωσιν,
 Σοὶ δ' ὡς ἀνάσσει.

But you, *Antigone*, my Royal Charge,
 The blooming Glory of your Father's House,
 Stir not, tho' suffer'd by your Mother's Leave

(a) Harpocraton. (b) *Iphigen. in Aulid.* v. 738. (c) *Euripid. Phœniss.* v. 88. same

Some time from your Apartment to withdraw,
 And to ascend the House's lofty top,
 From thence the *Argian* Forces to survey,
 But stay till first I see the Way be clear,
 That by a Citizen you be not seen,
 For that would much reflect upon my Care,
 And from your Royal Honour derogate.

New-marry'd Women were almost under as strict a Confinement as Virgins. *Hermione* is severely reproved by the Old Woman that waits on her for appearing out of Doors, which was a Freedom, she tells her, like to endanger her Reputation (a) ;

Αλλ' εἴπθ' εἶσω, μὴδὲ φανιάζῃς δόμων
 Πάρεσθαι πῶνδαι, μὴ πν' αἰχμάλω λαβῆς
 Ρέσθαι μελάθρον ἢ δ' ὀρεσμήνη, τέκνον.

Go in, nor stand thus gazing at the Doors,
 Lest you lament the Scandal you'll procure,
 Should you be seen before the Hall t' appear.

Menander, as cited by *Stobæus* (b), says expressly, that the Door of the αὐλή was the farthest a married Woman ought to go, and reproves one for exceeding those Limits ;

Τὰς ἢ γαμήθ' ὅρας ὑπερβαίνεις, γυναι,
 Διὰ τίω αὐλάν· πέρα γ' αὐλῆς οὐδέν
 Εἰδούδρα γυναικὶ νενόμισ' οἰκίας.

You go beyond the marry'd Women's Bounds,
 And stand before the Hall, which is unfit ;
 The Laws do not permit a free-born Bride
 Farther than to the Doors o'th' House to go.

But when they had once brought a Child into the World, they were no longer under so strict a Confinement, whence μήτηρ, a Mother, is by some derived ἀπὸ τῆς μὴ τηρεῖσθαι, from her being no longer under Keepers (c) ; yet what Freedom they then enjoyed was owing wholly to the Kindness of their Husbands, for such as were jealous kept their Wives in perpetual Imprisonment ; whence a Woman in *Aristophanes* makes this Complaint of the severe Treatment the *Athenian* Wives met with (d) ;

----- Ταῖς γυναικωνίπῃν
 Σφραγίδας ὁππότε λυγρὴν ἦδη, ἢ μοχλῆς,
 Τηρέντες ἡμᾶς, πορσέει Μολοπίκας
 Τρέμει, μωμολύκεα πῖς μοιχοῖς, κυρίας.

(a) *Andromache*, v. 876. (b) *Serm.* LXXII. (c) *Etymologicæ*
 Auctor. (d) *Theſmophor.* p. 774. Ed. *Amſtelod.*

But strictly us poor Women they confine
Within our Chambers, under Lock and Key,
Make use of Mastiffs, Goblins, any thing
That may Adulterers affright. —————

H. H.

However Husbands might be of a better Temper, yet it was looked on as very indecent for Women to gad abroad; whence we find several proverbial Speeches and Allusions, intimating the Duty of Wives to stay at Home. Such is that cited by *Eustathius* out of *Euripides* (a);

Ενδὸν γυναικῶν ἐν παρ' οἰκίταις λόγῳ.

Women should keep within Doors, and there talk.

To the same purpose was *Phidias's* Emblem, representing *Venus* treading upon a Tortoise (b), which carries its House upon its Back.

When they went abroad, or appeared in publick, they covered their Faces with Veils; as we find of *Penelope*, when she descended from her Apartment to converse with the young Gentlemen that courted her (c);

Ἡ δ' ὅτε δὴ μνηστῆρας ἀφίκετο δῖα γυναικῶν,
στῆ ῥα παρὰ σκαθμὸν τίγῃ πύκα πομπῶς,
ἀνὰ παρειᾶν χιμῶν λιπαρὰ κρήδεμνα.

Then from her Lodging went the beauteous Dame,
And to her much expecting Courtiers came,
There veil'd before the Door she stood.

The Veil was so thin as that they might see through it, which appears from these Words of *Iphigenia* (d);

Εγὼ δὲ λεπτῶν ὄμμα διὰ καλυμμάτων
ἔχουσ', ἀδελφὴν ὥσπερ εἰλόμην χερσίν,
Ὅς νῦν ὄλαλ' ἐν. —————

Seeing my Brother thro' my thinnest Veil,
I took him by the Hand, who now is dead.

To prevent all private Assignations, *Solon* enacted, that no Wife or Matron (for he took not so much care of Virgins, who were always strictly confined) should go from Home with more than three Garments, nor should carry with her a larger Quantity of Meat and Drink than could be purchased for one *Obolus*, nor a Basket of more than a Cubit in length. He farther ordered, that she should not

(a) *Iliad*. 6. p. 429. Ed. *Bas*. (b) *Plutarchus* de præcept. connub.
(c) *Odyss.* 6. v. 208. (d) *Euripid. Iphigen. Taur.* v. 372.

Chap. XIII. Of the Miscellaneous Customs of Greece. 315

travel in the Night without a lighted Torch before her Chariot. Afterwards it was decreed, at the Instance of *Philippides*, that no Woman should appear in publick undressed, under the Penalty of paying 1000 Drachms. This Law was carefully put in Execution by the Officers called *γυναικονόμοι*. and *γυναικοκόμοι*, and a Tablet, containing an Account of the Mulcts thus incurred, was publickly exposed in the *Ceramicus* (a), upon a *Plane-tree* (πλατάνῳ) which stood there.

It was likewise customary for Women to have Attendants. *Penelope* has two maids with her (b) in *Homer*;

ὣς εἰπὼν, καί τ' ἐκ τῆς ἐσφώϊας σφαλόντα,
οὐκ οἶν' ἄμα τῇ γὰρ καὶ ἀμφίπολοι δὴ' ἔποντο.

She said, and from her Chamber straight descends,
Two Maids upon her Person wait.——

These seem to have been Women of Age and Gravity; whence *Homer* presently subjoins,

ἀμφίπολ' δ' ἄρα οἱ κεδνὴν ἐκείτ' ὅδε παρέσθην.

A Maid, whose Years a riper Judgement shew'd,
On either side t' attend the Lady stood.

Nor did these Women attend their Ladies when they went abroad only, but kept them company at Home, and had the Care of their Education when young, and are therefore called *τρεῖς*. Nor were Women only appointed to this Charge, for *Antigone* in the forecited Tragedy of *Euripides* has an Old Man for her Governour. It was likewise frequent to commit Women to *Eunuchs*, who performed all the Offices of Maids, and were usually entertained by Persons of Quality; whence *Phædria* speaks thus to his Mistress (c) :

—— *Eunuchum porro dixti velle te,
Quia solæ utuntur his reginæ.*

An *Eunuch* Boy was your peculiar Choice,
Since on great Ladies they do chiefly wait.

The first that made *Eunuchs* was *Semiramis* (d). The barbarous Nations were ordinarily much fonder of them than *Greeks* (e), who looked upon it as an inhuman piece of Cruelty to use Men after that manner. *Phocylides* has left a particular Caution against it (f) :

(a) *Athenæus*, Lib. VI. csp. ix. *Pollux*, Lib. VIII. cap. ix. *Hesychius* voce πλατάνῳ. *Eustathius* in *Iliad.* κ'. (b) *Odyss.* loc. cit. (c) *Tarentii Eunuch.* Act. I. Sc. II. (d) *Ammianus Marcellinus*, Hist. Lib. xiv. (e) *Philostratus* vit. *Apollonii Tyanei.* Lib. I. c. xxi. (f) V. 175.

Μηδ' αὖ παιδογόνον ποτὲ τέμνειν ἄρσυνα κῆρυ.

Nor ever castrate a brisk vig'rous Youth.

The Primitive Ages used their Women agreeably to the Simplicity of their Manners, they accustomed them to draw Water, to keep Sheep, and feed Cows, or Horses. The Rich and Noble were taken up with such Employments as well as those of inferiour Quality. *Rebecca*, the Daughter of *Bethuel*, *Abraham's* Brother, carried a Pitcher, and drew Water (a). *Rachel*, the Daughter of *Laban*, kept her Father's Sheep (b). *Zipporah*, with her six Sisters, had the Care of her Father *Jethro's* Flocks, who was a Prince, or, which in those Times was an Honour scarce inferiour, Priest of *Midian* (c). The like may be observed of *Andromache*, *Hector's* Lady, in *Homer* (d), where that Hero thus bespeaks his Horses ;

Ξάναθε τε καὶ σὺ Πόδαργα, καὶ Αἴδων, Λάμπει τε δῖε,
Ναῦ μοι τιλὸν κορυμβῶν ἀποτίθειον, ὡς μέλα πολλὰ
Ἀγδρεμέχῃ, θυγάτηρ μεγαλήτορ· Ἡλίων·
Τμῖν παρ' αἰετῆρεςισι μελήφρονα πυρὸν ἔειπκεν,
Οἷον τ' ἐγκραέσσασα πεινὸν ὅτε θυμὸς ἀνάρῃ (ε).

My mettled Steeds, *Xanthus* with yellow Mane,
Podargus, you, who fleetly beat the Plain,
Ethon, who furiously sustain'st the Fight,
And *Lampus* thou, whose Flanks are sleek and bright,
Now see my Corn you carefully repay,
With Courage bear the Labour of the Day,
Since my dear Wife, when you inclin'd to eat,
Hath mingled strengthening Liquor with your Meat.

J. A.

The most common Employments of Women were spinning, weaving, and making all sorts of Embroidery or Needlework: Instances of this nature are too numerous to be recited in this place, for so constantly were they taken up in these Businessees, that most Houses, where there was any Number of Women, had Rooms set apart for this End, which seem to have been near the Women's Apartments, if not the same; for *Pollux* enumerating the different Rooms in Houses, after he has mentioned *γυναικίον*, presently adds, *ἱστὸν δάλαμον, τραπεζῆς οἴκου, ἐστῆς*.

Women had likewise several other Employments, the Provision of all Necessaries within Doors being usually committed to them. I shall not insist on Particulars, but only observe in the last place, that their Usage was very different, according to the Temper of

(a) Genes. xxiv. 15. (b) Ibid. xxix. 6. (c) Exod. ii. 16. (d) *Iliad*. 9. v. 185. (e) Vide Comment. nostrum in *Lycophron*, v. 91. their

Chap. XIII. Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece. 317

their Husbands or Guardians, the Value of their Fortunes, and the Humour of the Place or Age they lived in.

The *Lacedæmonian* Women observed Fashions quite different from all their Neighbours, their Virgins went abroad barefaced, the married Women were covered with Veils, the former designing (as *Charilus* replied to one that enquired the Reason of that Custom) to get themselves Husbands, whereas the latter aimed at nothing more than keeping those they already had (a). We have a large Account of the *Spartan* Women's Behaviour in the following Words of *Plutarch* (b): "In order to the good Education of their Youth, which is the most important Work of a Lawgiver, *Lycurgus* went so far back as to take into Consideration their very Conception and Birth, by regulating their Marriages; for *Aristotle* wrongs the Memory of this excellent Person, by bearing us in hand, that after he had tried all manner of ways to reduce the Women to more Modesty, and Subjection to their Husbands, he was at last forced to leave them as they were, because that in the Absence of their Husbands, who spent a great Part of their Lives in the Wars, their Wives made themselves absolute Mistresses at Home, and would be treated with as much Respect as if they had been so many Queens; but by his good Leave it is a Mistake, for *Lycurgus* took for that Sex all the Care that was possible; for an Instance of it, he ordered the Maidens to exercise themselves with running, wrestling, throwing Quoits, and casting Darts, to the end that the Fruit they conceived might take deeper root, grow strong, and spread itself into healthy and vigorous Bodies and withal that they might be more able to undergo the Pains of Child-bearing; and to the end he might take away their over great Tenderneſs and Nicety, he ordered they should appear naked as well as the Men, and dance too in that Condition at their solemn Feasts and Sacrifices, singing certain Songs, whilst the young Men stood in a Ring about them, seeing and hearing them; in these Songs they now and then gave a satirical Glance upon those who had mis-behaved themselves in the Wars, sometimes sang Encomiums upon those who had done any gallant Action, and by these Means inflamed young Men with an Emulation of their Glory; for those that were thus commended, went away brave and well satisfied with themselves, and those that were rallied, were as sensibly touched with it as if they had been formally and severely reprimanded, and so much the more, because the Kings and whole Senate saw and heard all that passed. Now though it may seem strange that Women should appear thus naked in publick, yet was true Modesty observed, and Wantonneſs excluded, and it tended to render their Conversation free and unserved, and to beget in them a Desire of being vigorous and active, and filled them with Courage and generous Thoughts, as being allowed their Share in the Rewards of Virtue as well as Men.

(a) *Plutarchus* Apophthegmat. *Laconicis*. (b) *Lycurgo*.

"Hence

“Hence came that Sense of Honour and Nobleness of Spirit, of which we have an Instance in *Gorgo*, the Wife of King *Leonidas*, who being told in Discourse with some foreign Ladies, that the Women of *Lacedæmon* were they only of the World who had an Empire over the Men, briskly repartee’d, that there was good reason, *for they were the only Women that brought forth Men*. Lastly, these publick Processions of the Maidens, and their appearing naked in their Exercises and Dancings, were Provocations and Baits to stir up and allure the young Men to Marriage, and that not upon Geometrical Reasons, as *Plato* calls them (such are Interest and Equality of Fortune) but from the Engagements of true Love and Affection.”

Afterwards, when *Lycurgus*’s Laws were neglected, and the *Spartans* had degenerated from the strict Virtue of their Fore-fathers, their Women also were ill-spoken of, and made use of the Freedom, which their Lawgiver allowed them, to no good Purposes; insomuch that they are censured of unlawful Pleasures, and branded by *Euripides*, as cited by *Plutarch* (a), with the Epithet of *ἀνδραγαῖς*, i. e. possessed with furious love of, and, as it were, running mad after Men.

C H A P. XIV..

Of their Customs in Child-bearing, and managing I N F A N T S.

THose who desired to have Children were usually very liberal, in making Presents and Offerings to the Gods, especially to such as were thought to have the Care of Generation. I shall not trouble the Reader with a particular Account of the Names of these Deities, and the Manner they were worshipped in; but it may be requisite to observe, that the *Athenians* invoked on this Account certain Gods called *Τεγονότορες*, or *Τεγονάτορες*. Who these were, or what was the Origination of their Name, is not easy to determine. *Orpheus*, as cited by *Phanodemus* in *Suidas*, makes their proper Names to be *Amaclides*, *Protocles*, and *Protocleon*, and will have them to preside over the Winds; *Demo* makes them to be Winds themselves; but what Business the Winds or their Governors have in Generation, is difficult to imagine. Another Author in the same *Lexicographer* tells us their Names were *Cottus*, *Briareus*, and *Gyges*, and that they were the Sons of *Οὐρανός* and *Γῆ*, i. e. *Heaven* and *Earth*. *Philochorus* likewise makes *Earth* their Mother, but instead of *Heaven* substitutes the *Sun* or *Apollo* for their Father, whence he seems to account as well for their being accounted the Superintendents of Generation, as for the Name of *Τεγονότορες*,

(a) *Numa*.

Chap. XIV. Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece. 319

for being immediately descended from two immortal Gods, themselves (saith he) were thought *τρίτοι πατέρες*, the third Fathers, and therefore might well be esteemed the common Parents of Mankind, and from that Opinion derive those Honours, which the Athenians paid them as the Authors and Presidents of Human Generation (a).

The Goddes who had the Care of Women in Child-bed was called *Ειλείθυα*, or *Ειλήθυα*, sometimes *Ελεῦθα*, as in the Epigram;

----- Μόχθον Ελεῦθε
Εκφυγες. -----

You're past the Pangs, o'er which *Eleutho* reigns.

She is called in Latin *Lucina*. Both had the same Respects paid by Women, and the same Titles and Epithets: *Elythyia* is called by *Nonnus* (b),

----- Αρήτων Σηλυεργών.

The succouring Deity in Child-birth.

Ovid speaks in the same manner of the *Latin* Goddes (c);

———— *Gravidis facilis Lucina puellis.*

Lucina kind to teeming Ladies.

The Woman in *Theocritus* invokes *Elithyia* (d);

Ενθα γδ Ειλείθυα ιεῖσατο λυσίζωνον.

For there thy Mother t' *Elithyia* prays
To ease her Throws. ———

The *Roman* Women called for *Lucina's* Assistance; whence *Ovid*,

———— *Tu voto parturientis ades.*

You kindly Women in their Travail hear.

Several other things are common to both. As *Elithyia* was stiled, *ᾠδίνων ἱπαρχος*, *Σηλειῶν σῶτρεα*, &c. so likewise *Lucina* was graced with various Appellations denoting her Care of Women. Their Names indeed appear to have distinct Originals, yet both have relation to the same Action; for *Ειλήθυα* is derived *ἐκ τῆς ἐλθέω*, from coming, either because she came to assist Women in

(a) Vide *Suidam*, *Etymologici Auctorem*, *Phavorinum*, *Hesychium*, &c. (b) *Dionysiacis*. (c) *Fast. Lib. II.* (d) *Idyll. ζ'.*
Labour,

Labour, or rather from her being invoked to help the Infant
 ἵκεσθαι εἰς τὸ φῶς, to come into the Light, or the World. *Lucina*
 is taken from *lux*, Light, for the same Reason, according to *Ovid*,

— *Tu nobis lucem, Lucina, dedisti.*

Lucina, you first brought us into Light.

The Greek Name Φωσφόρος, sometimes attributed to this Goddess, is of the same Import with the *Latin*, *Lucina*, being derived from bringing Light, because it was by her Assistance that Infants were safely delivered out of their dark Mansions to enjoy the Light of this World. In Allusion to this the Greek and *Latin* Goddesses were both represented with lighted Torches in their Hands; which Reason seems far more natural than that which some assign, viz. ὅτι γυναικῶν ἐν ἰσθμῷ καὶ πῦρ εἶναι αἰ ἀδύνατον. that the Pain of bearing Children is no less exquisite than that of burning (a).

Who this *Elithyia* is, Authors are not well agreed; Some will have her to be an *Hyperborean*, who came from her own Country to *Delos*, and there assisted *Latona* in her Labour; they add, that this Name was first used at *Delos*, and thence derived to other Parts of the World (b). *Olen*, the first Writer of divine Hymns in *Greece*, makes her the Mother of *Cupid*, whence it might be inferred she was the same with *Venus*, were not *Pausanias*, who cites this Passage of *Olen*, against it, when he brings this as a different Account of *Cupid's* Descent from that received one of his being *Venus's* Son (c). The same Poet, cited by the same Author (d), will have her to be more ancient than *Saturn*, and the self-same with *Περεσφύρα*, which is the *Grecian* Name for Fate. Others make her the same with *Juno*, *Diana*, the *Moon*, &c. What appears most probable, is, that all the θεοὶ γυναικῶν, i. e. those Deities who were thought to have any Concern for Women in Child-bed, were called *Elithyia*, and *Lucina*, for these are general Names, and sometimes given to one Deity, sometimes to another.

Juno was one of these Goddesses, whence the Woman thus invokes her;

Juno Lucina, fer opem. —

Juno Lucina, help, assist the Labour.

There are several remarkable Stories concerning *Juno's* Power in this Affair, whereof I shall only mention that about *Alcmæna*, who, having incurred this Goddess's Displeasure by being *Jupiter's* Mistress, and being with Child by him, *Sthenelus's* Wife being likewise with Child at the same time, but not so forward as the other;

(a) *Pausanias Arcadicis*, p. 443. Edit. *Hanov.* (b) *Idem Atticis*, p. 31. (c) *Bæoticis*, p. 281. (d) *Arcadicis*, p. 487.

Chap. XIV. Of the Miscellaneous Customs of Greece. 321

Juno first obtained that he who should be first born should rule over the other, then altered the Course of Nature, caused *Eurystheus* to be born of *Sthenelus's* Wife, and afterwards *Hercules* of *Alcmena*, whence *Hercules* was always subject to *Eurystheus*, and undertook his famous Labours in Obedience to his Commands.

The Daughters of this Goddess were employed in the same Office, and dignified with the same Title, as we find in *Homer* (a);

Ὡς δ' ὅταν ᾠδίνῃ ἔχῃ βέλῳ ὄξυ γυναικᾶ,
Δελμὺ τὸ π πρῶϊσσι μορσίοις Εἰλείθυῃ,
Ἥρῃς θυγατέρες πικρὰς ᾠδίνης ἔχουσιν
Ὡς ὄξει ὀδῶσαι δαῶν μὲνθ' Ἀτρεΐδαι,

Such racking Smart *Atrides* felt, such Pain,
As pregnant Wives in Labour do sustain,
Which *Juno's* Daughters th' *Elithyia* give,
As both to Child and Mother a Relief.

The *Moon* was another of these Deities, insomuch that *Cicero* will have *Luna*, the *Moon's* Name in *Latin*, to be the same with *Lucina*; nor was it without Reason that the *Moon* was thought one of the Deities that had the Care of Child-bearing, since, as several Philosophers are of opinion, her Influences were very efficacious in carrying on the Work of Generation (b).

Diana being commonly reputed the same with the *Moon*, was likewise thought to bear the same Office, as we find in *Horace*, who having invoked celestial *Diana*, proceeds thus (c);

Rite maturos aperire partus
Lenis Ilithyia, tuere matres,
Sive tu Lucina probas vocari,
Seu Genitalis:
Diva, producas sobolem, patrumque
Prosperes decreta super jugandis
Fæminis, prolisque novæ feraci
Lege marita.

Propitious *Ilithyia*, thou, whose Care
Presides o'er Child-birth, lend a pitying Ear,
Prolifick Wombs defend and bleis,
May they conceive, and in their Issue have Success;
Let Laws and Statutes of the Wife
Promote, enjoin, encourage Marriage-ties,
And may our Senators agree
T' enact good wholesome Rules for Bridal Sympathy:
Whether we thee *Lucina* name,
Or whether *Luna*, still the same

(a) *Iliad*. λ'. v. 269. (b) *Cicero* de Nat. Deor. lib. II. (c) *Car-*
mine Seculari.

322 *Of the Miscellany of Customs Greece. Chap. XIV.*

W' invoke, we humbly crave thy Influence and Aid,
With blooming Joys to crown the Rites o' th' nuptial Bed.
J. A.

The same Poet in another place has attributed the same Care to this Goddess, not in her celestial Capacity, and as bearing the same Character with the *Moon*, but as frequenting these lower Regions, and traversing the Woods (a) ;

*Montium custos, memorumque virgo,
Quæ laborantes utero puellas
Ter vocata audis, adimisque letho,
Diva triformis.*

Goddeſs, to whom belongs each Hill, each Brake,
Where frighted Deer their Covert make,
Triple *Diana*, who doſt hear,
And help Child-bearing Women after the third Pray'r.

Hence ſhe is called in *Theocritus*, *μοῖσός*, the common Epithet of *Elythyia*,

Ἀλλὰ τῇ βασιλείᾳ μοῖσός Ἀβριμὶς ἔστι.

Orpheus gives her divers other Titles relating to this Affair (b) ;

Παισφάης, θαδῶρε, θεὰ δίκλιωνα, λοχεία,
Ωδίνων ἱπασφάη, καὶ ὠδίνων ἀμνηστὴ,
Λυπίζαν, ἔστι.

The Epithets *παισφάη*, *εὐρύσκιος*, *ἔστι*. which denote the giving of Life and Light, being likewise attributed to *Proserpina*, make it seem that she was also thought to be concerned for Women in Labour ; which cannot appear strange, if we consider her as the same Goddess with *Diana*, who being in three different Capacities, as conversant in Heaven, Earth, and Hell, has three distinct Names ; in Heaven she is *Σελήνη*, the *Moon* ; upon the Earth *Ἀβριμς*, *Diana* ; in Hell, *Περσεφόνη*, *Proserpina* ; whence are those Epithets, whereby the Poets denote her threefold Character, as *τετράμορφος*, *triformis*, *tergemina*, with several others.

One End of invoking these Goddesses was, that the Women might be delivered without Pain, which was thought an infallible Token of the Divine Favour ; whence *Theocritus*, in his Encomium of *Ptolemy*, reckons it as an extraordinary Blessing that his Mother *Berenice* brought him into the World without Pain (c) ;

----- Σὲ δ', αἰχμητὴ Πτολεμαῖς,
Αἰχμητὴ Πτολεμαίᾳ ἀείζουσα Βερενίκη.

(a) Lib. III. Od. xxii. (b) Hymno in *Dianam*. (c) *Idyll. ζ'*.
v. 56. Καί

Chap. XIV. *Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece.* 323

Καί σε Κόως ἀίψαλλε βρέφῳ νεογμόν ἴοντα
 Διξαμένη παρὰ μητρὸς, ὅτε πρῶτον ἴδῃς αὖ·
 Ἐνθα γδ' Εἰλείθυαν ἐβάστατο λυσίζωνον
 Ἀνιγόντας θυγάτηρ βεβαρημένη ὠδίνεσσιν,
 Ἡ δ' εἰ οἱ δ' ἄμφω οἶσα παρὶς ἔωτο, καδδ' ἄρα πάντων
 Νουσθίαν κελίχθου μελῶν. -----

But *Berenice* hath these Births outdone,
 She brought great *Ptolemy* as great a Son;
 First *Coos* danc'd thee, thee, Mankind's Delight,
 She took thee at thy first Approach to Light:
 For there thy Mother to *Lucina* pray'd
 To ease her Throws, and found a speedy Aid;
 She came, stood by, and gently loos'd her Pain,
 Thy very Birth was easy as thy Reign.

Mr. Creech.

Nay, so great an Opinion had they of this Favour, that the Gods were believed to vouchsafe it to none but the Chaste and Virtuous; whence it came to be looked on as a convincing Proof of a Woman's Honesty. Thus we find in *Plautus* (a), that when *Amphytryon* expresses his jealous Thoughts concerning *Alcmena*, this Argument is offered to allay his Passion;

BR. ——— *Uxorem tuam*
Neque gementem, neque plorantem nostrum quisquam audivimus,
Ita profecto sine dolore peperit.

Your Wife is brought to bed with ease, since none
 Hath heard so much as Groan or Sigh come from her.

Another Token of Divine Favour was thought to be conferred when they brought forth Twins, which happening to *Alcmena*, was urged as another Proof of her Innocence (b);

BR. ——— *Ego faciam, tu idem ut aliter prædices,*
Amphitruo, piam & pudicam esse tuam uxorem ut scias;
De ea re signa atque argumenta paucis verbis eloquar:
Omnium primum, Alcmena geminos peperit filios. (me dicere,
AM. Ain' duos geminos? BR. Geminos. AM. Dii me servent! BR. Sine
Ut scias tibi, tuæque uxori Deos esse omnes propitios.

BR. I'll wipe away Aspersions, and declare
 By a sure Token, Sir, my Lady's chaste,
 You'll not then falsely in the least suspect
 That she hath injur'd or defil'd your Bed:
 Sir: she hath brought forth Twins. AM. Twins say you? BR. Yes!

(a) *Amphytryone*. Act. V. Sc. I. (b) *Ibidem*.

324 *Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece. Chap. XIV.*

AM. Bless me ! BR. I'll this protest, to shew that you
And my good Mistress are the Care of Heav'n.

J. A.

They had likewise other Means to procure an easy Delivery, one of which was, to hold in their Hands Palm-Branches, Tokens of Joy and Conquest, and used as Emblems of Persons raised from great Afflictions to Prosperity, it being observed of that Tree, that the hanging of heavy Weights upon it is a Means to cause it to branch out to a greater Height. *Latona* when brought to bed with *Apollo*, made use of this Expedient to ease her Pain ; whence *Theognis* thus bespeaks that God (a) ;

----- Σε θεὰ τέκε πόντια Λητώ,
Φοίνικ' ῥαδιῆς χερσὶν ἐφαψαμένη.

When handling Palm *Latona* brought you forth.

Homer likewise mentions *Latona's* travelling near a Palm-tree (b) ;

Χαῖρε, μέλαιρ' ὦ Λητοῖ, ἵππαι τέκεσ' ἀγλαὰ τέκνα,
Απόμωνάτ' ἀνακταὶ καὶ Δελφιδὸν ἰοχέαιραν·
Τὴν μὲν ἐν Ὀρτυγίῃ, τὴν δὲ Κροναῖῳ ἐνὶ Δήλῳ,
Κεκλιμένην πρὸς μακρὸν ὄρεα καὶ Κυώδιον ὄχθον
Δίχρ' ἔπειτα φοίνικ' ὑπὸ Ἰωνοπόιο ῥέεθρος.

What Tides of Bliss do sport about thy Throne ;
What Joys do in eternal Circles run,
Latona, who hast such a Daughter, such a Son ?
Diana, Queen of Woods, she there bears Sway,
Apollo's Reign great Empires do obey ;
Her Birth *Ortygia* boasts, the God was born
Under a Palm-tree, *Delos* to adorn ;
Inopus nigh, peep'd up with swelling Tide,
And in curl'd Surges smilingly did glide.

J. A.

It is observable that the ancient *Athenians* used none but Men-Midwives, it being forbidden by one of their Laws that Women or Slaves should have any Concern in the Study or Practice of Physick. This proving very fatal to many Women, whose Modesty suffered them not to entrust themselves in the Hands of Men, one *Agnodice* disguised herself in Man's Clothes, and studied Physick under a certain Professor called *Herophilus*, where having attained to a competent Skill in that Art, she revealed herself to her own Sex, who agreed with one Consent to employ none beside her. Hereupon the Rest of the Physicians, enraged at their Want of Business, indicted her before the Court of *Arcopagus*, as one that corrupted

(a) Gnom. v. 5. (b) Hymn. in *Apollin.* v. 14.

Chap. XIV. Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece. 325

Mens Wives. To obviate this Accusation she discovered what Sex she was of; upon this the Physicians prosecuted her with great Eagerness, as violating the Laws, and encroaching upon the Mens Prerogative; when, to prevent her Ruin, the principal Matrons of the City came into Court, and address'd themselves to the Judges, telling them, "That they were not Husbands, but Enemies, who "were going to condemn the Person to whom they owed their "Lives." Upon this the *Athenians* repealed the old Law, and permitted free Women to undertake this Employment (a).

No sooner was the Child brought into the World but they wash'd it with Water; whence *Callimachus*, speaking of *Jupiter's* Nativity, has these Words (b);

Ενθα σ' ἐπεὶ μήτηρ μεγάλων ἀπιδήκατο κόλπον,
 Αὐτίκα δίζητο ῥόον ὕδατος, ᾧ καὶ τόκοιο
 Λύματα χυτλώται, πρὶν δ' ἐνὶ χερσὶν ἰοῦσαι.

As soon as you was born, and saw the Light,
 Your Mother's grateful Burthen and Delight,
 She sought for some clear Brook to purify
 The Body of so dear a Progeny.

Lycophron also designing to express the Murder of *Cilla* and her Son *Munitus*, which was effected as soon as the Child was born, says they died before the Boy was washed or suckled (c);

Ἰν' ἄλμα πάππη, καὶ χαμδινάδ' ὁ μόρος
 Τῆς λαθροῦμος πόρ' ἵετο μεμιγμένῃ
 Σκύμνω κέχυνθ', πρὶν λαφύξαι γέν' ὅν',
 Πρὶν ἐν λοχείᾳ γῆα χυτλώσῃ δέξασθαι.

A stol'n Embrace sent *Cilla* to the Fates
 With her *Munitus*, the young Bastard-Brat,
 Who both were kill'd nigh unto *Ihus's* Tomb,
 Her Grandfather, before the Child had been
 Cleans'd from the Issue of the spurious Birth.

The *Lacedæmonians* bathed their new-born Infants, not in Water, as was the Custom of all other Countries (saith *Plutarch* in his Life of *Lycurgus*) but Wine, to prove the Temper and Complexion of their Bodies; for they had a Conceit that weakly Children would fall into Convulsions, or immediately faint upon their being thus bathed; on the contrary, those who were of a strong and vigorous Constitution, would acquire a greater Degree of Firmness by it, and get a Temper in proportion like Steel in the quenching.

The next Action observable is Cutting the Child's Navel, which was done by the Nurfes, and called ὁμαλτομία (d), whence arose

(a) *Hyginus* Fab. cclxxiv. (b) *Hymno in Jove* v. 14. (c) *Cassand. v. 319.* ubi consulendus *Meursii* Commentarius. (d) *Suith.* in ista voce.

the proverbial Saying, ὀμφαλός σε ἐστί φρενιμήθη, i. e. *thy Navel is not cut*; which is as much as if we say, you are an Infant, and scarce separated from your Mother. There was a Place in *Crete* called *Omphalum*, from ὀμφαλός, a Navel, because *Jupiter's* Navel-string was cut there; whence *Callimachus* speaks to him thus (a),

Τελείμ τοι πίστι, δ᾿αἶμον, ἀπ' ὀμφαλός· ἔνθα γ' ἐκείνη
Ομφάλιον μείπειλα πέδον καλέουσι Κύνδωνες.

Then the Nurse wrapped the Child in Swaddling-bands, left its Limbs, being then tender and flexible, should happen to be distorted; only the *Spartan* Nurses were so careful and experienced, that without using Swaddling-bands their Children were straight and well proportioned. Their Management of Children differed likewise from all the rest of the *Grecians* in several other Instances; for “they used them to any Sort of Meat, and sometimes to bear the want of it, not to be afraid in the dark, or to be alone, nor to be froward, peevish, and crying, as they are generally in other Countries, through the impertinent Care and Fondness of those who look to them. Upon this account *Spartan* Nurses were frequently hired by People of other Countries; and it is reported that she who suckled *Alcibiades* was a *Spartan* (b).”

To return; new-born Infants were at *Athens* commonly wrapped in a Cloth, wherein was represented the *Gorgon's* Head, because that was described in the Shield of *Minerva*, the Protectress of that City, whereby, it may be, Infants were committed to the Goddess's Care. Another End of it might be, to put them in mind, when arrived at Mens Estate, that they were to imitate such noble and generous Examples as were there represented; or to be an happy Omen of their future Valour; for which Reasons it was likewise customary to lay them upon Bucklers; thus *Hercules* and his Brother *Iphiclus* were placed by *Alcmena* (c);

Ἡρακλῆα δεικάμηνον ἔόντα ποχ' αἰ Μιδεῶπις
Ἀλκμήῃ, καὶ τυκτὴ νάπτεσσιν Ἰρικλῆα,
Ἀμφότερος λάσασα, καὶ ἐυπλήσασα γάλακτι,
Χαλκείαν κατέθηκεν ἐπ' αἰσίδα, τὸν Πτερίδα
Ἀμφιτρύαν καλὸν ὄπλον ἀποκύλδουσι πέτοντι.

Alcides ten Months old, a vig'rous Child,
Alcmena fed, and laid him on a Shield,
(The Shield from *Pterelus Amphitryo* won,
A great, auspicious Cradle for his Son)
With younger *Iphiclus* of Human Race,
No Part of him was drawn from *Jove's* Embrace.

Mr. Creech.

(a) Hymno in *Jovem*. v. 44. (b) *Plutarchus Lycurgo*. (c) *Theocriti Idyll. xlv. initio*.

Chap. XIV. Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece. 327

The *Lacedæmonians* strictly observed this Ceremony, whence *Nonnus* (a) ;

----- Λακωνίδες οἷα γυναικας
Τίτας αἰδίνεσθιν ἐπ' ἐκυκλοισι βοείας,

On a round Buckler the *Laconian* Dames
Lay down their Burthen of Child-birth -----

In other Places they placed their Infants in a thing bearing some resemblance to whatever sort of Life they designed them for. Nothing was more common than to put them in Vans, or Conveniences to winnow Corn, in *Greek* Δίκνα, which were designed as Omens of their future Riches and Affluence (b). This was not always a real Van, but commonly an Instrument bearing the Figure of it, composed of Gold, or other Materials. Thus *Callimachus* tells us *Nemesis* placed young *Jupiter* in a golden Van (c) ;

----- Σὲ δ' αἰμίσειν Ἀδρήστεια
Δίκνῳ ἐνὶ χρυσέῳ.

In a Gold Van *Nemesis* laid you to sleep.

One thing more is to be observed concerning the *Athenians* before we dismiss this Head, viz. that it was a common Practice among them, especially in Families of Quality, to place their Infants on Dragons of Gold ; which Custom was instituted by *Minerva*, in memory of *Erichthonius*, one of their Kings, who had Feet like those of Serpents, and being exposed to the wide World when an Infant, was committed by that Goddess to the Custody of two vigilant Dragons. *Euripides* has largely accounted for this Ceremony, when he speaks of *Creusa's* Son, whom she bore to *Apollo* (d) ;

--- Ως δ' ἦλθε χερὶν
Τικᾶτ' ἐν οἴκοις παῖδ', ἀπλώεγκε βρέφῳ
Εἰς ταῦτ' ἄντερον, ἔπειρ' ἡνέσθη θεῶ,
Κρίεσθαι κακλίδησιν αἷς θαιεμόρον
Κοίλῃς ἐν ἀντίπηγῳ ὀλέσθαι κύκλῳ,
Προγόνων νόμον σώζεσθαι, πῶς τε γηγλυῖς
Βελχθονίς κείνῳ γδ' ἡ Διὸς κόρη
Φρεσὶ παρὰζώεσθαι εὐλαχας σώματῳ,
Διάσθ' ὀρακόντε, παρθένοισι Ἀγλαυρίπῃ
Δίδωσι σώζειν ὅθ' ἔστιν Ερεχθεΐδης ἐκεί
Νόμῳ πῶς ὅστιν ὄφειν ἐν χρυσηλατοῖς
Τρέφειν τέκνα.

(a) *Dionysiacis* lib. xli. (b) *Etymologici* Auctor. *Callimachi* Scholies in versum sequentem. (c) Hymno in *Jovem*. (d) *Ion*. v. 15.

The Time she reckon'd being out, a Boy
She was deliver'd of, the which she expos'd
In the same close, convenient Recess,
Where the brisk God her Maiden-fruits had cropt;
In a round Box she there the Infant left
To perish, as the ancient Custom was,
Experienced by old *Erichthonius*.
Since him *Minerva* to *Aglaura* gave,
That she might with her Sisters bring him up,
Two Dragons being Guards; the Custom hence
Is by *Erechtheus's* Daughters thus observ'd,
To nurse up carefully and Children tend
Entwin'd within the Folds of golden Serpents. *J. A.*

The Poet has likewise given us the same Account of this Custom towards the latter End of this Tragedy (*a*).

On the fifth Day after the Birth, the Midwives having first purified themselves by washing their Hands, ran round the Fire-Hearth with the Infant in their Arms, thereby, as it were, entering it into the Family, and putting it under the Protection of the Household-Gods, to whom the Hearth served instead of an Altar; hence the Day was called *Δογμὰς τοῦ ἡμέρ*, or (which was the more usual Name) *Ἀμφιδόμια*; it was celebrated as a Festival, with great Expressions of Joy; they received Gifts from their Friends. If the Child was a Male, their Doors were decked with an Olive Garland; if a Female, with Wooll, in token of the Work Women were to be employed about. The Cheer consisted of divers Sorts of things, among which *κασσίτερ*, *Colewort*, was always one, which the *Athenian* Midwives used to administer to Women in Child-bed, as conducing to create Milk. The whole Ceremony is described in the following Verses of *Ephippus*, cited by *Athenæus* (b), most of which, some Varieties in the reading excepted, the same Author cites in another place out of *Eubulus* (c);

Επειτα πῦρ
 Οὐ σίφαιτο· ἔδ' ὡς ὅτε παρῶντι τ' ἑσθλῶν,
 Οὐ κίοντα κήδε' ῥένις ὑπερχαίει ἀκρας
 Αἰμοιδεσμέων ὄντων, ἐν οἷς νομίζει
 Οὔτ' ἄν τε τύρῃ Χερρῶνοισι τεύχεα,
 Ἐφειν τ' ἐλαίῃ ῥάφανον ἡγλαίσμενον,
 Πίνγειν τε παχύνειν ἀρνείων σπιδύνα,
 Τίλειν τε φάφας καὶ κίχλας ὁμῶς σπίνους,
 Κοινῇ τε χναίνειν τ' ὀδύσιν σπιδύνα,
 Πιλᾶν τε πολλὰς πλικιάνας ὅππερ ῥέας,
 Πίνειν τε πολλὰς κύλικας ἐνδραρεστέρας·

(a) V. 1427. (b) Lib. IX. cap. ii. p. 370. Edit. Casaub.
(c) Lib. II. cap. xxv. p. 65.

But what's the Reason that no Crown is plac'd
 Before the Doors, nor grateful Victim slain,
 Whose frying Fat delights the smelling Sense,
 When th' joyful *Amphidromia* are kept,
 In which is toasted *Cbersoneſian* Cheese,
 And Coleworts ty'd in Bundles ſeeth'd in Oil,
 And Linnets, Doves, Thrufhes, and Cuttle-fiſh,
 And Calamary dress'd, and eat in common,
 And *Polypus's* Claws with Care procur'd
 To drink 'em down amidſt their leſs mix'd Cups?

The ſeventh Day was likewise honour'd with Feſtival Solemnities, that being the Time the Child was commonly nam'd; to celebrate this Day was call'd *ἑβδομήθερος*. The Reason why the Child's Name was impoſed on this Day, was, ὅτι ὁπίσθον τῇ σωτηρίᾳ, becauſe by this time they began to conceive Hopes that it would live; for weakly Infants, τὰ πλείους ἀναπαύειν ἀπὸ τῆς ἑβδομήθους, commonly die before the ſeventh, as we are inform'd by *Ariſtotle* in *Harpocratio* (a).

Some kept the eighth Day after the Infant's Birth, calling that the γένεθλιος ἡμέρα, *natalis*, Birth-day, becauſe ſolemnized in memory of the Child's Nativity. The ſame Day was kept every Year after during the Child's Life. The ſame Day was alſo obſerved by the *Jews* for their Circumciſion, as hath been remarked by the ancient Interpreter upon the following Paſſage of *Terence* (b):

———— porro autem Geta
Ferietur alio munere, ubi hera pepererit :
Porro alio autem, ubi erit puero natalis dies.

Others nam'd their Children upon the tenth Day after their Birth, on which alſo they invit'd their Friends to an Entertainment, and offer'd Sacrifices to the Gods. *Euripides* mentions this Cuſtom (c);

Τίς σε μήτηρ ἐν δεκάτῃ τόνον ἀνύουσαι;

What Mother on the tenth Day nam'd you?

The ſame is alſo mention'd by *Ariſtophanes* (d);

----- Θύα τλω δεκάτῃ τούτῃς ἔγω,
 Καὶ τένομα' ὡς περ παιδίῳ νῦν ᾧ θέλω.

On the tenth Day I offer'd Sacrifice,
 And, as a Child's, her Name impos'd.

(a) Vide *ἑβδομήθους*. (b) *Phormion*. Act. I. Scen. I. (c) *Ægei* fragment. v. 14. (d) *Avibus* p. 564. Edit. *Amſtelodam*.

330 *Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece. Chap. XIV.*

Some will have the tenth to be the same with *Αμειβεύμα*, but (however some Persons might join the two Solemnities) they were commonly distinct : to celebrate this Day was called *Διγέτιω θύειν*, *Διγέτιω δοιδύειν*, *Διγέτιω ἐοιάσθαι* (a).

It may be observed, that when the Child received its Name, whether upon the tenth, or any other Day, a considerable Number of Friends were present. This Custom was not only observed by the *Grecians*, but at *Rome*, and in most other Parts of the World; the chief End whereof seems to have been to prevent Controversies that might afterwards arise, when the Child came into Business, and was under several Civil Relations, if his Name was not certainly known.

The Child's Father usually imposed the Name. There was a Law at *Athens* whereby Fathers were authorized to give Names to their Children, and to alter them as often as they pleased (b). In imposing Names they observed no constant Rule, yet it was common to chuse some of their most eminent Ancestors, whose Name they desired should be continued to Posterity, as an Honour to themselves and their Family, and a perpetual Remembrance to stir up their Children to the Imitation of great Examples. Thus we find the Names of *Pyrrhus*, *Philip*, *Ptolemy*, &c. preserved in several of their Successors. *Ulpian* speaks of *Proxenus* descended from one *Harmodius*, and the Father of another (c). *Plutarch* says *Thucydides* was the Son of *Olorus*, who derived his Name from one of his Ancestors (d). *Aristophanes* makes *Callias* both the Father and Son of *Hipponicus* (e).

Ἰππόνικος Καλλίε, καὶ Ἰππόνικος Καλλίας.

Lastly, (to trouble you with no more Instances) we are assured by *Eusebius* that this was a Custom of very great Antiquity (f). The same seems to have been frequent in most other Nations. Few of the *Roman* Families but what afford continual Instances of this nature. *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian* bore his Grandfather's Name : And we find *Zachary's* Friends in *St. Luke's* Gospel strangely surprized when his Son the *Baptist* was called *John*, because none of his Relations were known by that Name.

The Actions of Parents were frequently perpetuated by the Names of their Children, as *Eusebius* observes (g). So *Cleopatra*, or rather *Marpissa* (for *Eusebius* and the old *Scholias*t are of different Opinions herein) was called *Halcyone*, because when she was ravished by *Apollo*, her Mother was no less afflicted than the *Halcyon* is wont to be for the Loss of her Young (h).

(a) De his diebus videndi *Pollux* Lib. I. cap. I. *Aristoteles* Hist. Animal. lib. VII. cap. XII. *Hesychius*, *Suidas*, *Harpocration*, *Etymologici* Auctor, *Phavorinus* in vv. (b) *Demosthenes* Orat. adv. *Bæotum* πει ἐνέμελλον. (c) Schol. in *Demosthenis* Orat. de male obita legatione. (d) *Cymone*. (e) *Avibus*. (f) *Iliad*. i. p. 441. Edit. *Basil.* (g) *Iliad*. i. p. 513. (h) *Iliad*. i. 557.

Τὴν δ' ὅτ' ἐν μεγάροισι πατὴρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ
 Αἰχμῶνιω καλίσκον ἱππῶνιον, ἔτεκ' ἄρ' αὐτῆς
 Μήτηρ, Αἰχμῶνιον πολυπενθέον οἶτον ἔχοντα,
 Κλαῖ', ὅτε μιν ἐκείργον ἀνέρπασε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων·

Halcyone the Maid her Parents call'd,
 'Cause, *Halcyon* like, her Mother much bewail'd
 Her wretched Fate, when by *Apollo* ravish'd,

Hector's Son *Scamandrius* was named by the *Trojans*, *Astyanax*, because his Father was τῷ ἄσκει ἄνυξ, the Defender of the City *Troy*; for the original Signification of ἄναξ is no more than a Saviour or Defender, whence the Gods are commonly called ἄνακτες. The Story is in *Homer* (a);

----- Ἀμα δὲ ἀμφίπολ' κίεν αὐτῇ
 Παῖδ' ὅπῃ κόλπον ἔχεσ' ἀταλόρετρα, νήπιον αὖτως,
 Ἐκτορίδῳ ἀγαπῶν, ἀλίγκιον ἀστὲρ καλῶ,
 Τὸν ῥ' Ἐκτωρ καλίσκε Σκαμάνδριον, αὐτὰρ οἱ ἄλλοι
 Ἀστυάνακτ', οἷον γὰρ ἐρύετο Ἴλιον Ἐκτωρ.

The Royal Babe upon her Breast was laid,
 Who, like the Morning Star, his Beams display'd;
Scamandrius was his Name, which *Hector* gave
 From that fair Flood which *Ilion's* Wall did lave;
 But him *Astyanax* the *Trojans* call,
 From his great Father, who defends the Wall.
 Mr. *Dryden*.

Ulysses was called Οδυσσεύς, διὰ τὸ ὀδύσασθαι ἢ Αὐτόλυκον, from the Anger of his Grandfather *Autolycus*, as *Homer* reports, when he introduces *Autolycus* thus speaking to *Ulysses's* Parents (b);

Γαμβρὸς ἐμὸς, θυγάτηρ τε, τίθειδ' ὄνομ' ὅπῃ κεν εἴπω·
 Πομοῖσιν γὰρ ἔγωγε ὀδυσσάμενον πόδ' ἱκάνω
 Ἀνδράσιν ἢ δὲ γυναιξὶν ἀνὰ χθόνα πελυβοτέρην,
 Τῷ Οδυσσεύς ὄνομ' ἔστω ἐπώνυμον. -----

Son, 'tis my Pleasure that my Grand-child be
 (And, Daughter, you observe too what I say)
Ulysses call'd, 'tis that I'd have his Name,
 Because when much enrag'd I hither came.

Mens own Actions, Complexions, or Condition, frequently gave occasion to their Names. Thus *Oedipus* was named διὰ τὸ οἰδεῖν τῷ πόδα, whence *Seneca* introduces an Old Man thus speaking to him (c);

(a) *Iliad*, ζ'. 399. (b) *Odyss.* τ'. v. 406. (c) *Oedip.* v. 812.
 Forata

*Forata ferro gesserat vestigia,
Tumore nactus nomen ac vitio pedum.*

Your Feet were bor'd with Iron, from which fore
And swelling Tumour you receiv'd your Name.

Achilles's Son was first called Πυρρὸς, from his ruddy Complexion, or the Colour of his Hair, afterwards Νεοπτόλεμος, from undertaking the Management of the *Trojan War* when very young. To mention other Instances is needless, wherefore I shall conclude this Head with *Plutarch's* Words, wherein we have an Account of the *Roman* as well as the *Grecian* Method in imposing Names (a). "Hence" (i. e. from the taking of *Corioli* the chief City of the *Volsians*) "*Caius Marcius* had his third Name of *Coriolanus*, whence it is" manifest that *Caius* was a personal proper Name; that the second, or Sirname of *Marcius*, was a Name in common to his Family; and that the third *Roman* Appellative was a peculiar Note of Distinction drawn afterwards, and imposed for some particular Action, Fortune, Shape, Feature, or Virtue of him that bore it. "For thus also the *Grecians* in old Time were wont to fix an additional Character on their Great Men for any famous Attainment, such as Σωτήρ, i. e. Saviour; and Καλινίκος, renowned for Victory; or to express something remarkable in their Shape or Features, as Φυσιών, Gorge-belly, and Γεράς, Eagle-nosed; as likewise upon account of their Virtue and Kindness, as Εὐεργέτης, a Benefactor, and Φιλάνθρωπος, a Lover of his Brethren; or from their unusual Felicity and good Fortune, as Εὐδαίμων, Happy, a Name given to the second Prince of *Battus's* Family. "Several Kings had Names appropriated to them in Reproach and Mockery, as *Antigonos* that of Δάσων, i. e. one liberal only in the future, since he was always promising, but never came to Performance; and *Ptolemy*, who was stiled Ἀδύμωτος, for the fond Opinion he had of his own Wit and Pleasantness. This latter Kind of Denomination by way of Raillery the *Romans* did very much delight in; for one of the *Metelli* was surnamed by them Διδήματις, because he had for a long time together walked about with his Head bound up, by reason of an Ulcer in his Forehead. There are some who even at this day derive Names from certain casual Incidents at their Nativity; one, for Instance, who happens to be born when his Father is abroad in a foreign Country, they term *Proculus*; another born after his Father's Decease they stile *posthumus*; and when Twins come into the World, whereof one dies at the Birth, the Survivor is called *Vopiscus*. Nay, they use to denominate not only their *Sylla's* and *Nigers*, i. e. Men of a pimpled Visage, or swarthy Complexion, but their *Cæci* and *Claudii*, i. e. the *Blind* and *Lame*, from such Corporal Blemishes and Defects, thus wisely accustoming their People not to reckon the Loss of Sight, or any other Bodily Misfortune, as a Matter of Ignominy and Disgrace, but that they

(a) *Marcio Coriolana.*

"should

Chap. XIV. Of the Miscellaneous Customs of Greece. 333

"should answer to such Names without Shame or Confusion, no
"otherwise than to the most familiar Compellations."

Sometimes they took a more compendious Way to dispose of their Children, either killing them outright, or exposing them in some desert Place, or elsewhere, to the Mercy of Fortune. To do the latter of these they termed *ἐκτίθειν*, or *ἀποτίθειν*; nor was it accounted a criminal or blame-worthy Action, but permitted by some Lawgivers, and expressly encouraged and commanded by others. The *Lacedæmonians* are remarkable for their Behaviour in this Matter, for they allowed not Fathers to nourish their Children when inclined to do it, but obliged them to carry all their new-born Infants to certain *Tryers*, who were some of the gravest Men in their own Tribe, and kept their Court at a Place called *Λέτρη*, where they carefully viewed such as were brought to them; if they found them lusty and well-favoured, they gave Order for their Education, and allotted a certain Proportion of Land for their Maintenance; but if weakly or deformed, they ordered them to be cast into a deep Cavern in the Earth near the Mountain *Taygetus*, as thinking it neither for the Good of the Children themselves, nor for the Publick Interest, that they should be brought up, since Nature had both denied them the Means of Happiness in their own Particular, and of being serviceable to the Publick, by not enduing them with a sufficient Measure of Health and Strength. On this Account it was that new-born Infants were bathed in Wine (a), as has been already observed. The Place into which the *Lacedæmonians* cast their Infants was called *Ἀποθήκη*, whence *ἀποτίθειν* is usually taken for exposing with a design to destroy; whereas *ἐκτίθειν* commonly bears a milder Sense; for many Persons exposed their Children, when they were not willing they should perish, only because they were unable to maintain them; Daughters especially were thus treated, as requiring more Charges to educate and settle them in the World than Sons; whence the Saying cited out of *Pesidippus*,

Τὸν πέποις πρὸς καὶ τένος πρὸς ὦν τύχη,
Θυγατέρα δ' ἐκτίθεισι καὶ ἢ πλεονεκτή.

A Man tho' poor will not expose his Son,
But if he's rich will scarce preserve his Daughter.

The *Thebans* disliked this barbarous Custom, having a Law whereby the Practice of it was made capital; such as were not of Ability to provide for their Children, were ordered to carry them as soon as born to the Magistrates, who were obliged to take care for their Maintenance, and when they were grown up, used them as Slaves, taking their Service as a Recompense for the Charges and Trouble they had been put to (b).

Children were usually exposed in their Swaddling-clothes, and laid in a Vessel; thus *Ion* was exposed by *Creusa* (c);

(a) *Plutarchus* *Lycurgo*. (b) *Ælian*. Var. Hist. lib. II. cap. VII.
(c) *Euripides* *Ione*, v. 16.

----- Ἀπὸ τοῦ καὶ βρέφους
 Εἰς ταύτην ἀνίστην, ἔπειρ' ὑπὸ δ' αὖθις
 Κρέεσσε, καλίστησιν ὡς θανέμενον
 Κοίλῃς ἐν ἀνίστην ἐνέσχευε καὶ κλῆρ.

The Infant first she in a Vessel put,
 Then in that Den, where with the God before
 Herself had lain, she it expos'd to die.

Aristophanes calls it ὄρεακον, speaking of *Oedipus* (a) ;

----- Ἀπὸ τὸν γυνόμενον
 Χειμῶν ὅτι ἔξιδιαι ἐν ὄρεακον.

'Tis sometimes termed χύτρα, whence χυτρίζειν is the same with ἐκρίδιαι, and χυτρίστρις with ἐκρίστρις (b).

The Parents frequently tied Jewels and Rings to the Children they expos'd, or any other thing, whereby they might afterwards discover them, if Providence took care for their Safety. Another Design in thus adorning these Infants was, either to encourage such as found them to nourish and educate them if alive, or to give them Human Burial if dead. The last of these Reasons is assigned by *Euripides*, speaking of *Creusa* (c) ;

----- Ἦν εἶχε παρθένην χλιδῶ
 Τέκνον κορσάφας ἔλιπεν, ὡς θανέμενον.

Her costly Robe she o'er the Infant cast,
 And left it to expire. —————

Terence introduces *Sostrata* assigning another Reason for this Practice, when she relates how she had caused her Daughter to be expos'd, to save her from her Husband *Chremes*, who had straitly commanded that she should be put to death (d) ;

————— *Ut stultæ & miseræ omnes sumus
 Religiosæ; cum exponendam do illi, de digito annulum
 Detraho, & eum dico ut una cum puella exponeret,
 Si moreretur, ne expers partis esset de nostris bonis.*

We are all tender superstitious Fools :
 So when I first deliver'd up my Child
 To be expos'd, I straight pull'd off my Ring,
 And bad the Man to leave it with the Girl ;
 So had she there deceas'd, she still had kept
 Some Pledge that would denote my former Love.

(a) *Ranis.* (b) *Hefychius.* (c) *Loc. cit. v. 26.* (d) *Heauton.*
Act. IV. Sc. I. Before

Chap. XIV. Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece. 335

Before the Conclusion of this Chapter, it will be necessary to add something concerning the Purification of Women coming out of Child-bed, for during their lying there they were looked on as polluted; whence the *Athenians* enacted a Law that no Woman should bring forth in *Delos*, an Island consecrated to *Apollo*, because the Gods were believed to have an Aversion to all sorts of Pollution. *Iphigenia* in *Euripides* tells us, that no Person who was guilty of Murder, or had touched a Woman in Child-bed, or a dead Corpse, could be admitted to *Diana's Altar* (a);

----- Βροτῶν μὴ λῶ τις ἀψύχῳ φόνε,
 Ἡ καὶ λοχείας. ἢ νεκρῶ θίγη χειρῶν,
 Βομῶ ἀπείργει, μωσαρεὶν ὡς ἡγεμόνη.

They who by these Pollutions are defil'd,
 By Murder, Childbed, or but touch'd the Dead,
 Let them, as Things unhallow'd, be deny'd
 T' approach *Diana's Altar*. ———

When the fortieth Day came, the Danger of Childbirth being then over, they kept a Festival, called from the Number of the Day τεσσαροκοσίαι; at this time the Woman, having been before purified by washing, entered into some of the Temples, most commonly *Diana's*, which from her Labour till that time she was not allowed to do (b); here she returned Thanks for her safe Delivery, and offered Sacrifices. It was likewise the Custom to present her Garments to *Diana*, who acquired hence the Sirname of *Χηδών* (c); and Women after their first Child did farther offer their *Zona* to the same Goddess, who was on that account called *Λυσιζώνη*, and had a Temple at *Athens* dedicated to her under that Title (d).

C H A P. XV.

Of their different Sorts of Children, Wills, Inheritances;
 the Duties of Children to their Parents, &c.

THE *Scholiast* on *Homer* makes four different Sorts of Children.

1. Οἱ γνήσιοι, or ἰθαγενεῖς, Children born in lawful Marriage.
2. Οἱ νόθοι, those born of Concubines or Harlots.
3. Οἱ σκύπτοι, whose Fathers were not known, wherein they were distinguished from the former.
4. Οἱ παρθεναῖαι, such as were born of Women, who, though vitiated before Marriage, were still taken

(a) *Iphigen. Taur.* v. 280. (b) *Censorinus* de Natal. Cap. XI.
 (c) *Callimachi Scholiastes* Hymn. I. (d) *Apollonii Scholiastes*.

336 *Of the Miscellaneous Customs of Greece.* Chap. XIV.

for Virgins. This and other Divisions of Children I shall pass by, only taking notice of three Sorts.

1. Γέννηται, lawfully begotten.
2. Νόθοι, born of Harlots, which Word in a large Sense may comprehend the three latter Sorts of Children before mentioned.
3. Θήκη, adopted.

It will be necessary to add something more concerning every one of these. First, those were reputed lawfully begotten who were begotten in lawful Marriage, which was measured by different Rules, as the Affairs of every State required. In some Places, whoever had a Citizen for his Father, tho' his Mother was a Foreigner; in others, those also who were born of free Women, when their Fathers were Foreigners, passed for legitimate, and inherited the Freedom of the City they were born in, and all Privileges consequent thereto. Most Commonwealths at their first Constitution, and after great Losses of Inhabitants by War, Plagues, or other ways, seem to have taken this Course to replenish and strengthen their Country with People; but when that Exigence ceased, and it became necessary to restrain the too great Increase of free Citizens, they commonly enacted that none should be esteemed legitimate but such as were descended from Parents both Citizens (a), which Order was dispensed with or abrogated as oft as fresh Occasions required. This may be observed at *Athens* in *Pericles's* Times; for when *Pericles* was in a flourishing Condition, and had Sons lawfully begotten, he proposed that *Solon's* old Law should be revived, whereby 'twas ordered that they only should be reputed true Citizens of *Athens* whose Parents were both *Athenians*, whereupon almost 5000 lost their Freedom, and were sold for Slaves. But *Pericles* himself afterwards having lost all his legitimate Sons, so far prevailed with the *Athenians*, that they cancelled the Law, and yielded that he might enrol his natural Son in the Register of his own Ward by his Paternal Name, which was a thing the Νόθοι, natural Children, were incapable of, as having nothing to do with the Name, Family (b), or Estate of their Father, as neither were they allowed to intermeddle in Sacred or Civil Affairs. For fear any Person should insinuate such Children into the City-Register, wherein all the Citizens Names were kept, they made severe Scrutinies in every Borough, which was termed διαψυσις (c), whereby all Persons not duly qualified were ejected from the City. There was also a Court of Justice in the *Cynosarges*, a Place in the Suburbs of *Athens*, where Examination was made concerning such Persons. Nor were such as had only one Parent an *Athenian*, though allowed the Freedom of *Athens*, reputed equal to such as were *Athenians* of the whole Blood; for we find in *Plutarch* (d), that when these performed their Exercises at the Schools within the City, those of the half Blood, with the Foreigners, were only allowed to exercise at *Cynosarges*, where was a *Gymnasium* dedicated to *Hercules*,

(c) *Aristoteles* Politic. lib. III. cap. V. (b) *Aristophanis* Scholiastes *Avibus*. (e) *Harpocration*. (d) *Themistocle*.

who himself was illegitimate, as not being descended from two immortal Gods, but having a mortal Woman for his Mother. *Themistocles*, my Author tells us, offended at his Reproach, persuaded divers of the young Noblemen to accompany him to anoint and exorcise themselves at *Cynosarges*, whereby he seemed (saith he) with some Ingenuity to take away the Distinction between the truly Noble and the Stranger, and between those of the whole and those of the half Blood of *Athens*. But of this Practice I have treated more largely in one of the precedent Books (a).

There was never any Time that I know of (whatever some may pretend to the contrary) when Illegitimacy was not reputed a Disgrace, unless in those Ages wherein Men lived without Laws and Government, allowing promiscuous Mixtures, and all other Sorts of Uncleannefs. *Eustathius* will have Concubines and their Sons, to have been as honourable as their Wives and Sons begotten in lawful Marriage, about the time of the *Trojan War* (b); but the whole Course of Antiquity seems to be clearly against him; for I do not find one single Instance in any ancient Author which can countenance this Opinion. It is possible indeed that Concubines might sometimes have greater Respect than lawful Wives, Bastards than legitimate Children, but that was owing to the partial Affections of Husbands, which Women by their superiour Beauty and Arts of Insinuation might gain, but can by no means be attributed to the Practice of those Times. The chief Reason *Eustathius* alledges is, that *Agamemnon* calls *Teucer* Νῆδον, when encouraging him to fight, at which time it would have been very improper to have given him opprobrious Language. The Hero's Words run thus (c):

Τεῦκε, φίλη κεφαλὴ, Τηλεμάχιδε, κίεραε λαῶν,
Βίλλ' ἔπως αἶ κεν π ρόως Δαναοῖσι χόρηαι
Πατρὶ πε σὺ Τηλεμάωνι, ὃ σ' ἔτρεφε πύδον ἐόντα,
Καὶ σὺ νόθον περ ἐόντα κομίσαστο ᾧ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ.

Teucer, you much lov'd *Grecian* Chief advance,
If you'd your Sire's or Country's Fame enhance;
Without delay let some Exploit be done
Worthy your Country, worthy *Telamon*,
Who in your Nonage shew'd his gen'rous Care;
For tho' of spurious Birth, he held you dear,
At his own Table brought you up. ————— H. H.

In which Words *Agamemnon* excites *Teucer*, the natural Son of *Telamon*, to behave himself with Courage, by two Reasons; first, that so doing he would be instrumental in delivering the *Grecians* from their Enemies, who daily got Ground of them; the other, that such an Action would be a Credit to his Father, whose Honour he

(a) Lib. I. cap. ix. (b) *Iliad* θ'. p. 599. Edlt. *Basil.* (c) *Iliad* θ'. v. 281.

ought to have a more tender Concern for, since he had received such extraordinary Benefits from him, as having, notwithstanding his Illegitimacy, been carefully educated, and that not in any remote Place, where he might have been neglected, but under *Telamon's* own Eye, and in his own House. This is so far from establishing an Equality between legitimate Children and Bastards, that it evidently shews the contrary, the Particle *περ* after *Νέδον* plainly implying that such Care of Bastards was something more than common in those Days. Nor can the Poet be blamed for making *Agamemnon* call him by such a Name, since the Thing was no Secret, but known to all the *Grecians*, and which, no doubt, appeared every Day from *Teucer's* submissive Behaviour to *Ajax*, his half Brother, and the lawful Son of *Telamon*. As a Confirmation of what I have said, I shall add the Words of *Agamemnon* in *Sophocles*, spoken likewise to *Teucer*, whence it will appear what Difference there was between the Sons of lawful Wives and those of Concubines, and in particular concerning *Teucer*, how great a Disgrace it was to him to be the Son of a Captive and Concubine, tho' his Mother was of the Race of Kings (a) :

Σέ δὲ τὰ δεινὰ ῥήματα' ἀγέλασι μοι
 Τίωμι καὶδ' ἡμῶν ὧδ' ἀνομιμαχτεῖ χανεῖν,
 Σέ τοι τ' ἐν τ' αἰχμαλώτῳ λείω.
 Ἡ περ τρεφεῖς ἀν' μητρὸς θυγῆρες ἀπο
 ΤΨΗΛ' ἐκόμεναι, κατ' ἄκρον ὠδοιπύρεις,
 Ὅτ' ἐδέν, ὦν, πρὸ μηδὲν ἀνίστη ὕπερ,
 Καὶ τε στρατηγὸς ἔτι ναυάρχης μολεῖν
 Ἡμῶς Ἀχαιῶν ἔτι σε διαμόσσι;
 Ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἄρχων, ὅς σὺ φῆς, Ἀἶας ἔπληψ'
 Ταῦτ' ἐν ἀκείνῳ μεγάλα πρὸς δόλῳν καλέει;

I am inform'd that with opprobrious Speech
 You, Vassal, you born of a Slave of War,
 Have dar'd bespatter *Agamemnon's* Fame,
 And yet thy heinous Crime is unreveng'd:
 How hadst thou swell'd if come of nobler Birth,
 Who arrogantly now defend'st the Cause
 Of one that is no more; a Lifeless Corpse;
 Dar'st to deny our dread Authority,
 Whilst *Ajax* truly must be own'd a Chief:
 Gods! do such Words become a servile Mouth?

H. H.

Some will have only the natural Children of Kings and Persons of Quality to have been equal to those who were lawfully begotten. It may be true that such Children were above the legitimate ones of private Persons, but that they were of the same Dignity with the legitimate Children of Princes, does not appear; nay, the contrary

Chap. XV. Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece. 339

is manifest from the fore-mentioned Example of *Teucer*, both whose Parents were Princes. The same might be proved by other Instances, whereof I shall only mention one; 'tis that of *Ion*, who had *Apollo* for his Father, and *Creuſa*, the Wife of an *Athenian* King, for his Mother, and yet is introduced by *Euripides* complaining of his hard Fortune in being illegitimate (a);

----- Εἰνὰί φασι τὰς αὐτόχθονας
Κλεινὰς Ἀθωῖας, ἐκ ἐπίστακτον γένος,
Ἰν' εἰσαεσέμεθ' εὖ τοῖσιν κεκλημένους
Πατέρας τ' ἐπακτῶν καυτὸς ὦν νοδοχρῆς;
Καὶ τίτ' ἔχων τ' ἐνείδω, ἀδινῆς μὲν ὢν,
Μηδὲν καὶ εἶναι ἐνθάδ' ὦν κεκλησόμεθ'.

'Tis rumor'd that the famous *Athens* Sons
Were there produc'd, and there have ever liv'd;
Then where shall wretched I intrude myself,
Who am on two Accounts most desperate,
A Bastard Son, and of a Stranger too?
And to compleat my most opprobrious Fate,
Am most infirm; on these Accounts shall I
Be there despis'd, and made a publick Scorn. H. H.

It may indeed be objected, that (as *Servius* observes) natural Children sometimes succeeded in their Father's Kingdoms; but that only happened, as the same Author tells us, for want of legitimate Issue; nor was it always allowed in such Cases. In some Places the Bastards of private Persons likewise inherited the Estate of their Fathers, having no lawful Children or Relations, as appears from an *Athenian* Law cited by *Demosthenes* (b). But where there were Relations, Bastards had no Share, as is plain from a Dialogue between *Pisſhetærus* and *Hercules* in *Aristophanes*, where *Hercules* having been persuaded by *Neptune* that he was Heir apparent to *Jupiter*, is undeceived by *Pisſhetærus*, who tells him, that being illegitimate he had no Right of Inheritance; and to confirm what he said, repeats *Solon's* Law concerning this Affair. The Passage is long, but being pertinent to this place, and containing a true Account of the *Athenian* Practice, must not be omitted (c);

PE. Οἵμοι τάλας γ' οἷόν σε περιερίζω;
Δαῦρ' ὡς ἐμ' ὀδοχῶρῃσιν, ἵνα τί τοι φερέτω;
Διαβάλλεται σ' ὁ θεῖος, ὃ πόνηρε σὺ,
Τῶν γὰρ πατρῶων ἐδ' ἀκαρεῖ μέτεσί σοι
Κατὰ θεὸν νόμος· νόθος γὰρ εἶ, καὶ γνήσιος.
HP. Εἰ γὰρ νόθος; τί λέγεις; PE. Σὺ μὲν τοι νῦν Δία,
Ὡν γὰρ ζῆνός γε γυναικὸς· ἢ πῶς ἂν ποτε
Επὶ κληρῶν τῇ τῶν Ἀθωαίων δευεῖς,

(a) *Ione*, v. 589. (b) *Orat. in Macartatum*. (c) *Avilus*,
haud longe a fine.

Οὐδ' οὐραλίῳ, ὅτιαν ἀδελφῶν γνησίαν;

HP. Τί δ' ἴν' ὁ παῖς ἰμοὶ δίδω τὰ χρήματα

Τὰ νοθεῖ' ἀποδύσκων; ΠΕ. Ο νόμος αὐτὸν ἐκ ἐσ,

Οὐτ' ὁ Ποσειδῶν πρῶτ' ὅς ἐπαίρη σε νῦν,

Ἀνδρίζεται σε τ' πατρῶν χρημάτων,

Φάσκα ἀδελφὸς αὐτὸς εἶ γήνη.

Ερῶ δ' δὴ καὶ τ' Σόλωνός σοι νόμον,

"Νόθω δ' καὶ μὴ εἶ ἀρχ-

"γείας, παίδων ὄντων γνη-

"σίαν· ἰὰν δ' παῖς

"Μὴ ᾄσ' γήνησι, ποῖς

"Ερῶτάτω τ' γένος

"Μετ' αὐτῷ τ' χρημάτων"

PI. Alas! how strangely he comes over you?

But hark you in your Ear; thus much I'll say,

Your Uncle, tho' you know it not, would trick you;

And truly, if the Tenour of the Laws

Were now consulted, you'd not have an Ace

Of that Estate your Father leaves behind;

For you're a Bastard, not Legitimate.

HER. How's this you say? Am I a Bastard then?

PI. *Forc* of a Stranger by a stol'n Embrace

Begot you; but why do you suspect it,

Since if but any of his Sons were born

Of lawful Birth, *Pallas* were not an Heiress?

HER. What if he leave all to his Bastard Son?

PI. The Law won't suffer that; but *Neptune* first,

Who now so much extols you, all will seize,

Being his lawful Brother. But the Law

Which *Solon* made I'll willingly recite:

"Bastards shall not be numbred in the Roll

"Of Kindred, whilst the lawful Children live,

"And for Defect of such, the next a-kin

"Shall then enjoy the Goods of the Deceas'd.

H. H.

Where though *Pisthetærus* tells *Hercules* that the Law would not permit him to have νοθεῖα χρήματα, yet that must be interpreted of an equal Portion of the Inheritance, which he could not have whilst his Father had Relations, who were Heirs by Law; for even Bastards were allowed some Share in their Father's Estate. *Abraham* is said to have given Portions to the Sons of his Concubines, reserving the Inheritance for his legitimate Son *Isaac* (a); and the *Athenian* Lawgiver allowed them 500 *Drachms*, or 5 *Attick* Pounds, which were termed νοθεῖα, a Bastard's Portion (b): This was afterwards raised to 1000 *Drachms*, or 10 *Attick* Pounds. In some places the Fortune of Bastards depended on their Father's

(a) *Genes.* cap. xxy. 6. (b) *Aristophanis Scholiastes* in locum citat. *Suidas*, γ. Pleasure,

Chap. XV. Of the Miscellaneous Customs of Greece. 341

Pleasure, who had liberty to take them into their own Family, and make them equal Sharers with their legitimate Children, the Privilege of dividing the Estate only reserved to the latter. An Example whereof we have in two Sons, one of which being begotten in lawful Marriage, the other of a Slave, the Division of their common Inheritance belonged to the former, who placed on one side the whole Estate, on the other his half Brother's Mother, so reducing him to a Necessity of letting his Mother continue in Slavery, or depriving himself of his whole Portion (a).

Those who had no legitimate Sons, were obliged by the *Athenian* Laws to leave their Estates to their Daughters, who were confined to marry their nearest Relations, otherwise to forfeit their Inheritance, as we find to have been practised likewise by the *Jews*, many of whose Laws seem to have been transcribed by *Solon*: These Virgins, whether sole Heiresses, or only Co-heiresses, were called by *Solon* himself *παυλομένης*, by others *παρθένοι*, or (which is the most common Name of all) *ἐπιπλεον*, and sometimes, as *Eustathius* reports (b), *μενδοί*: These and their nearest Relations were empowered to claim Marriage from one another, which if either Party refused, the other preferred an Action, which was termed *ἐπιδικάζειν*, which Word was applied to all sorts of Law-suits: whence Inheritances, about which they went to Law, were termed *ἐπιδικασίαι ἐπιδικαίαι*; those which they had a quiet Possession of, *ἀντιδικαίαι*; Others report, that whether there was any Dispute or not, the nearest Relation was obliged to claim his Wife with her Inheritance in the *Archon's* Court, if he was a Citizen; in the *Polemarchus's*, if only a Sojourner, and this was termed *ἐπιδικάζειν*, and might be done any Month in the Year, except *Scirophorion*, the Magistrates being then busy in making up and returning their Accounts (c). The forementioned Law concerning the Marriages of Heiresses, gave occasion to one of *Apollodorus's* Comedies, entitled *Επιδικάζουσα*, or *Επιδικάζουσα*, as *Donatus* reads, understanding it of the Virgin's suing for an Husband. This was translated into *Latin* by *Terence*, and called *Phormio*, wherein we have these Verses, mentioning the Law I have been speaking of;

*Lex est, ut orbæ, qui sint genere proximi,
Iis nubant, & illos ducere eadem hæc lex jubet.*

The Law commands that Orphans marry those
That nearest are ally'd, and that the Men
Consent to join with these. ———

Farther we find it ordered, that when Men had given a Daughter in Marriage, and after that died without Sons to heir their Estates, their nearest Relation had Power to claim the Inheritance, and to

(a) *Sopater*. (b) *Iliad*. ἡ. p. 545. Ed. *Basil*. (c) *Petitus* in *Leges Atticas*, qui & alibi consulendus.

take the Woman from her Husband, which *Isæus* (a) reports to have been a common Practice.

Persons who had no lawful Issue, were allowed to adopt whom they pleased, whether their own natural Sons, or (by Consent of their Parents) the Sons of other Men. But such as were not *κύριοι ἑαυτῶν*, *their own Masters*, were excepted; such were Slaves, Women, Madmen, Infants, that is, all such as were under 21 Years of Age; for these not being capable of making Wills, or managing their own Estates, were not allowed to adopt Heirs to them. Foreigners being excluded from the Inheritance of Estates in *Athens*, if any such was adopted, he was made free of the City. The Adoption being made, the adopted Person had his Name enrolled in the Tribe and Ward of his new Father; this was not done at the same time in which the Children begotten of themselves were registred, but on the Festival called *Θαργήλια*, in the Month *Targelion*. The *Lacedæmonians* were very cautious and wary in this Affair, and for the Prevention of rash and inconsiderate Adoptions, had a Law that they should be confirmed in the Presence of their Kings. Adopted Children were called *παῖδες δίοι*, or *εἰσπαύει*, and were inveited in all the Privileges and Rights of, and obliged to perform all the Duties belonging to such as were begotten by their Fathers. And being thus provided for in another Family, they ceased to have any Claim of Inheritance or Kindred in the Family which they had left (b), unless they first renounced their Adoption which the Laws of *Solon* allowed them not to do, except they had first begotten Children to bear the Name of the Person who had adopted them; thus providing against the Ruin of Families, which would have been extinguished by the Desertion of those who were adopted to preserve them (c). If the adopted Persons died without Children, the Inheritance could not be alienated from the Family into which they were adopted, but returned to the Relations of the Persons who had adopted them. The *Athenians* are by some thought to have forbidden any Man to marry after he had adopted a Son, without Leave from the Magistrate. And there is an Instance in *Tzetzes's* (d) *Chiliads* of one *Leogoras*, who being ill used by *Andocides* the Orator, who was his adopted Son, desired Leave to marry. However, it is certain that some Men married after they had adopted Sons, and if they begot legitimate Children, their Estates were equally shared between those begotten and adopted. It may be observed in this place, that it was an ancient Custom for legitimate Sons to divide their Father's Estate by Lots, all having equal Shares without respect to Priority of Birth, but allowing a small Pittance to such as were unlawfully begotten. Thus *Ulysses* in *Homer* tells *Eumæus*, that the Sons of *Castor* the *Cretan*, of whom he feigns himself one, divided what he left (e);

(a) Orat. de *Pyrrhi* hæred. (b) *Isæus* de hæreditate *Astyphili*.
(c) *Harpocraton*, *Isæus* de hæred. *Aristarchi*. Idem de hæred. *Philetemonis*. (d) *Chyliad*. VI. Hist. XLIX. (e) *Odyss*. ξ'. v. 200.

Εκ μὲν Κρήτων γένος εὐχόμεν θύρεϊαν
 Ἄνερ' ἀφνειοῖο παῖς πολλοὶ ὃ καὶ ἄλλοι
 Τίτες ἐν μεγάροις ἡμὲν τρέφεν ἡδ' ἐχλούντο
 Ἰήσοι δ' ἔξ ἀλόχου, ἐμὲ δ' ἀντὶ τέκε μήτηρ
 Παλλαίς, ἀλλὰ μεῖζον ἰδωλφύεσσιν ἐτίμα
 Κάστωρ Τλακίδης, τῷ ἐγὼ γλῶσ' εὐχόμεν ἔϊν'
 Ος ποτ' ἐνὶ Κρήτεισι θεὸς ὥς τίετο δῆμος
 Οἴῳ τε, πλὺτ' οὖν τε, καὶ ὑψίστ' κυδαλίμοισιν,
 Ἀλλ' ἦτοι καὶ κῆρυξ ἔβαν θανάτῳ φέρεσθαι
 Εἰς Αἴδου δόμους, τοὶ δ' ἔαλ' ἰδούσασιν
 Γαῖδ' ὑπέρθυμοι, καὶ ὅππ' κλέυεις ἐβόλοντο,
 Αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ μάλα παῦρα δόσ' καὶ οἰκί' ἐνεύειαν.

Crete claims my Birth is readily confest,
 My wealthy Father vast Estates possrest ;
 Many his Sons, and they legitimate,
 But I his Bastard far'd ne'er worse for that ;
 Castor Hylacides was his worthy Name,
 And for his Children by his lawful Dame,
 And Wealth in Crete he had obtain'd great Fame :
 But when impartial Fate dispatch'd his Doom,
 And sent him down to his eternal Home,
 The Lots were by my haughty Brothers thrown,
 All they divide, supposing all their own,
 And some small Legacy to me bequeath.

H. H.

Such as had neither legitimate nor adopted Children, were succeeded by their nearest Relations, as appears from the forecited Dialogue between *Hercules* and *Pisisthetærus*. This Custom was as ancient as the *Trojan War*, being mentioned in *Homer*, when he relates how *Diomedes* flew the two only Sons of *Phænopos* (a) ;

Ενθ' ὃ γὰρ τῶν ἐνέειξε, φίλον δ' ἔξαινυτο θυμὸν
 Ἀμφότερεσσιν, παῖδες δ' ὅ γ' ὅσον καὶ κήδεα λυγρὰ
 Λεῖπ', ἵππ' ἐξ ἑστέοντες μάχης ἐκνοστήσαντες
 Δέξασθαι, χερσὶν δ' ἐπὶ δακτύλοισιν ἀλλήλων

Then both he flew, then both depriv'd of Life,
 And thus increas'd their ancient Father's Grief,
 Since he not safe receiv'd them from the War ;
 Thus Childless, his next Friends his Goods did share,

H. H.

Where indeed *Eustathius* with the old *Scholiast* will have *χερσὶν* to signify certain Magistrates, who had Right to the Estates of such as died *χερσὶν* καὶ διαδόχων, without lawful Heirs ; but it may as well be interpreted of Relations for that these succeeding to

(a) *Iliad*. i. v. 155.

344 *Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece. Chap. XV.*

the Estates of Persons without Children, were called *χερσαι*, is plain from ancient Grammarians (a). *Hesiod* has used the same Word, but in which of these Senses is equally ambiguous (b);

Ος κε γάμον φέγων κ' ἡμέριχα ἔργα γυναικῶν
Μὴ γῆραι ἐθέλη. ὁλοὸν δ' ὅππῃ γῆρας ἔκνη,
Χήτη γερκούσῃ, ὃ δ' εἰ βίῳ τε ὅππῃ δόξῃ
Ζαῖς, ἀπορριμμένη δ' ἀπὸ κτήντων δαίμων
Χερσαί -----

Averse to all the Troubles of a Wife,
Wedlock he loath'd, and led a single Life.
But now, when bowing Age his Limbs had seiz'd,
Justly he wants, whom he before despis'd:
He dies at length, and his remoter Friends
Share his Possessions. —————

H. H.

'Tis not worth disputing whether Significations is more pertinent in these Passages, since 'tis certain that both are agreeable enough to the Practice of Antiquity; for as Persons having Relations were usually succeeded in their Estates by them, so when any died without lawful Heirs, their Possessions belonged to the Prince, the Commonwealth, or the supreme Magistrates, as the Laws of every State directed.

The *Grecian* Practice concerning Wills was not the same in all Places; some Places permitted Men to dispose of their Estates, others wholly deprived them of that Privilege. We are told by *Plutarch* (c), that *Solon* is much commended for his Law concerning Wills; for before his Time no Man was allowed to make any, but all the Wealth of the deceased Persons belonged to their Families; but he permitted them to bestow it on whom they pleased, esteeming Friendship a stronger Tie than Kindred, and Affection than Necessity, and thus put every Man's Estate in the Disposal of the Possessor; yet he allowed not all Sorts of Wills, but required the following Conditions in all Persons that made them.

1. That they must be Citizens of *Athens*, not Slaves, or Foreigners, for then their Estates were confiscated for the Publick Use.
2. That they must be Men who have arrived to 20 Years of Age, for Women and Men under that Age were not permitted to dispose by Will of more than one *Medimn* of Barley (d).
3. That they must not be adopted; for when adopted Persons died without Issue, the Estates they received by Adoption, returned to the Relations of the Man who adopted them.
4. That they should have no Male Children of their own, for then their Estates belonged to these. If they had only Daughters, the Persons to whom the Inheritance was bequeathed, were obliged

(a) *Hesychius* V. *χερσαι*, *Pollux*. (b) *Theogonia*. (c) *Solone*.
(d) *Isæus* de hæred. *Aristarchi*.

Chap. XV. Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece. 345

to marry them (a). Yet Men were allowed to appoint Heirs to succeed their Children, in case these happened to die under 20 Years of Age (b).

5. That they should be in their right Minds, because Testaments extorted thro' the Phrenzy of a Disease, or Dotage of Old Age, were not in reality the Wills of the Person that made them.

6. That they should not be under Imprisonment, or other Constraint, their Consent being then only forced, nor in Justice to be reputed voluntary.

7. That they should not be induced to it by the Charms and Insinuations of a Wife; for (says *Plutarch*) the wise Lawgiver with good Reason thought that no Difference was to be put between Deceit and Necessity, Flattery and Compulsion, since both are equally powerful to persuade a Man from Reason.

Wills were usually signed before several Witnesses, who put Seals to them for Confirmation, then placed in the Hands of Trustees, called *ἐπιμαρτυροί*, who were obliged to see them performed. At *Athens* some of the Magistrates, particularly the *Asynomi*, were very often present at the making of Wills (c). Sometimes the *Archons* were also present; hence we are told by *Harpocration* and *Suidas*, that when any thing was given in the Presence of the *Archons*, it was termed *δόνος* (d); for this Word, tho' commonly taken for any Sort of Gift or Present, yet was by the *Athenian* Orators peculiarly applied to Legacies, and Things disposed of by Will. Hence *δῶνα* is equivalent to *διαθήκῃς*. *Isæus* (e) frequently puts them together, *δῶνα καὶ διαθήκῃς*, and to succeed, *καὶ δόνον καὶ καὶ διαθήκην*, by Gift and Will, is opposed to Succession, *κατὰ νότον*, by natural Right. Sometimes the Testator declared his Will before sufficient Witnesses, without committing it to Writing. Thus *Callias* fearing to be cut off by a wicked Conspiracy, is said to have made an open Declaration of his Will before the popular Assembly at *Athens* (f). The same was done in the nuncupative Wills at *Rome*,

There were several Copies of Wills in *Diogenes Laertius*, as those of *Aristotle*, *Lycon*, and *Theophrastus*; whence it appears they had a common Form, beginning with a Wish for Life and Health; afterwards adding, that in case it happened otherwise, their Will was as followed, in this manner: *ἔγω μὲν εὖ, εἰ δὲ τι συμβῇ, ταῦτα διατίθειμην*.

We have seen how Children enjoyed the Estates of their Parents, let us now pass to their virtuous and noble Actions, the Rewards of which we find frequently inherited by their Posterity; these consisted not only in fruitless Commendations and empty Titles of Honour, or Expressions of Respect, which yet were liberally bestowed upon the whole Families of Persons eminent for serving their Country, but in more substantial Acknowledgements thought

(a) *Isæus* Orat. de *Pyrrhi* hæred. (b) *Demosthenes* Orat. II. in *Stephanum* testem. (c) *Isæus* hæred. *Cleonymi*. (d) Voce *δόνος*. (e) In λόγῳς κληρονομῶν. (f) *Plutarchus Alcibiadae*.

due to the Memory and Relations of such Men. Their Children were in many Places provided for, and educated suitably to their Birth at the Publick Expence, when left destitute of Estates. What Regard the *Athenians* had of those Mens Children who lost their Lives in fighting for their Country, has been shewed in a former Book; how they treated the Posterity of others, who had deserved well of their Commonwealth, shall now appear from one or two Instances; the first is that of *Aristides*, who dying poor, the *Athenian* People bestowed upon his Son *Lyfimachus* 100 *Attick* Pounds of Silver, with a Plantation of as many Acres of Ground; and upon the Motion of *Alcibiades*, ordered farther that four Drachms a day should be paid him; furthermore *Lyfimachus* leaving a Daughter named *Policrite*, the People voted her the same Provision of Corn with those who obtain Victory in the *Olympian* Games; the same *Aristides's* two Daughters had each of them 300 Drachms out of the publick Treasury for their Portions. Nor is it to be wondered (proceeds my Author) that the People of *Athens* should take care of those who resided in their City, since hearing the Granddaughter of *Aristogiton* was in so low a Condition in the Isle of *Lemnos*, that she was like to want a Husband, they sent for her to *Athens*, married her to a Person of great Quality, and gave with her a Farm for her Dowry; of which Bounty and Humanity the City of *Athens* (saith he) in this our Age has given divers Demonstrations, for which she is deservedly celebrated and had in Admiration (a).

Mens Vices and dishonourable Actions were likewise participated by their Children; for it was thought no more than reasonable, that those who share in the Prosperity and good Fortune of their Parents, should partake likewise of their Losses and Miscarriages. *Agamemnon* in *Homer* could be prevailed on by no Arguments to spare *Antimachus's* Sons, their Father having endeavoured to procure *Menelaus* and *Ulysses* to be murdered when they were sent on an Embassy to *Troy* (b);

Εἰ μὲν δ' Ἀντιμάχοιο παῖδενθ' ἦϊς ἴσῃν,
 Ὅς ποτ' ἐνὶ Τροίαν ἀγορῇ Μενέλαον ἀνῆλθον
 Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐλθόντα σὺν ἀντιφῶ Οὐλοῦντι.
 Δῖος κατακτείνῃ, μὲν δ' Ἰζήμεν ἅψ' ἰς Ἀχαιῶς,
 Νῦν μὲν δὲ τὸ πάρος δαίμνια τίσιςτι λώεω.

If from the Loins of stout *Antimachus*
 Ye are descended, I'll bespeak you thus:
 Since, when the *Trojans* did in Council sit,
 He gravely gave Advice, he thought it fit
 That my dear Brother, as an Enemy,
 With sage *Ulysses*, sacrific'd should be
 To their invet'rate Malice, tho' they were
 Envoys, whose Lives the worst of Nations spare,

(a) *Plutarchus Aristida.* (b) *Iliad.* λ'. v. 138.

Chap. XV. Of the Miscellaneous Customs of Greece. 347

I'll on the Sons avenge the Father's Hate,
These Hands shall you dispatch, and Justice vindicate.

J. A.

There are many other Instances to the same purpose, whence it appears this Practice was not owing to the Passion and Prejudices of particular Persons, but thought agreeable to Justice and Reason. It may be sufficient in this place to mention the famous *Macedonian* Law, whereby it was ordered, that Men guilty of conspiring against their King, should not only suffer death, with their Children, but all those who were nearly allied to them, should share in the same Punishment; whence we find in *Curtius* (a), that when *Philotas* was found guilty of Treason against *Alexander*, of the Noblemen and others related to him, some stabbed themselves, others fled into Wilderesses and Desarts, till the King issued out his Pardon for them.

It remains that I add something concerning the Returns of Gratitude due from Children to their Parents, which appear from their assiduous Attendance on them in the lowest Offices, whence one in *Aristophanes* relates how his Daughter washed and anointed his Feet:

----- Καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἡ θυγάτηρ
Ἀπονήζει, καὶ τὰ πόδι' αἰεὶ φη καὶ περὶ ἄσπευ φίληται.

First my dear Child did wash her Father's Feet,
Then she anointed 'em, and bending down
Gave them a sweet endearing Kiss. ———

They were zealous in vindicating the Honour, and revenging the Injuries of their Parents; whence *Telemachus* in *Homer* says, *Orestes* had gained the Applause of all *Greece*, and recommended his Name to succeeding Ages, by taking Revenge on his Father's Murderers (b);

Καὶ λίω κείνῳ μὲν ἐπίταλον, καὶ οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ
Οἶσεν κλέειν δῖον, καὶ ἐσομύθουσι τοῖσι δαῖ.

He a brave noble Soul did then put forth,
A Soul of Prowess and heroick Worth,
When he his Father's bold Assassins kill'd,
And both his Duty and the Law fulfill'd.
This Act for ever shall in Records live,
And to his sacred Name Eternity shall give. J. A.

Several other Instances might be produced wherein Children shewed their Gratitude to their Parents, whereof I shall only mention their Care in providing a comfortable Subsistence for their Old Age,

(a) Lib. VI. haud procul a fine. (b) *Odyss.* γ'. v. 208,

348 *Of the Miscellaneous Customs of Greece. Chap. XV.*

to do which was termed *πρεβοσκεῖν*, and performing their Funeral Rites when dead. *Medea* in *Euripides* expresses her earnest Desire of (a) enjoying this Happiness :

Ἡ μὲν ποδ' ἡ δύστηνός εἰχ' ἐλπίδας
Πολλὰς ἐν ὑμῖν, πρεβοσκήσεν τ' ἐμὲ,
Καὶ χαλδαῖός χερσὶν εὖ σφαιτελεῖν.

Ah ! wretched me, ah, my unhappy Fate !
What blooming Comforts did I once presage
In your young tender Years ? I thought, alas !
What blest'd Support I should receive when Old
From you, the Prop of my declining Age,
How you would give me decent Obsequies
When I should leave the World, and be no more.

J. A.

Admetus, introduced by the same Poet, tells his Father, that he being delivered over unto Death by him, there would be no Man to take care of him whilst alive, or pay him due Respect after Death (b) ;

Τοὶ γὰρ εὐθὺς παῖδας εἰς ἔτ' ἀν' φθάνουσ,
Οἱ πρεβοσκήσεν καὶ θανάτῳ σι
Περὶ σφαιτελεῖσι, καὶ σφαιτεροῖσι νεκρῶν,
Οὐ γὰρ σ' ἐγὼ γε τῇδ' ἐμῇ δαΐφω χεῖρ,
Τίθωμαι γὰρ δὴ ἐπὶ σ'.

You with more Off-spring never will be blest,
To give Refreshment to your aged Limbs,
To keep you when disabled, and when dead
To mourn your Loss, and give you decent Burial;
For I, alas ! am doom'd to lose my Life
As much as in you lies ; I ne'er will see
Your Body carry'd to the Grave, or be
A sad Attendant at the Funeral.

J. A.

They were so concerned about these Things, that when they undertook any hazardous Enterprize, it was customary to engage some of their Friends to maintain and protect their aged Parents. Thus when the *Thebans* living in Exile at *Athens*, conspired to free their native Country from the Tyrants which the *Lacedæmonians* had imposed on it, they divided themselves into two Companies, and agreed that one should endeavour to get into the City, and surprize their Enemies, whilst the other, remaining behind in *Attica*, should expect the Issue, and provide for the Parents and Children of their Associates, if they perished in the Attempt (c). *Euryalus* in *Virgil*,

(a) *Medea* v. 1032.
Polopida.

(b) *Alceſtides* v. 662.

(c) *Plutarchus*

when

Chap. XV. Of the Miscellaneous Customs of Greece. 349

when going to expose his Life to Danger, passionately intreats *Ascanius* in an elegant Oration to comfort and make Provision for his Mother (a);

————— Sed te super omnia dona
Unum oro: Genitrix Priami de gente vetusta
Est mihi, quam miseram tenuit non Iliæ tellus
Mecum excedentem, non mœnia regis Aestæ;
Hanc ego nunc ignaram hujus quodcunque pericli est,
Inque salutatam linquo; nox & tua testis
Dextera, quod nequeam lacrymas perferre parentis;
At tu, oro, solare inopem, & succurre relictæ;
Hanc sine me spem ferre tui; audentior ibo
In casus omnes. —————

This chiefly from your Goodness let me gain,
(For this ungranted, all Rewards are vain)
Of Priam's Royal Race my Mother came,
And sure the best that ever bore the Name;
Whom neither Troy nor Sicily cou'd hold
From me departing, but o'erspent and old,
My Fate she follow'd; ignorant of this
Whatever Danger, neither parting Kifs,
Nor pious Blessing taken, her I leave,
And in this only Act of all my Life deceive;
By this Right-hand and conscious Night I swear,
My Soul so sad a Farewel could not bear:
Be you her Comfort, fill my vacant place,
(Permit me to presume so great a Grace)
Support her Age, forsaken and distressed,
That Hope alone will fortify my Breast
Against the worst of Fortune and of Fears.

Mr. Dryden.

The Provision made by Children for their Parents was termed *πρεσβεία*, by the Poets *δραπήνεια*, or *δραπήν*, and sometimes *δρέπια*, as we find in *Homer* (b). To be negligent in this Matter was accounted one of the greatest Impieties, and most worthy of Divine Vengeance; whence *Hesiod*, enumerating the Evils of the last and Iron Age, mentions the Disobedience and disrespectful Behaviour of Children to their Parents, as one of the greatest, and which called to Heaven for Vengeance (c);

----- Γερόσυλος ἀπμήσσει τοῦτος,
Μίμνον δ' ἢ ἄρα τῷ χαλεποῖς βάζοντ' ἰπίεσσι
Σχίπτουσιν, ἐδὲ θεῶν ὅπιν εἰδότες, ἐδὲ μὲν οἷα
Γερόντισσι τοῦτον δαὶ δραπήνεια δοῖεν.

(a) *Aeneid*. IX. v. 283. (b) *Iliad*. δ'. v. 478. (c) *Opes & Dier. lib. I. v. 13.* Whar

When drooping Parents in a painful State
 Have toil'd, oppress'd with Miseries and Fate,
 Then their young Debauchées shall them despise,
 Taunt at their Years, and give them base Replies,
 Call them the Dregs of Life, and not allow,
 Nor one poor Crois to keep them will bestow, J. A.

No Crime was thought to be followed with more certain and inevitable Judgments than this; for the *Furies* and other infernal Deities were believed always ready to execute the Curses of Parents injured by their Children. Hence *Telemachus* in *Homer* refuses to force his Mother *Penelope* from his House, for fear of being haunted by the *Furies*, and reproached by Men (a);

----- Αμα ὃ δαίμων
 Δάσφ. ἐπεὶ μήτηρ συγχεῖς ἀρήσεται Ερινύς
 Οἶκε ἀπερχομένη, νόμοις δέ μοι ἔξ ἀνδροπῶν
 ἔσσι. -----

The Gods this Act with Vengeance will repay,
 Furies will haunt this House, and I no Day
 Shall live at ease, but scouted and forlorn
 To all my Neighbours a by-word and Scorn.

Phœnix was remarkably punished when his Father invoked the Furies Assistance against him (b);

----- Πατήρ δ' ἐμὲ αὐτίκ' οἶδ' αἶψα,
 Πολλὰ καλῶντο συγχεῖς δ' ἐπικέκλητ' Ερινύς,
 Μήποτε γέναισιν οἷσιν ἐφείσεται φίλον υἱόν
 Ἐξ' ἐμέθεν γηγάτα· θεοὶ δ' ἐτέλειον ἱππαρχέ,
 Ζεὺς τε καταχθόνιόν, καὶ ἑπαιὴ Περσεφόνηα.

My Father having me discover'd, pray'd
 To all th' infernal Furies for their Aid;
 He wish'd I never might beget a Boy,
 To dandle on my Knee, and give me Joy;
 My Father's Pray'rs are heard, mine are deny'd,
 Both *Pluto* and his Queen are in the Curse ally'd,

J. A.

Many other Instances occur in Authors, as those of *Oedipus*, *Theseus*, and others produced by *Plato* (c), where he endeavours to make out, that the Gods were always prepared to hear the Prayers, and revenge the Injuries of Parents. Nor was the Punishment of this Crime only left to be executed by the Gods, but frequently inflicted

(a) *Odyss.* c. v. 134. (b) *Iliad.* i. v. 454. (c) *De legibus*
 lib. XI. by

by Human Appointment. *Solon* ordered all Persons who refused to make due Provision for their Parents, to be punished with (*ἀτιμία*) Ignominy (*a*). The same Penalty was incurred by those who beat their Parents. Neither was this confined to their immediate Parents, but equally understood of their Grand-fathers, Grand-mothers, and other Progenitors.

When Persons admitted to appear for the Office of *Archon*, were examined concerning their Life and Behaviour, one of the first Questions enquired was, whether they had honoured their Parents? Herein if they were found faulty, their Suit was rejected.

Yet there were some Cases wherein that Lawgiver excused Children from maintaining their Parents, as when they had been bred up to no Calling or Profession, whereby they might be enabled to subsist in the World; for the Care and Trouble of Parents in educating their Children being the main Foundation of those Duties they were to expect from them, their Default herein was thought to absolve the Children from their Allegiance. In like manner such as were prostituted by their Parents, were not compelled to maintain them (*b*). The Sons of Harlots were also declared to lie under no Obligation of relieving their Fathers, because they who keep company with Harlots are not supposed to design the Procreation of Children, but their own Pleasure, and therefore have no Pretence to upbraid them with Ingratitude, whose very Birth they made a Scandal and Reproach to them (*c*).

As the Unkindness of Parents was made a sufficient Excuse for Children, to deny them Relief in their Old Age, so the Disobedience or Extravagance of Children, whether natural or adopted (*d*), frequently deprived them of the Care and Estate of their Parents; yet the *Athenian* Lawgiver allowed not Fathers to disinherit their Children out of Passion, or slight Prejudices, but required their Appearance before certain Judges appointed to have Cognizance of such Matters, where, if the Children were found to deserve so severe a Sentence, the publick Cryer was ordered to proclaim, that such a Person rejected the Criminal, whose Name was then repeated, from being his Son; whence to disinherit a Son is called ἀποκληρύξαι τὸ υἱόν, and the Person so disinherited ἀποκληρύκτου, (*e*). To be disinherited was likewise called ἐκπίπτειν τὸ γένος, to be received again, ἀναλαμβάνειν εἰς τὸ γένος. It may be farther observed, that Parents were allowed to be reconciled to their Children, but after that could never abdicate them again, lest ἀπίεστοι τὰ πατρῶν αἱ τιμωρίαι, καὶ φέβου ἀίδιου, the Punishments of Children should become endless, and their Fears perpetual, according to *Lucian* (*f*).

When any Man either through Dotage, or other Infirmities, became unfit to manage his Estate, his Son was allowed to impeach him before the (φροντισταί) Men of his own Ward, who had Power to invest him with the present Possession of his Inheritance. There

(*a*) *Laertius Solone.* (*b*) *Æschines Orat. in Timarch.* (*c*) *Plutarchus Solone.* (*d*) *Demisthenes in Spudiam.* (*e*) *Hesychius γ. ἀποκληρύκτου.* (*f*) *Abdicato. Iſæus de hæred. Cironis.*

is an Allusion to this Law in *Aristophanes*, who has introduced the Son of *Strepsiades* thus speaking (a):

Οἱ μοι τί δέισον παρεφθάνητο τῷ πατρί;
 Πότερ' παρνοίας αὐτὸν εἰσαγαγόν, ἦλθ';

And there is a remarkable Story concerning *Sophocles*, who being accused by *Jophon* and his other Sons of neglecting his Affairs through Dotage, read to the Judges his Tragedy called *Oedipus Coloneus*, which he had then lately composed; whereupon he was acquitted (b).

C H A P. XVI.

Of their Times of Eating.

THE following Account of the *Grecian* Entertainments may not unfitly be divided into five Parts, wherein shall be described,

First, The Times of Eating.

Secondly, The several Sorts and Occasions of Entertainments.

Thirdly, The Materials whereof those Entertainments consisted.

Fourthly, The Ceremonies before Entertainments.

Fifthly, The Ceremonies at Entertainments.

As for the Times of Eating, they, according to *Athenæus* (c), were four every Day. 1. *Ἀκράτισμα*, the Morning Meal, so termed because it was customary at this time to eat Pieces of Bread dipt in Wine unmixed with Water, which in *Greek* is called *ἄκρατον*. This Meal is by *Homer* called *ἄριστον*, which Name was either derived ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρίστου, from its being first taken away; or rather ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀριστοῦ, because the Heroes immediately went to War from this Meal, and there valiantly behaved themselves, as we are informed by the *Scholiast* on that Author (d); who likewise tells us, that the Time of this Meal was about the Rising of the Sun. Sometimes it was termed *διανησιμός*, *Jentaculum*, Breakfast. 2. *Δείπνον*, so named, as the same *Scholiast* was of opinion, because after this Meal *δεῖ πνεῖν*, it was usual to return to the War, or other Labours, whence τὸ δέισμα *συνωνυμεί*, it sometimes is synonymous to *ἄριστον*, being taken for the Morning Meal, as *Athenæus* hath observed from the following Verse of *Homer*, in which the Heroes are said to have put on their Armour after the *δείπνον*,

(a) *Nub. Act. III. Sc. I.* (b) *Cicero de Senectute, Auctor vitæ Sophoclis, Aristophanis Scholiastes ad Ranas.* (c) *Lib. I. cap. IX.* (d) *Iliad. 6.*

Οἱ δὲ ἀγε δεῖπνον ἔλαυν', ὑπὸ δὲ αὐτῷ θυμίσσονται.

3. Δειπνόν, sometimes also termed ἱσπείσμα, the Afternoon Meal.
4. Δόρυ, the Supper, τὸ κατ' ἡμέρας λογόμενον δεῖπνον, which afterwards among the latter *Grecians* was termed δεῖπνον, according to the fore-mentioned *Scholias*t, who will have δόρυ to be so named from ἰαύρυ, that Meal being eaten ὅταν εἰς τὸ ἰαύειν πορεύωμεθα, the last before we go to sleep. *Philemon*, as he is cited by *Athenæus*, thus enumerates the Times of Eating. 1. Ἀκράτεια. 2. Ἀριστον. 3. Ἐσπείσμα. 4. Δειπνόν. But the fore-mentioned *Scholias*t, with whom most other Authors agree as to this Particular, reports, τρεῖς ἐστὶν παλαιὰς χρῆσται, that the ancient *Greeks* had only three Meals a day, and leaves out the third Meal, called δειπνόν. And they who have made δειπνόν, or ἱσπείσμα, to be a distinct Meal from the δόρυ, seem to have had no better Foundation for that Distinction than that Verse of *Homer*,

σὺ δ' ἔρχεαι δειπλήσας.

Where the Word δειπλήσας, by a mistaken Interpretation, was understood of taking Meat, whereas it was only meant of abiding or remaining in a certain Place in the Afternoon. And this Sense of that Passage was in the Opinion of *Athenæus* so certain, that in another place (a) he pronounces those Men to be γαλοῖς, οἱ εἰσποντες ὅτι τέσσαρας ἐλάμβανον τροφάς, ridiculous, who say that the ancient *Greeks* used to eat four Meals a Day.

Others are of opinion that the primitive *Greeks* had only two Meals a Day, viz. ἄριστον and δόρυ, and that the rest are only different Names of these. And *Athenæus* (b) himself affirms, that no Man can be produced παρὰ τῶν ποιητῶν τοῖς λαμβάνειν τροφάς eating thrice a Day in *Homer*. Neither is it to be doubted but that in those early Ages the Way of Living was very frugal and temperate, and it was thought sufficient if they had a moderate Breakfast, and after the Business and Labour of the Day was over, refreshed themselves with a plentiful Meal; whence *Plato* wondered that the *Sicilians* and *Italians* should eat two plentiful Meals every Day; and amongst the *Grecians* it was accounted Extravagance to breakfast or dine to the full; neither was it thought convenient by *Cicero* the Roman (c) bis in die saturum fieri, twice a Day to eat to the full; and so temperate were the ancient Romans, that *viles & rusticos cibos ante ipsos focos sumpserunt, eosque ipsos capere nisi ad vesperam non licuit* (d), they lived upon very mean Food, and used not to allow themselves that till the Evening; whence *Isidorus* (e) explaining the Words *cæna* and *vespertina*, whereby the Supper or Evening Meal is signified, adds, that *in usu non erant prandia*, Diners were not used.

(a) Lib. V. cap. iv. (b) Loco citato. (c) *Tusculan. Quæst.* v. (d) *Salvianus* Lib. I. (e) *Originibus*.

C H A P. XVII.

Of the several Sorts of Entertainments.

IN the primitive Ages, if we may believe *Athenæus* (a), *ἡ δὲ συντροφία συναγνῆ τῶν αἰτίων εἰς θεὸν ἀνέφερε*, all Meetings at Entertainments were occasioned by their Devotion to the Gods; neither was it usual either to indulge themselves with the free Use of Wine or Dainties, *εἰ μὴ θεῶν ἐνεκα αὐτο δεῶν*, unless they did it on a religious Account, as the same Author affirms (b); for on festival Days they used to rest from their Labours, and to live more plentifully than at other Times, believing, in the Words of *Ovid*, that the Gods were present at their Tables on such Occasions;

— *mensæ credere adesse Deos* (c).

And out of this Opinion, *ταῖς ἑορταῖς σωφρονεῖς καὶ κοσμίως διήγον*, they behaved themselves with Sobriety and Decency at their festival Entertainments; neither did they drink to Excess, but having moderately refreshed themselves, offered a Libation to the Gods, and then returned Home, as we are informed by *Athenæus* (d).

Afterwards, when a more free Way of Living was in use, we find mention of three Sorts of Entertainments, *viz.* *εἰλαπίνην*, *γάμον*, and *ἔχον*, which are together enumerated in that Verse of *Homer*,

Εἰλαπίνην, ἢ γάμον, ἢ ἔχον, ἐπεὶ οὐ ἔχον τὰ δὲ γ' ὄσιν.

Whence there are commonly said to have been three distinct Sorts of Entertainments among the ancient *Grecians*; but these may be reduced to two, *εἰλαπίνην* and *ἔχον*, under one of which, *γάμον*, the Marriage Entertainment, may be comprehended. The first of these (*εἰλαπίνην*) is sometimes termed *διαχία*, and *ἀσύμβολον δῆπνον*, and was an Entertainment provided at the Expence of one Man. On the contrary, *ἔχον* was an Entertainment made at the common Charge of all present, being so named *ὅτι πᾶς σωμαρὴν καὶ συμμέτρην ἔκαστον*, because every Man contributed his Proportion, as we learn from *Athenæus* (e), who likewise reports that this Entertainment was sometimes termed *δίασθ*; hence the Guests were called *συμβιασθῶν*, who are more commonly named *ἐχισθῶν*. What each of the Guests contributed was termed *συμφορὰ*, *εἰσφορὰ*, *καταβολή*, *συμβολή*, *ἔσθ*. whence the Entertainment was named *δῆπνον συμφορητὸν*, *συμβολιμαῖον*, *ὅτι συμβολῆς, καταβολῶν*. Sometimes it was called *τὸ ἐν κοινῷ*, *ἔσθ*. At *Argos* they called the Contribution

(a) Lib. V. (b) Lib. II. (c) *Faistor*. Lib. V. (d) Lib. VIII. cap. xvi. sub finem. (e) Lib. VIII.

Chap. XVII. Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece. 355

by a particular Name, *χῶν*. The Persons who collected the Contributions were called by the same Name with the Guests, *ἐρασιᾶν*.

Hither may be referred *δῆπνον συναγώγιμον*, mentioned in the Fragments of *Alexis*, which is by *Menander* termed *συναγώγιον*. Both Names are derived from *συνάγειν*, which by a peculiar Use signified *μετ' ἀλλήλων πίνειν*, to drink together. But whether this Entertainment was the same with *ἐρασιᾶν*, *Athenæus* has professed himself to be uncertain (a).

Here must also be mentioned *δῆπνα ὀπιόσημα*, or *ὕψ' ὀπιδομάτων*, Entertainments, wherein some of the Guests contributed more than their exact Proportion; to do which is termed *ὀπιδοδίναι*.

To this place also must be reduced τὸ ἐπὶ σπυρίδῳ, in *Latin* called *ē sportula cæna*: ἔταν πε ἑαυτὸς αὐτῷ αἰδούσας δῆπνον, καὶ σπυρίδ' εἰς σπυρίδα, παρὰ τινὰ δειπνήσων ἴη, when any Man having provided his own Supper, puts it into a Basket, and goes to eat it at another's House, as we learn from *Athenæus* (b). Different from this was the Roman *Sportula*, which was an Alms received by Clients from their rich Patrons, in a Basket of that Name; whereof we have frequent mention in *Juvenal*, *Martial*, and the Histories of the Roman Emperors. This Custom is also mentioned by *Hesychius*, who tells us, that ἐπὶ σπυρίδῳ δειπνῆν signifies τὸ ἀντὶ τοῦ δῆπνῳ ἀργύριον ἐν σπυρίδι λαβεῖν, to receive in a Basket a Piece of Silver, or Fragments of Meat instead of a Supper. Which Explication of that Expression, though rather taken from the Writers of the Roman than Grecian Affairs, gave occasion to the Mistake of *Meursius*, who in his learned Commentary upon *Lycophron*, confounds the Grecian *σπυρίς* with the *Sportula* of Rome.

The *ἐρασιᾶν*, being provided at less Expence than other Entertainments, wherein one Person sustained the whole Charge, were generally most frequented, and are recommended by the wise Men of those Times, as most apt to promote Friendship and good Neighbourhood; whence *Hesiod* has left this Advice (c):

Μὴδὲ πολυξείνῃς δαυτὸς δυσπρόμιλῳ ἔη.

Εκ κοινῆς πλείνῃ π' ἄλλοις δαπάνῃ τ' ὀλιγίστη.

They were also for the most part managed with more Order and Decency, φειδωλῶς ἥδιον ὥς τὰ πολλὰ οἱ ἐρασιᾶν ὥς ἂν ἰδίου ἰδιότροντες ἔκαστος, because the Guests, who only eat of their own Collation, were usually more sparing than when they were feasted at another Man's Expence, as we are informed by *Eustathius* (d); who has also in the same place mentioned several other Customs at the Grecian Entertainments, which do not much differ from those already described from other Authors. And so different was the Behaviour at their publick Feasts from that at private Entertainments,

(a) Sub finem lib. VIII. (b) Loco citato. (c) Oper. & Dier. lib. II. v. 346. (d) Commentario in *Odyss.* α. p. 50. Edit. *Basil.*

356 *Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece. Chap. XVII.*

that *Minerva* in *Homer*, having seen the Intemperance and unseemly Actions of *Penelope's* Courtiers, concludes their Entertainment was not *ἔρατος*, provided at the common Charge, but *εἰλαπίν*, or *γάμος*, and furnished at the Expences of a single Person (a) ;

Εἰλαπίν, ἢ γάμος, ἵπτεῖ ἐν ἔρατῳ τὰ δὲ γ' ὄρν.
Ὡς μοι ὑβρίζοντες ὑπερφιάλως δοκίμοι
δαίνυνται κατὰ δῶμα· νεμεσίουσαί τε καὶ αἰὲρ
Δίσχα πολλὰ ὄρναι, ὅστις πινυτός γε μίλειδος.

They who were present without contributing towards the Entertainment were termed *ἀσύμβολοι*, in which Condition were Poets and Singers, and others who made Diversion for the Company; whence that Saying of *Antiphanes* in *Atbenæus* (b) ;

Ἀκαπνα γὰρ αἰεὶ αἰσθδὶ θύμῳ.

We Singers always feast without Smoke.

For *ἀκαπνα θύειν*, to feast or kill without Smoke, is a proverbial Phrase for such as partake of Entertainments without the Charge and Trouble of providing them; whence in *Leonides's* Epigram to *Cæsar* there was this Expression ;

Καλλιόπης γὰρ ἀκαπνοὶ αἰεὶ θύῳ.

Calliope always kills without Smoke.

Whereby is meant, that the *Muses*, and their Favourites, are always entertained at other Mens Expence; hence *ἀσύμβολος* is sometimes taken for an uselefs Person, who is maintained by other Men, and contributes nothing towards the Charge. An Example whereof we find in *Plutarch* (c), where he relates the celebrated Fable of *Menenius Agrippa*, in which the Rest of the Members are said to accuse the Belly, *ὡς μόνος ἀργεῖ καὶ ἀσυμβόλου καθεζομένης*, that when all they had some Use or Employment, she alone remained idle, and contributed nothing to the common Service.

Lastly, It must not be omitted, that there were in many Places publick Entertainments, at which a whole City, or a Tribe, or any other Body or Fraternity of Men were present; these were termed by the general Names of *συσίτια*, *πανδαισία*, *ἑστ.* or sometimes from the Body of Men who were admitted, *δημοβοινία*, *δαιπνα* *δημόσια*, and *δημοπικᾶ*, *φρατρικᾶ*, *φυλίκᾶ*, *ἑστ.* according as those of the same Borough (*δῆμος*) Fraternity (*φρατερία*) or Tribe (*φυλή*) met together. And the Provision was sometimes furnished by Contribution, sometimes by the Liberality of some of the richer Sort, and sometimes out of the publick Revenue. The Design of

(a) *Odyss.* α. v. 226. (b) *Lib. I. cap. vii.* (c) *Coriolano.*

these Entertainments, which were in some Places appointed by the Laws, was to accustom Men to Parsimony and Frugality, and to promote Peace and good Neighbourhood. They were first instituted in *Italy* by King *Italus*, from whom that Country received its Name. as we are informed by *Aristotle* (a). The next to these in order of Time were those appointed by King *Minos* in *Crete*, after whose Example *Lycurgus* instituted the publick Entertainments at *Sparta*, tho' the Name was varied; for as *Plutarch* reports in his Life of the *Spartan* Lawgiver, τὰ συσσίτια Κρήτες μὲν ἀνδρεία, οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ γαστήρα περιπαροβύσσιν, the *Cretans* term their *Sysstitia*, or publick Entertainments, ἀνδρεία, and the *Lacedæmonians* γαστήρα; yet this Difference was not primitive, if we may believe *Aristotle*, who affirms, that τὸ γὰρ ἀρχαῖον ἐκάλεον οἱ Λακωνες ἡ γαστήρα, ἀλλὰ ἀνδρεία, καὶ δὲ περὶ οἱ Κρήτες, anciently the *Lacedæmonians* did not use the Name of γαστήρα, but that of ἀνδρεία, which was the *Cretan* Word. These Entertainments were managed with the utmost Frugality, and Persons of all Ages were admitted, the younger Sort being obliged by the Lawgiver to repair hither, as to διδασκαλῆα σφροσύνης, Schools of Temperance and Sobriety, where by the Examples and Discourse of the elder Men, which was generally instructive, they were trained to good Manners and useful Knowledge. The *Athenians* had likewise their *Sysstitia*, as particularly that wherein the Senate of 500, together with such Men who for the publick Services or eminent Merit of themselves or their Ancestors, were thought worthy of this Honour, were entertained at the Publick Expence; and many others both at *Athens* and in other Places are mentioned by the *Greek* Authors, to enumerate which would require a larger Compass than our present Design will admit.

C H A P. XVIII.

Of the Materials whereof the Entertainments consisted.

IN the primitive Times Men lived upon such Fruits as sprung out of the Earth without Art or Cultivation, and desired no Sort of Drink besides that which the Fountains and Rivers afforded; thus *Lucretius* has described the Food then used (b);

*Quæ sol atque imbres dederant, quod terra crearet
Sponte sua, satis id placabat pectora donum.*

Ælian describing the most ancient Food of several Nations, reports that at *Argos* they fed chiefly upon Pears, at *Athens* upon Figs, in

(a) De Repub. Lib. VII. cap. X. (b) Lib. V.

Arcadia upon Acorns (*a*); and so celebrated were the *Arcadians* for living upon that Sort of Diet, that they are distinguished in *Lycophron* (*b*) by the Name of *Βαλανοφάγοι*, Acorn-eaters. Most other Nations in *Greece* made use also of Acorns. Hence it was customary at *Athens*, when they kept their Marriage Festivals, for a Boy to bring in a Bough full of Acorns, and a Plate covered with Bread, proclaiming *ἔφυγον κακὸν, εἰσεν ἄμεινον*, *I have escaped the worse, and found the better*; which was done in memory of their leaving the Use of Acorns for that of Bread, as hath been elsewhere related. At *Rome* also the *corona civica* was composed *fronde querna, quoniam cibus victusque antiquissimus quernus capi solitus sit* (*c*), of Oak Leaves, because that Tree afforded the most ancient Food; for the same Reason some of the Trees which bear Acorns were termed in *Greek* *ἐσχαί*, from *ἐσχαίνω*, to eat, and in *Latin* *Esculi*, from *Esca*, which signifies Food (*d*); and as *Macrobius* (*e*) hath observed, *Meminit vel fabulatur antiquitas glande prius & baccis alitos, sero de sulcis sperasse alimoniam*. Ancient Authors have either delivered upon their Knowledge, or feigned, that in the first Ages Men lived upon Acorns and Berries, and were for a long time unacquainted with the Art of Ploughing the Earth for Corn; nevertheless they believed, that in the Golden Age, when Men enjoyed all Sorts of Plenty and Prosperity, the Earth produced Corn without Cultivation. Thus *Hesiod* reports in his Description of those happy Times (*f*);

----- ἰδὼν δ' ὅλην

τοῖσιν ἔνν' καρπὸν δ' ἔπειρ' εἰσάγουσ' ἄρουρα

αὐτομάτῃ πολλὸν τε καὶ ἄφθονον. -----

But this Age being expired, the Earth (as they imagined) became unfruitful, and Men falling into extreme Ignorance and Barbarity, lived, in *Macrobius's* Language, *non multum a ferarum asperitate dissimiles* (*g*), not unlike to brute Beasts, till *Ceres* taught them the Art of Sowing, and several other useful Inventions, the Memory whereof was many Ages after celebrated on their festival Days, as hath been elsewhere observed. The first whom *Ceres* taught to sow and to till the Ground was *Triptolemus*, by whom that Knowledge was communicated to his Countrymen the *Athenians*. Afterwards she imparted the same Art to *Eumelus*, a Citizen of *Patrae* in *Achaia*, by whom it was first introduced into that Country; as it was also by *Arcas* into *Arcadia* (*h*). Some farther report, that the Invention of making and baking Bread is owing to *Pan*. And we must not omit that Barley was used before any other Sort of Corn, *καρπὸν γὰρ πρῶτον ταύτην ἀν' ἀνθρώποις διδάσκει παρὰ θεῶν λόγῳ ἔχει*, for it is reported that this was the first Food which the Gods

(*a*) Var. Hist. lib. III. cap. xxxix. (*b*) V. 482. ubi. conf. commentarii. (*c*) *A. Gelius* lib. v. cap. vi. (*d*) *Isidorus* orig. lib. xvii. vii. (*e*) In somnium *Scipionis* lib. ii. cap. x. (*f*) *Oper.* lib. i. v. 116. (*g*) *Loco citato.* (*h*) Vid. *Pausanias Atticis, Achaicis, Arcadicis.*

imparted

imparted to Mankind, as *Artemidorus* (a) hath observed: and that it was *antiquissimum in cibis*, the most ancient Sort of Victual, *Atheniensium ritu*, *Menandri auctore apparet*, & *gladiatorum cognomine*, *qui hordearii vocantur*, appears both from the Custom of the Athenians mentioned by *Menander*, which is elsewhere described, and from the Name of those Gladiators, who are called *hordearii* from the Latin Name of Barley, as *Pliny* (b) hath related. But in more civil Ages, to use the same Author's Words, *Panem ex hordeo antiquis usitatum vita damnavit, quadrupedum tradidit refectibus*, Barley Bread came to be the Food of Beasts only; nevertheless it was still used by the poorer Sort, who were not able to furnish their Tables with better Provision; and in the Roman Camp, as *Vegetius* (c) hath informed us, Soldiers who had been guilty of any Offence, *hordeum pro frumento cogebantur accipere*, were fed with Barley instead of Bread-Corn. An Example whereof we find in the second *Punic* War, wherein the Cohorts which lost their Standards, had an Allowance of Barley assigned by *Marcellus* (d). And *Augustus Cæsar*, *Cohortes, si quæ cesserent loco, decimatas hordeo pavit*, commonly punished the Cohorts which gave Ground to the Enemy, by a Decimation, and allowing them no Provision but Barley, as *Suetonius* reports in the Life of that Emperor (e).

The first Ages of Men, as *Plato* (f) reports, *σάρκιν ἀπέχοντο, καὶ ἔχ' ὅπου ὃν ἐδίεν, ἐπὶ τὰς τ' εἰδὼν βρώμης αἰετὶ μαθεῖν*, wholly abstained from Flesh, out of an Opinion that it was unlawful to eat, or to pollute the Altars of the Gods with the Blood of living Creatures. The same is affirmed by *Dicæarchus* in *Porphyry*, who hath left us a Tract concerning Abstinence from Animals, and by many others. Swine were used for Food first of all Animals, they being wholly unserviceable to all other Purposes, and having in the Language of *Cicero* (g) *animam pro sale ne putrescant*, their Souls only instead of Salt to keep them from putrifying. As on the contrary, for several Ages after Flesh came to be eaten, it was thought unlawful to kill Oxen, because they are very serviceable to Mankind, and Partners of their Labour in cultivating the Ground, as hath been elsewhere observed (b). It was also unusual to kill young Animals; whence, as *Athenæus* is of opinion, *Priamus* is introduced by *Homer* reproving his Sons for feasting upon young Lambs; the Reason whereof was, either that it favoured of Cruelty to deprive those of Life which had scarce tasted the Joys of it, or that it tended to the Destruction of the Species; whence, at a Time when Sheep were scarce at *Athens*, there was a Law enacted to forbid *ἀντὶ τῶν ἀρνῶν γάλακτος*, the eating of Lambs which had never been shorn, as hath been observed from *Philochronus*. Neither did the Ancients seek for Dainties or Rarities, but were content

(a) Lib. I. cap. lxxi. (b) Nat. Hist. lib. lxxviii. cap. vii. (c) De re militari lib. I. cap. xiii. (d) *Plutarchus*, *Marcello*, *Livius*, lib. xxvii. (e) Cap. xxiv. (f) Lib. vi. de legibus. (g) Lib. ii. de natura deorum. (h) *Archæologia* hujus lib. ii. cap. de Sacrificiis.

with Sheep, Goats, Swine, Oxen, when it was become lawful to kill them, what they caught in hunting, what was most easy to be provided, and afforded the most healthful Nourishment. Hence all the *Grecians* in *Homer* live upon a simple Diet, Young and Old, Kings and private Men are contented with the same Provision. *Agamemnon* entertains *Ajax*, after his Combat with *Hector*, with the Chine of an Ox, as a Reward of his Valour. *Alcinous*, King of *Phæacia*, who affected a more splendid and delicate Way of Living, feeds upon Beef. *Menelaus* sets before *Telemachus* a Chine of Beef at the Marriage-Feast of his Son. And the Courtiers of *Penelope*, though given to all Sorts of Pleasure, are never entertained either with Fish or Fowl, or any Delicacies. This, with several other things to the same purpose, hath been observed by *Athenæus* (a); who has likewise remarked, that *Homer's* Heroes neither boil their Meat, nor dress it with Sauces, but only roast it. This was in most Places the ancient Way of dressing Meat; whence *Servius* (b) also reports, that *heroicis temporibus non vescebantur carne elixa*, in the heroical Ages they did not eat boiled Flesh; and observes farther out of *Varro*, that among the *Romans* the primitive Diet was Roast, then Boiled, and last of all Broths came into Use. Nevertheless, as *Athenæus* hath elsewhere taken notice, even in *Homer's* Time, boiled Meat was sometimes provided; which appears both from that Entertainment in the *Odyssæy*, where an Ox's Foot is thrown at *Ulysses*, it being well known, that (in that Author's Words) *πῖδα βόειον ἰδεῖς ὀπίῳ*, no Man ever roasts an Ox's Foot; and also from the exprefs Words of the 21st *Iliad* (c):

ὅς τ' ἰδὼν ζεῖ ἔνδον ἐπειρόμεντο πύρι' πολλῶν,
κνίαν μαλδόμεντο ἀπαλοφίῳ σάλαιο.

This was the Way of Living among the ancient *Greeks*; neither were the *Lacedæmonians* of later Ages less temperate than their Ancestors, so long as they observed the Laws of *Lycurgus*. They had their constant Diet at the *Συνίτη*, publick Entertainments, wherein the Food was extremely simple, whereof each Person had a certain Proportion allotted. The chief Part of the Provision was *μίλας ζωμός*, the black Broth peculiar to that Nation, which was so unpleasant that a Citizen of *Sybaris*, happening once to be entertained at *Sparta*, cried out, "That he no longer wondered why the *Lacedæmonians* were the valiantest Soldiers in the World, when any Man "in his right Wits would rather chuse to die a thousand times than "to live upon such vile Food (d)." And 'tis reported that *Agessilaus* distributed certain Sweetmeats, which had been presented to him by the *Thasians*, amongst the Slaves, saying, "that the Servants of Virtue ought not to indulge themselves with such Delicacies, it being unworthy of Men of free Birth to share those Pleasures whereby Slaves are allured." For which Reason the Cooks

(a) Lib. I. p. 9. (b) In *Æneid.* I. (c) *Iliad* φ'. v. 362. (d) Conf. *Athenæus* lib. IV. cap. vi. p. 138.

of *Lacedæmon* were ὁλοποιὸι κρέας μόνον, ὁ δὲ παρὰ τὸν ὀρεαμάρτυρα, ἔκλειπτο Σπαρτίης, ὡς τὰ τῶν νοσέων καδάρσια, only Dressers of Flesh, and they who understood any thing farther in the Art of Cookery were cast out from *Sparta*, as the Filth of Men infected with the Plague (a). Hence *Mithæcus*, a very eminent Cook, designing to follow his Profession in that City, was immediately commanded by the Magistrates to depart (b). This Custom was not unlike that of the ancient Heroes, who kept no Cooks, but sometimes dressed their own Provision, as we find done by *Achilles* in *Homer* (c);

τάμνει δὲ ἀρεὰ δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς,

Καὶ τὰ μὲν ὅς μίσυλλε, καὶ ἀμφ' ὀβελῶσιν ἔπειρε.

And sometimes the κήρυκες, Heralds, those Servants ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε, of Gods and Men, as they are called by the Poet, who were not only employed in Civil and Military Affairs, but also performed many of the holy Rites at Sacrifices, served as Cooks; whence the ancient Cooks are by some Authors reported to have been Σίικες ἱμπετροί, skilled in the Art of divining by Sacrifices, and ὀρεϊσάντο γάμων καὶ θυσῶν, had the Management of Marriage Feasts and Sacrifices (d).

But in other Cities of *Greece*, and in later Ages, the Art of Cookery was in better Esteem, tho' even *Heraclides*, and *Glaucus* the *Locrænsian*, who wrote Books concerning it, affirm, καὶ ἀρμόσιον τοῖς πᾶσι ἐλδοθῆσθαι that it was unworthy of the meanest Person who was free born, as we are informed by *Athenæus* (e). The *Sicilian* Cooks were prized above any others, as the same Author (f) has proved by Examples out of *Cratinus* and *Antiphanes*. *Mithæcus* beforementioned was of that Nation; and the *Sicilians* were so remarkable for their luxurious Way of Living, that Σικελικὴ πρῶπις, a *Sicilian* Table, was a proverbial Phrase, as we are informed by *Suidas*, ὅτι τὸ πᾶν πολυτελεῶν καὶ πρυμνολῶν, for one furnished very profusely and luxuriously.

Next to the *Lacedæmonian* Tables, those of *Athens* are said to have been furnished most frugally, the *Athenian* Soil being unfruitful, and such as could supply no more Provision than was just necessary for the Support of its Inhabitants. Hence *Lynceus* the *Samian* is cited by *Athenæus* (g) for contemning the *Athenian* Entertainments;

Μάγειρ', ὁ θύων ὁ δειπνίζων τ' ἐμὲ,

πόσειδ' ἐγὼ δ' ὁ κακλνμρῖς, Περὶνθις.

Οὐδέτερος ἡμῶν ἡδεῖ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις

Δείπνοις ἀνδρία γὰρ ὄσιν Ἀπικύ.

And the same Author goes on in his Description of the Meanness of the Provisions at *Athens*, which were so exceedingly parsimonious, that *Dromeas*, an *Athenian* Parasite, being asked whether the

(a) *Ælianus* lib. XIV. cap. VII. (b) *Maximus Tyrius* principio differt. VII. (c) *Iliad*. IX. v. 209. (d) *Athenæus* lib. XIV. cap. XXIII. (e) *Lib.* XIV. cap. XXIII. (f) *Loco citato*. (g) *Lib.* IV. cap. III. Suppers

Suppers at *Athens*, or those at *Chalcis* were more magnificent? replied, that the (αἰσχίμων) first Course at *Chalcis* was preferable to the whole Entertainment at *Athens*. Hence to live ἀπὸ κρηρῆς, like an *Athenian*, is to live penuriously. An Example of which Proverb we find cited by *Athenæus* out of *Alexis*, who has there also left us a large Description of an *Athenian* Entertainment (a).

From the *Grecian* Meat let us in the next place proceed to their Drink. And in the primitive Times, as hath been already observed, Water was the general Drink, which they were supplied with from the nearest Fountain. Afterwards hot Fountains came into request by the Example of *Hercules*, who being very much fatigued with Labour refreshed himself with a hot Fountain, which (as Fables tells us) was discovered to him by *Minerva*, or *Vulcan*; and this Sort of Water was thought extremely beneficial on the like Occasions; whence *Plato* (b) commends his *Atlantick* Island, which he describes to be the most delightful Country in the World on account of its hot as well as cold Fountains; and *Homer*, by whom we are furnished with Examples of all Sorts of poetical Topicks, relates that one of the Fountains of the River *Scamander* was exquisitely cold, and the other hot (c); yet, to use the Words of *Julius Pollux* (d); πρὸς Ομήρῳ ἔχῃ οἶνον τ' ἀρσένιον θερμὸν ὑδὼρ ἐν ἀνδράσι, it will be difficult to infer from *Homer* that hot Waters were drunk in the heroick Ages, but they seem only to be used for bathing, unless prescribed by the Physicians, as was usually done to Old Men, and others who had weak Stomachs, as appears from the Example of *Hippocrates* produced by the same Author, who by several other Instances, yet all later than the Age of *Homer*, has here proved that this Sort of Drink was used by the ancient *Grecians*; however, 'tis certain that, at least in later Ages, hot Waters were in request amongst the *Grecians*, and from them came to be used at *Rome*; whence the *Roman* Authors mention the Use of them as a *Grecian* Custom. Thus *Plautus* (e) speaking of the *Grecians*,

Ubi quid surripuerit, operto capitulo caldum bibunt,

And *Horace* (f),

Quo Chium pretio cadum

Mercemur? quis aquam temperet ignibus?

Where *Acron* explains *temperet* by *tepefaciat*, nam *tepefactis aquis solebant Græci vinum temperare*. For the *Greeks* (saith he) used to temper their Wine with warm Water (g).

But there is more frequent mention of cold Water than of hot, both in the *Grecian* and *Roman* Authors; and in order to drink it exquisitely cold, it was customary to temper it with Ice, which they

(a) Lib. IV. cap. V. (b) *Critia*. (c) *Iliad*. χ'. v. 147. (d) Lib. IX. cap. VI. Conf. *Athenæus* lib. III. cap. XXXV. (e) *Curculione*. (f) Lib. III. Od. XIX. (g) Conf. *Athenæus* lib. II. cap. II.

had several Methods to preserve through all the Heat of Summer; there is one mentioned by *Plutarch* (a), who relates that it was usual to wrap it in Clothes and Straw; to which Custom *St. Augustin* alludes in the following Words: *Quis dedit paleæ tam frigidam vim, ut obrutas nives seruet; vel tam fervidam, ut poma immatura maret?* Who has endued the Straw with such a Degree of Cold as to preserve Ice; or with so much Heat as to bring up ripe Fruit to Maturity? *Chares* the *Mitylenæan*, as he is cited by *Athenæus* (b), reports that when *Alexander* the Great besieged *Petra* a City of *India*, he filled 30 Ditches with Ice, which being covered with Oaken Boughs, remained a long time entire. And in the same place there are described several other Arts of making their Drink cool. The Custom of preserving Ice was so common amongst the *Romans*, that they had Shops wherein it was publicly exposed to Sale; whence *Seneca* thus inveighs against the *Roman* Luxury and Extravagance (c): *Unguentarios Lacedæmonii expulere, & propere cedere finibus suis jusserunt, quia oleum disperderent: quid illi si vidissent nivis reponendæ officinas?* The *Lacedæmonians* banished the Sellers of Ointment, and commanded them to be gone with the utmost Speed out of their Country; what would have been done had they seen Shops to reposit and preserve Ice?

The Invention of Wine was by the *Ægyptians* ascribed to *Osiris*, by the *Latins* to *Saturn*, and by the *Greeks* to *Bacchus*, to whom divine Honours were paid on that Account. 'Tis reported by *Hecateus* the *Milesian* that the Use of Wines was first discovered in *Ætolia* by *Orestheus* the Son of *Deucalion*, whose Grandson *Oeneus*, the Father of *Ætolus*, from whom that part of *Greece* received its Name, was so called from *οἶνος*, which is the old Name of *Vines*. Others derive *οἶνος*, the Name of Wine, from this *Oeneus*, who (as they report) was the first who discovered the Art of pressing Wine from Grapes. Thus *Nicander*:

Οἶνός δ' ἐν κοίλοισιν ἀποθλάσας διαίεσσι
Οἶνον ἔκλυσεν. -----

And to the same purpose *Melannippides* the *Milesian* in *Athenæus* (d),

Ἐπ' αὐμῶ, ᾧ δίοπον, οἶνον Οἶνός.

Others will have the Vine to have been first discovered in *Olympia*, near the River *Alpheus*; of which Opinion was *Theopompus* of *Chios*. And *Hellanicus* reports that it was first known at *Plinthion*, a Town of *Ægypt*; hence the *Ægyptians* are thought to derive their immoderate Love and Use of this Liquor, which they thought so necessary to Human Bodies, that they invented a Sort of Wine made of Barley for the poorer Sort, who wanted Money to purchase that which was pressed from Grapes (e).

(a) *Sympos.* lib. VI. (b) Lib. III. cap. XXXVI. (c) *Natur.* IV. (d) *Initio* lib. II. (e) *Conf. Athenæus* sub finem lib. I.

364 Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece. Chap. XVIII.

In Greece the Matrons and Virgins drank Wine, as appears from the Examples of *Nausicaæ* and her Companions in *Homer* (a). And because the same Freedom was rarely allowed that Sex in other Countries, the Grecian Women were ill thought of on that account (b). It was likewise customary to give it to Children, unless the Management of *Achilles* was different from that of other Infants: for thus *Homer* has introduced *Phænix* speaking to him (c);

Πρὶν γ' ὅτε δὴ σ' ἐπ' ἱμοῖσιν ἐγὼ γάλασι καδίσσαι,
 Οὔτε τ' ἄτρωμαι ποσειδάμων, καὶ οἶνον ἔπισχών,
 Πολλὰ μὲν μοι καλίδιδουσαι ὅττι σέθενισσι χεῖρα,
 Οἶνε δ' ἀποβλύζων ἐν νηπιῇ ἀλεγεινῇ.

The Wine was generally mixed with Water, whence drinking-cups were called *καδίαιρα*, παρὰ τὸ καδίσθαι, from the Mixture made in them; which Derivation is mentioned both by the *Grammarians* and *Athenæus*, and there are some Allusions to it in *Homer*; for the Custom of drinking Wine tempered with Water obtained in the Time of the *Trojan War*, and the most primitive Ages; hence the following Verse (d),

Οἱ μὲν ἄρ' οἶνον ἕμιστον ἐν κρητῆρι καὶ ὕδαρ.

Some ascribe the first use of it to *Melampus* (e), others to *Staphylus* the Son of *Silenus*. *Philochorus* is said to report (f), that *Amphiclyon*, King of *Athens*, learned to mix Wine with Water from *Bacchus* himself, on which account he dedicated an Altar to that God under the Name of *Ορσιος* because from that time Men began to return from Entertainments sober, and *ὀρσοί*, upright. The same King enacted a Law, that only Wine tempered with Water should be drunk at Entertainments, which being afterwards disused, was revived by *Solon* (g). There was no certain Proportion observed in this Mixture; some to one Vessel of Wine poured in two of Water; others to two of Wine mixed five of Water; and others more, or less, as they pleased (h). The *Lacedæmonians* εἰς τὸ πῶρ ἕωσι τὸ οἶνον, καὶ ἀντὶ τὸ πικρὸν μέρθε ἀφελῆσθαι, καὶ μετὰ τῷ πῶρ ἐν χεῖρῳ, used to boil their Wine upon the Fire till the fifth part was consumed, and then after four Years were expired, began to drink it, as we are informed by *Democritus* (i); and the same Custom is also mentioned by *Palladius* (k).

Nevertheless most of the *Grecians*, and particularly the *Lacedæmonians*, sometimes did ἀκραίως ποῖν, drink Wine with little or no Water, which they termed *σκορδαίνεσθαι*, to act like a *Scythian*; for the *Scythians* were very much addicted to Drunkenness, and used Wine without Water; whence ἀκραίως is commonly term-

(a) *Odyss.* VI. (b) *Conf. Athenæus* lib. X. (c) *Iliad.* IX. v. 484.
 (d) *Odss.* α'. (e) *Athenæus* lib. VI. cap. II. (f) *Plinius* lib. VII.
 cap. LVI. (g) *Athenæus* lib. II. cap. II. (h) *Idem* lib. X. cap. VIII.
 (i) *Idem* lib. X. cap. VII. (k) *Geoponic.* lib. VII. cap. IV. (l) *Lib.*
 XI. tit. XIV.

Chap. XVIII. Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece. 365

ed σκυθισὲ πίνειν, or σκυθοποιεῖν and ἀκρατοποσία is called σκυθισὲ πόσις: which Expressions came into vogue at Sparta, from the time that Cleomenes the Spartan, by living and conversing with the Scythians, learned to drink to Excess and Madnes (a). The Thracians also drank their Wine unmixed with Water, and both they and the Scythians were generally such Lovers of it, that γυναῖκες τε καὶ πάντες αὐτοὶ κατὰ τὴν ἰμαλίων (ἄκρατον) καταχόμενοι, καλὸν καὶ εὐδαιμον ἔσθλη δόγμα ἔσθλη δόξαν νομίζουσιν, the Women and all the Men thought it a most happy Life to fill themselves with unmixed Wine, and to pour it upon their Garments (b). Hence also by Θερακία πόσις, the Thracians Way of drinking, was meant ἀκρατοποσία, drinking Wine not mixed with Water (c).

Some used to perfume their Wines, and Wine so used was termed οἶνον μυρρινίσκος according to *Ælian* (d), and sometimes μυρρίνης, for that Word, according to *Hesychius*'s Explication, signifies πόσιν, ἢ ἐπεχέτο μύρον, a Potion mixed with Odours. Different from this were the *Murrhina* of the Romans, as also the ἰσχυρισμός οἶνον, Wine mingled with Myrrh, mentioned in St. Mark's Gospel, wherewith the Malefactors were commonly intoxicated before they suffered. Several other Ingredients were mixed with Wine, sometimes ἀλάτεια, Meal, whence οἶνον ἀπυλίστατον, Wine thickened with Meal, which was very much used by the Persians (e). They had also many Sorts of made Wines, as οἶνον κείδιον, *Cerevisia*, Wine made of Barley, and οἶνον ἐψητόν, Palm-Wine, sometimes termed ὄξος ἐψητόν, for ὄξος was a general Name for all made Wines.

C H A P. XIX.

Of the Customs before Entertainments.

TH E Person by whom the Entertainment was provided was commonly named ὁ ἱστάτωρ, ἱστάων, ξενίζων. ἢ σπουδίας ἡγεμὼν, συμποσίη ἀρχων, συμποσάρχης, by the Tragedians, οἰκοδόμος, &c.

The Persons entertained by him were termed δαυμένοις, δαυταῖς, συμπόδι, σπώδεινοι, &c. also very often κλητοί, σύγκλητοι, ἐπικλητοι, in which Names is expressed the immediate Cause of their meeting, which was κλήσις, in Latin *Vocatio*, an Invitation or Calling by the Entertainer.

The Persons employed to invite the Guests were by the Romans termed *Vocatores*, and by the Greeks κλητορες, or δειπνοκλητορες. The same Men were also, though not so frequently, called ἰατροί,

(a) *Chamaeleon Heracleota* lib. de Temulentia apud *Athenæum* lib. X. cap. vii. (b) *Athenæus* lib. X. sub finem cap. ix. (c) *Pol-lux* lib. VI. cap. iii. (d) *Var Hist.* lib. XII. cap. xxxii. (e) *Athe-næus* lib. X. initio cap. ix.

366 Of the Miscellaneous Customs of Greece. Chap. XIX.

and ἐλίσσας, from ἐλίσσας, which is the Name of the Table, on which the Provision was placed in the Kitchen. Thus ἐλίσσας, according to Pampphilus in Athenæus (a), are οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ βασιλικῷ καλῶντες τεύχεσσι, they who invite to the King's Table. Sometimes to invite was termed καταγράφειν, to write down, from the Custom of inscribing the Names of the Persons to be invited upon a Tablet. The Hour was signified at the Invitation, because they then numbred the Hours by the Motion of the Sun, there is frequent mention of σκιά, the Shade of the Sun; and σιχέιον, the Letter of the Dial, on these Occasions. Thus in the following Passage of Aristophanes (b),

----- σὺ δ' ἔμελλ' ἔσθ',
Ὅταν ἡ Διὶ πέσῃ σιχέιον λιπαρῶς χερσὶν ἐπὶ δεινόν.

Relations often went without Invitation, as hath been observed by Athenæus (c), and Eustathius from that Verse of Homer, where he describes an Entertainment at Agamemnon's Tent (d);

Αὐτόματ' ὃ οἱ ἄλκι βόη ἀγαθὸς Μενέλαος.

Valiant Menelaus came to him αὐτόματ', that is, ἀνθ' οὗ ἑλθόντα, without being invited, as the Scholiast explains that Word. Such as without Invitation, ἐπὶ τῇ κακῇ μὲν δὲ δεινόν ἀγύμνοισι, were brought to the Entertainment by some of those who had been invited (e), were termed σκιά, Shades; from their following the principal Guests, as Shades do Bodies. The same Persons were by the Romans called *Umbrae*. Thus in Horace (f),

----- quos Mæcenas adduxerat umbras.

And in another place (g),

----- locus est & pluribus umbris.

They who forced themselves into other Mens Entertainments were in Greek called μῦσαι, in Latin *Musca*, Flies, which was a general Name of Reproach for such as insinuated themselves into any Company where they were not welcome. Thus the Parasite is described by Antiphanes,

Θόρυος μοχλᾶσθαι, σεσημῶς εἰσπηδᾶν ἀκέρως.
Δειπνῆν ἀκλῆτ', μῦσ' ἂν μὴ ἔξελθῆν, φρίσσει.

In Plautus (h) an Entertainment free from unwelcome Guests is called *hospitium sine muscis*, an Entertainment without Flies; and

(a) Lib. IV. cap. xxi. (b) *Concionatricibus* p. 744. Conf. ibi. Scholiastes, item Suidas v. Διὶ πέσῃ σκιά & Hesychius v. Διὶ πέσῃ σιχέιον. (c) Lib. IV. cap. xxvi. (d) *Iliad*. c'. v. 408. (e) Plutarchus *Sympos.* Lib. VII. Quæst. vi. (f) Lib. II. Sat. viii. v. 22. (g) Lib. I. Epist. v. 28. (h) *Pænul.* Act. III. Sc. iii. v. 76.

Chap. XIX. Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece. 367

in another place of the same Author (a), an inquisitive and busy Man, who prys and insinuates himself into the Secrets of others, is termed *Musca*. We are likewise informed by *Horus Apollo* (b), that in *Agypt* a Fly was the Hieroglyphick of an impudent Man, because that Insect being beaten away, still returns again; on which account it is by *Homer* made an Emblem of Courage (c);

Καὶ οἱ μύης θάρσος ἐν γήθεισιν ἔχουσιν,
 ἢ τὴν εἰρηρῶν μέλα περ χερσὶ ἀνδρῶν τοῖσι,
 Ἰφάντια δακνέιν, λαρόν τε οἱ αἰμὶ ἀνδροπέε.

The same Persons whom they termed *Musca* at Entertainments, were also called *Μυκνιοί*, *Myconians*, from the Poverty of that Nation, which put them upon frequenting other Men's Tables oftener than was consistent with good Manners; whence *Pericles* was reflected upon by *Archilochus*, αἰς ἀκλῆλον ἐπεισπασιόντα εἰς τὰ συμπόσια *Μυκνίων δίκην*, as one who intruded into other Mens Entertainments, after the manner of the *Myconians* (d). But the most common Appellation of such Men, was that of *παράσιτοι*, Parasites; which Word, as *Lucian* hath observed, in its primitive Sense, signified only the Companion of Princes and Men of Quality; such were *Patroclus* to *Achilles*, and *Memnon* to *Idomeneus*, or those who had their Diet at the Tables of the Gods, of whom mention has been made in another place (e); but afterwards came to be a Name of Reproach for those who by Flattery, and other mean Arts, used to insinuate themselves to the Tables of other Men; in which Sense it was first used by *Epicharmus*, and afterwards by *Alexis* (f); nevertheless it was common for Friends and Men of Credit to visit one another's Houses at the Times of Entertainment, without expecting a formal Invitation, as appears from that Saying cited by *Eustathius* (g),

Ἀκλῆλοι κομίζεσθην εἰς φίλους φίλοι.

And that other in *Plato* (h),

----- εἰς ἄρα καὶ ἀγαθῶν ὅπῃ δαῖτας ἴασι
 αὐτόματοι ἀγαθοί. -----

Which is sometimes thus cited in one hexameter Verse;

Αὐτόματοι δ' ἀγαθοὶ ἀγαθῶν ὅπῃ δαῖτας ἴασι.

The Number of Guests was unlimited; some chose to invite 3, or 4, or 5 at the most; thus *Archestratus* in *Athenæus* (i),

(a) *Mercat.* Aἶ. II. Sc. III. v. 26. (b) *Hieroglyphicis.* (c) *Iliad.* v. 570. (d) *Conf. Athenæus* lib. I. cap. VII. (e) *Lib. II. cap. de Sacerdotibus.* (f) *Conf. Athenæus* lib. VI. cap. VII. *Pollux* lib. VI. cap. VII. (g) *Commentatio in Iliad.* 6'. (h) *Symposio.* (i) *Lib. I. sub finem cap. IV.*

Περὶ ὃ μὲν πάντες δευπνῶν ἀλγύδων τεχνίξῃ
 Ἔφαθ' ὁ δ' ἢ πρεῖς, ἢ τίσσας οἱ ξυνέπαντες.
 Ἡ γὰρ πέντε γὰ μὴ πλείους· ἥδη γὰρ εἰς
 Μισδοφόρον ἀρπαξίσαιον σκὰν ἐρεπνῶν.

And *Athenæus* in another place (*a*) reports, that among the Ancients μὴ πυνδειπνῶν γὰρ πέντε γὰ πλείους, ὅπ δέ γὰ ἡμῖς ψαμμάκοι· ἰσχυρὸν δὲ ἄλλοι, it was not usual for more than five to sup together, but that in his Time the Numbers were plainly infinite. *Eustathius* hath observed out of *Jamblichus*, that in the συσσίτια, common Meals, not above ten were admitted; which in his Opinion was the ordinary Number of Guests at Entertainments in the primitive Times; and hence he thinks it is, that when *Agamemnon* in *Homer* (*b*) speaks of distributing the Grecian Army at an Entertainment, he mentions only δεκάδαι, Tens.

Ἡμῖς δ' εἰς δεκάδας διακοσμηθεῖμεν Ἀχαιοί,
 Τρώων δ' ἄνδρα ἕκαστον ἐλοίμεθα οἶνοχοοβειν,
 Γολλαί κ' αὖ δεκάδαις δδοσίατο οἶνοχόοιο.

But this must only be understood of the Entertainments of private Men, Princes often invited greater Numbers; *Agamemnon* in *Homer* entertains all the Grecian Princes together; and *Alexander* the Macedonian is reported before his Expedition against *Persia*, σκηνὴν κατασκευάσασθαι ἑκατοστάκλιον πρὸς διαχίαν, to have furnished a Tent with 100 Beds for an Entertainment (*c*). And the same Vanity by degrees crept in amongst private Men, insomuch that in *Athenæus's* Time, as hath been before observed, ψαμμάκοι, infinite Numbers, were invited. Hence it came to pass, that partly to prevent Tumult and Sedition, and partly to restrain the Expensiveness and Prodigality of their Citizens, some Lawgivers thought it necessary to limit the Number of Guests; in particular, no Person at *Athens* was allowed to entertain above 30 at once. In order to put this Statute in execution, certain Magistrates, called Γυναικονόμοι, were obliged to go to Entertainments, and to expel thence such as exceeded that Number; and the Cooks were commonly employed to dress the Victuals at Entertainments, were obliged to give in their Names every time they were hired (*d*).

This must farther be observed concerning the Guests, that Men and Women were never invited together, as we are informed by *Cicero* (*e*); wherein the *Greeks* differed from the *Romans*, amongst whom the Women were allowed more Freedom; “For which of the *Romans*, to use the Words of *Cornelius Nepos*, was ever ashamed to bring his Wife to an Entertainment? And what Mistress

(*a*) Lib. XV. cap. III. (*b*) *Iliad*. Ἑ'. v. 126. Conf. *Eustathius* p. 144. Edit. *Basil.* (*c*) *Diodorus Siculus* p. 530. (*d*) Conf. *Athenæus* lib. VI. cap. XI. (*e*) *Orat.* III. in *Verrem*.

“ of a Family can be shewn, who does not inhabit the chief and
 “ most frequented part of the House? Whereas in Greece she never
 “ appears at any Entertainments, besides those to which none but
 “ Relations are invited, and constantly lives in the innermost Part
 “ of the House, which is called *γυναικωνίτις*, the Womens Apart-
 “ ment, into which no Man, except near Relations, had Admis-
 “ sion (a).”

Before they went to an Entertainment they washed and anoint-
 ed themselves, *ἀπρίπτες γὰρ ἦν ἡμεῖς εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον σὺν ἰδῶσι πολλῶν
 καὶ κνιούριον*, for it was thought very indecent to go thither defiled
 with Sweat and Dust, as *Athenæus* (b) hath observed from *Aristotle*.
 They who came off a Journey, were washed and clothed with Ap-
 parel suitable to the Occasion in the House of the Entertainer, be-
 fore they were admitted to the Feast. Thus we find in *Homer*,
 where he describes the Reception of *Telemachus* and *Pisistratus* by
Menelaus (c) ;

Ες ῥ' ἀσπαμένδους βάντες ἰούχεςτες λίσσαστο·
 Τὲς δ' ἰπεί ἐν δμοῖα λῆξ', καὶ χεῖρ' ἰλῶν,
 Ἀμφὶ δ' ὄρεα χλαῖνας ἔλας βάλλον ἠδὲ χιτῶνας,
 Ες ῥ' αὖ θρόνους ἕζοντο παρ' Ἀτρεΐδην Μενέλαον.

The same Persons also washed their Hands before they sat down
 to Meat, as appears from the Verses which follow in the same Au-
 thor (d) ;

Χέρνιθα δ' ἀμφίπολθ' ἀπορχόμεν' ὑπὸ χεῖρ' ὀφείλου
 Καλῇ χρυσείῃ, ὑπὲρ ἀργυρέοιο λίσσασθ',
 Νίψασθαι παρὰ ᾧ ξείν' ἐπάνωτος τεράπιζας·
 Σίτον δ' αἰδίδην ταμῖν παρέδωκε φέροντα.

And, to mention the Times of washing altogether, it was also custo-
 mary to wash between every Course, and after Supper; thus *Ho-*
mer introduces his Heroes *δειπνέοντες ὁμιλέοντες*, *εἴτα δουσιφάμεντες ποιεῖ*
πάλιν δειπνέοντες, supping, conversing, then washing, and after
 that again supping. And *Aristophanes* (e) speaks of bringing
ὕδωρ κατὰ χεῖρας μετὰ τεράπιζας, Water to wash the Hands after the
 Courses. By them who spoke accurately, to wash the Hands be-
 fore Supper was termed *νίψασθαι*, to wash after Supper *δουσιφάσθαι*.
 Hither are to be referred the Words *δοιμάξασθαι*, *εταπομάξασθαι*, *δοι-*
ψῆσαι, and the like, which signify to wipe the Hands. The Towel
 was termed *ἐκμαγέον*, *χειρόμακτρον*, &c. instead whereof the an-
 cient Greeks used *δοιμαγδαλία*, which were τὸ ἐν τοῖς ἄρτοις μα-
 λακόν καὶ σαρκώδες, the soft and fine Part of the Bread, which af-
 terwards they cast τοῖς κυσὶ, to the Dogs, ὅθεν καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι
κυώδα πλὴν δοιμαγδαλίαν καλεῖσι, whence *Lacedæmonians* is by the
Lacedæmonians called *κυώις*; and as the same Author there adds,
 this Custom is mentioned by *Homer* in the following Verses,

(a) *Cornelius Nepos* præfat. in vitas Imperatorum. (b) Lib. IV.
 cap. xxvii. (c) *Odyss.* δ'. v. 48. (d) *Odyss.* δ'. (e) *Veipis*,
 Vol. II. Bb Ω:

Ὡς δ' ὅταν ἀμφὶ ἄνακτα κυάες δαίτηθεν ἰόντες
Σάωνος, αἰὲ γὰρ τε φέρει μείλιγματα θυμῷ.

It is farther to be observed, that in the washing after Supper they used some Sort of *συνγυμα*, *σπορύνειν χεῖρας*, Stuff to scour the Hands (*a*); for which Use *Nitre* and *Hyssop* are mentioned in the holy Scriptures. Lastly, after washing, the Hands were perfumed with Odours, which Custom is expressed in the following Verses of *Antiphanes* or *Epigenes* in *Athenæus* (*b*);

Καὶ τότε περπαήσεις καί ποτίσῃ καὶ τέρσῃ
Τὰς χεῖρας, δίδω δὲ λαβὼν τιτὼ γῆν' ὁ ἄμμι.

It may not be improper in this place to add something farther, by way of digression, concerning the Custom of washing and anointing, which in *Greece* and other hot Countries was so frequent. To wash, is in the Words of *Eustathius*, *δοποποικὸν μὲν ἔστιν, ἀναψυχῆς δὲ πινθεῖν αἶπρον*, a Means both to cleanse the Body from Filth, and refresh it; therefore whenever they ceased from Sorrow and Mourning, it was usual to bathe and anoint themselves; whence *Eurynome* in *Homer* advises *Penelope* to leave off lamenting (*c*),

Χεῖρ' ὄποιε σπορίσθην, καὶ ὅτε χερσαῖσιν παρειάς,

washing her Body, and anointing her Face. And, as we are informed by *Artemidorus* (*d*), the ancient *Greeks* commonly bathed ἢ πόλεμον κατασπινόμενοι, ἢ μεγάλην πανσύναντον πόνον, after the finishing of a War, or any other great Fatigue. Thus in *Homer*, *Telemachus* and *Pisistratus* are bathed and anointed at *Menelaus's* Palace, after a long Journey; *Diomedes* and *Ulysses* after their Return from discovering the Manner of their Enemies Encampment,

----- λουσιν μένος καὶ αἰετάρησιν λίπ' ἰλαίῳ
Δείπνῳ ἰφίζαντιν. -----

having bathed and anointed, sat down to Supper. In the heroical Ages, Men and Women, without Distinction, bathed themselves in Rivers; this we find done by *Nausicaæ*, the Daughter of *Alcinous*, King of *Phæacia* (*e*), and *Europa* in *Moschus* (*f*),

----- σπινώσιντο χεῖρα ποταμῷσιν Ἀναύρε,

cleanseth her Body in the Mouth of *Anaurus*. *Helena* also and her Fellows wash in the River *Eurotas*, according to *Theocritus* (*g*),

(*a*) *Athenæus* lib. X. cap. ult. (*b*) *Loco citato*. (*c*) *Odyss.* σ'. v. 170. (*d*) *Lib. I. cap. lxi.* (*e*) *Odyss.* vi. (*f*) *Idyll.* ε'. v. 31. (*g*) *Idyll.* δ. v. 31.

Αμμις γδ πάσαι σωματικές, ἥς δέσμευται αὐτοὶς
Χερσαίους ἀνδρῶσι παρ' Εὐρώπας λοστρόφους,
Τελείους ἔχοντα κόρον, δῆλος νολεῖται.

Though the Expressions in these Verses are manifestly accommodated to the Institutions of *Lycurgus*, whereby the Virgins were obliged to bathe and accustom themselves to such Exercises as in that Age were only practised by the Men; whence the Poet observes, that it was done ἀνδρῶσι, after the manner of Men; which would have been a very improper Expression in the heroical Times, when it was customary for both Sexes to use this Diversion alike. But if the Sea was within a convenient distance, they commonly bathed in it, rather than in the Rivers, the salt Water being thought, to use the Words of *Athenæus* (a), μέλιστα πῶς νδρεῖς πρὸς φρονέειν, conducive to strengthen the Nerves, by drying up superfluous Humours; thus, to forbear the mention of other Instances, *Diomedes* and *Ulysses* in *Homer*, after a very great Fatigue,

----- ἰδὼν πῶς ἀπενίζοντο θαλάσῃ
Εὐχόμενοι - ----

went into the Sea to cleanse themselves from Sweat; and they who lived at a greater distance from the Sea, sometimes removed thither for their Health's sake. An Example whereof we find in *Minutius Felix*, by one of the Persons, in whose Dialogue it is resolved, *Ostiam petere, amœnissimam civitatem, quod esset corpori meo siccandis humoribus de marinis lavacris blanda & expedita curatio*, to go to the most pleasant City *Ostia*, in order to enjoy the Benefit of bathing in the Sea, which is an easy and expeditious Method of drying up the superfluous Humours of the Body. Hot baths were also very ancient. *Ἡράκλειά λειχά*, the hot Baths, shewed by *Vulcan*, or as others say, by *Minerva*, to *Hercules*, at a time when he had underwent a very great Fatigue, are celebrated by the Poets. *Pindar* (b) speaks of *θερμὰ Νυμφῶν λειχά*, the hot Baths of the Nymphs. *Homer* commends one of the Fountains of *Scamander* for its hot Water, in the twenty-second *Iliad*. In the same *Iliad* *Andromache* provides a hot Bath for *Hector*, against his Return from the Battel. *Nestor* in the 11th *Iliad* orders *Hecamede* to make ready *θερμὰ λειχά*, an hot Bath; and to mention but one Instance more, the *Phæaci-ans* are said in *Homer's Odyssey* to place their chief Delight in

Εἴματα τ' ἔχουσιν, λειχὰ τε θερμὰ, καὶ δία,

Changes of Apparel, hot Baths, and Beds; yet hot Baths do not seem to have been then so much used as in later Ages; and those Words of *Artemidorus* (c), that πάλαι εἰς τὴν πορνείαν καὶ βαλανείαν, Baths

(a) Lib. I. cap. xix. (b) *Olymp.* XII. (c) Lib. I. cap. lxvi.

372 *Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece.* Chap. XIX.

seem to have been thought hurtful by the Ancients, are probably meant of hot Baths only; and then the following Words, which have been already cited, that Baths were anciently never used but after some very great Fatigue, must be understood in the same Sense; however that be, it is plain from that Author, that the ancient *Greeks* βαλανεία ἐκ ἡδείας, had no *Balneo's* like those of later Times, but ἐν τῇ ἀσάμινθου ἐλένθῳ, washed in certain Vessels called ἀσάμινθος, which Word, as explained by *Phavorinus* (a), signifies πύλον, or λεχάνην, a large Basin or Vessel to wash in, being derived παρὰ τὸ τιλὸν ἀσιν μινύειν, from taking away the Filth of the Body; whence ἀσάμινθος is mentioned by *Pollux* amongst the Vessels which belong to *Balneo's*; and the ancient *Romans* had a Vessel in their own Houses, wherein they washed, called *lavatrina*, or *latrina*, which was afterwards termed *balneum*; and when two Baths came to be used, one hot, and another cold, in the Plural *balnea* (b). Publick *Balneo's* were unknown till later Times; *Athenæus* tells us, that in his Age ὡρεσφάτως τὰ βαλανεία παρήκῃ, τιλὸν ἀρχὴν ἔδιν ἔνθεν τὸ πάλαιος ἐσώσαν αὐτά, they were but lately come into use, and that formerly no such Places were allowed to be within the City (c). The *Balneo's* commonly contained the following Rooms.

1. Αποδυτήριον, wherein ἀπιδύοντο τὰ ἱμάτια, they put off their Clothes.
2. Ὑπόκλυτον, or πυρρατήριον, *sudatorium*, a Room most commonly round, and provided with πῦρ ἀκαπνον, Fire, so contrived that it should not smoke, for the Benefit of those who desired to sweat; it was also termed *Laconicum*, from the frequent use of this Way of sweating in *Laconia*.
3. Βαπτιστήριον, a hot Bath.
4. Λεχάνην, a cold Bath.
5. Αλειπτήριον, the Room wherein they were anointed.

After bathing they always anointed, either ἰμφορτόντις ὡμαπικὲς πόρες, to close the Pores of the Body, which was especially necessary after the use of hot Baths, or ὡς τὸ μὴ ξηρανθῆναι τὸ ἐν ὕδατι δραστικὴν γίνεσθαι τὰ σώματα, lest the Skin should become rough after the Water was dried off it (d). If we may believe *Pliny* (e), they had no better Ointment in the time of the *Trojan War*, than Oil perfumed with odoriferous Herbs, especially *Roses*; whence ῥοδέον ἐλαιον, Oil mixed with *Roses*, is mentioned in *Homer's* twenty-third *Iliad* (f)s where *Venus* anoints *Hector's* Body.

----- ῥοδέοντι ὃ χεῖν ἐλαίῳ
Αμφοσίου -----

(a) V. ἀσάμινθος. Conf. idem. v. βαλανείον. (b) *Varro* de L. L. *Nonius Marcellus*. (c) Lib. I. sub finem cap. XIV. (d) Conf. *Eustathius* in *Iliad*. κ'. (e) *Nat. Hist.* lib. III. cap. I. (f) 186.

To the same Ointments he elsewhere gives the Epithets of ἀμύρ-
πον ἰδαῖον, and τεθυωμῆον (a), speaking of *Junō*,

Ἀμύρσιν ῥ' περὶν δ'πὶ χερσὶς ἰμερῶν τ' ὄ
Λύματα πάντα καθήρει· οὐκ εἴφατο ὃ λίπ' ἑλαιοῖ
Ἀμύρσιν, ἰδαῖον, τὸ ῥα' οἱ τεθυωμῆον ἦεν.

But *Athenæus* is of Opinion, that *Homer* οἶδε πῶς χρῆσιν ἦδ' μύ-
ρον, ἑλαια δ' αὐτὰ καλεῖ μετ' ὀπθίτε, was acquainted with the Use
of more precious Ointments, but calls them Oil, with the Addition
of an Epithet, to distinguish them from common Oil (b). The same
Observation is made by the Commentators upon that Poet, when
they explain those Words οἶδες ἑλαιον, perfumed Oil; and 'tis
well known that the *Ææws* called all Sorts of Ointments by the
Name of Oil, the Reason seems to have been, that Oil was the first
Ointment; however the ancient Heroes never used μύρον, costly
Ointments. *Athenæus* himself acknowledges, that *Homer* never in-
troduces ἀλειφομένους ἑὸν Ἥρωας, any of his Heroes anointed with
any Ointment beside Oil, except *Paris*, a soft and effeminate Per-
son. In more delicate Ages, when very much of the primitive
Plainness was laid aside, it was still by many thought indecent for
Men to anoint themselves with precious Ointments. *Chrysippus*
would have the Name of μύρον derived ἔπ' ὅτι μετὰ πολλὰ μύρον
ἢ πόρε ματαῖς γινέσθαι, from the vain and unprofitable Labour of
compounding it, And *Socrates* was of Opinion, that the Smell, as
well as the Garments of Men and Women, ought to be different;
that for Women it was decent enough to smell of perfumed Oint-
ments, but that Men should rather smell of Oil, which was used
in the Schools of Exercise. *Solon* prohibited Men from selling Oint-
ments; and the Laws of *Sparta* entirely forbid any Person to sell
them, as we are informed at large by *Athenæus* (c); nevertheless
Women, and some effeminate Men, were so curious in their Choice
of Ointments, that they could tell very critically, ποῖον τι ἐκείνῳ
ἦν μελὶν ὅστιν ἐπιθήσειεν, what Sort suited best with each Member
of the Body. An Example whereof we find in the following Verses
of *Antiphanes*, which are cited by *Athenæus*;

Ἐκ κρυστοκολλήτε ὃ καλπιδ' ὄ μύρον
Αἰγυπτίῳ μῦρ' ἑὸν πόδας ἢ τὰ σκέλη,
Φοινικίνῳ ὃ ἑὸν γνάθους ἢ τὰ πτάρια,
Σισυμβρίνῳ ὃ ἢ ἔπερον βραχίονα,
Ἀμαρακίνῳ ὃ τὰς ὀφρύς ἢ πῶς κέμην,
Ἐρπυλλίῳ ὃ τὸ γόνα ἢ ἢ αὐχένα.

Lastly, it must not be omitted, that the Feet being most exposed
to Dust and Filth, were oftner washed and anointed than other

(a) *Iliad*. ξ'. v. 170. (b) *Lib. XV. cap. xi.* (c) *Lib. XV. cap. x.*

374 *Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece. Chap. XIX.*

Parts of the Body ; on which account they are by some thought to be called *λεπταὶ πόδες* in *Homer*. Women were generally employed to wash and anoint the Feet, both in the heroical and later Ages ; it was customary for them to kiss the Feet of those to whom they thought a more than common Respect was due ; thus the Woman in the Gospel kisses the Feet of our blessed Saviour whilst she anointed them. The same Ceremony was performed towards *Phileon* by his Daughter, as himself relates in *Aristophanes* (a) ;

----- καὶ πρῶτα μὲν θυγάτηρ μου
Αποτίζει· καὶ τὰ πόδ' ἀλείφει· καὶ προσκύψασα φιλήσῃ.

Let us from this Digression return to the Entertainment ; and the first Ceremony after the Guests arrived at the House of Entertainment, was the Salutation performed by the Master of the House, or one appointed in his place ; to do this was termed by the general Name of *ἀσπάζεσθαι*, though this Word *κυρίως ὅτι τὸ περιπλεκεῖν αἰπῶν*, in its strict Sense signifies to embrace one with Arms around, being derived *ὅτι τῷ ἄρμ' σπᾶσθαι εἰς ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἔπειτα*, from forcibly drawing another to one's self, as we are informed by the old *Scholiast* upon *Aristophanes* (b) ; but the most common Salutation was by the conjunction of their Right-hands, the Right-hand being accounted a Pledge of Fidelity and Friendship ; whence *Pythagoras* advised, *μὴ πάντι ἐμβαλεῖν τὴν δεξιάν*, that the Right-hand should not be given to every Man, meaning that all Persons were not fit to be made our Friends. This Ceremony was very ancient, and is mentioned in *Homer* (c) ;

*Οἱ δ' ὡς ἔν ξείνῃσι ἴδον, ἀθρόοι ἦλθον ἅπαντες,
 Χερσὶν τ' ἡσπάζοντο, καὶ ἐδιδάσθαι ἔβουλον.*

Hence *δεξιόσθαι* is sometimes joined with *ἀσπάζεσθαι*, and is almost synonymous to it. Thus in *Aristophanes* (d) ;

----- αὐτὸν ἡσπάζοντο καὶ
Εδεξάμην ἅπαντες ὑπὸ καὶ ἡδυνῆς.

Sometimes it is used figuratively for any Sort of Entertainment or Reception. Thus we find *δεξιόσθαι θαντὶ*, *δεξιόσθαι πρᾶξι*, *δεξιόσθαι δώρῳ*, *δεξιόσθαι χρυσῷ*, *λόγῳ*, *ἔργῳ*, *ἐστὶ*.

Sometimes they kissed the Lips, Hands, Knees, or Feet, in Salutations, as the Person deserved more or less Respect. There was a particular Sort of Kiss, which is called by *Suidas* *χύτεον*, by *Pollux* *χύτεα*, the Pot, *ἵπταν τὰ παρὰ φιλίᾳ τὸ ὅταν λαμβανόμενα*, when they took the Person, like a Pot, by both his Ears, which was chiefly practised by or towards Children. We find it mentioned by *Eunicus* (e) ;

(a) *Vespis* p. 473. (b) In *Plutum* p. 77. (c) *Odyss.* γ'. v. 35.
 (d) *Pluto.* (e) In *Antia*, apud *Julium Pollucem.*

Λαῖσσαι ἢ ὧτων φιλεῖσαι τῷ χότρῳ.

And by *Tibullus* (a) ;

———— natusq; parenti
Oscula comprensus auribus eripiet.

As also by *Theocritus*, from whom it appears to have been sometimes used by Men and Women (b) ;

Οὐκ ἔραμ' Αλκίππας, ὅτι με πρὸν ἐν ἐρίῳ
Τῶν ὧτων καθελοῖσ', ὅτε οἱ τῷ φάσαν ἰδὼν.

The Guests being admitted, did not immediately sit down at the Table, which was accounted ill Breeding, but spent some Time in viewing and commending the Room and Furniture. Thus the Son in *Aristophanes* (c) instructs his Father to do ;

Ἐπειτ' ἐπαίνεσόν τι τ' χαλκωμάτων,
Ορεθὴν διασπῃ, κρεῖττον δὲ αὐλῆς θαύματα,

Which Observation, with others of the same nature, is taken notice of by *Athenæus* (d).

C H A P. XX.

Of the Ceremonies at Entertainments.

THE ancient *Grecians* sat at Meat. There are three Sorts of Seats mentioned by *Homer*.

1. Δίφρα, which contained two Persons, as the Name seems to import, and was commonly placed for those of the meanest Quality.
2. Θρόνος, on which they sat upright, having under their Feet a Footstool, termed Θρῆνος.
3. Κλινίδες, on which they sat leaning a little backwards, as the Word signifies. Of these a more full and exact Account may be seen in *Athenæus* (e).

Neither was it the Custom in *Greece* only, but in most other Countries, to sit at Entertainments ; it was practised by the primi-

(a) Lib. II. (b) *Idyll.* ε'. v. 132. (c) *Vespis.* (d) Lib. IV. cap. xxvii. (e) Lib. V. cap. iv.

376 *Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece. Chap. XX.*

tive Romans, as we are informed by *Isidorus* (a), and *Servius* (b). And *Philo* hath observed, that *Joseph* ordered his Brethren, κατὰ τὰς ἡλικίας καθίζεσθαι, μύππο ἢ ἀνθρώπων ἐν τῇ συμπολιτικῇ συνουσίᾳ καλῶς χρονοῦν, to sit according to their Ages, the Custom of lying at Entertainments not having then obtained (c). But afterwards ἐπεὶ τρυφῇ ἤρξαντο, κατεβύοντο ἀπὸ τῆς δίεσθαι ἐπὶ τὰς κλῖνας αἱ ἀναιδέες πίπειν, when Men began to be soft and effeminate, they exchanged their Seats for Beds, in order to drink with more ease; yet then οἱ ἥρωες οἱ καθήμενοι οἰνοπότηζον, the Heroes who drank, sitting, were still thought Praise-worthy; and some who accustomed themselves to a primitive and severe Way of Living, retained the ancient Posture. This was done by the *Cynick* Philosophers, as we find in *Plautus* (d);

————— *potius in subsellio*
Cynice accipiemur, quam in lectis.

In *Macedonia* no Man was allowed to sit at Meals till he had killed a Boar without the Help of Nets, as we are informed by *Hegeſander* in *Athenæus* (e). And *Alexander* the Great sometimes kept to the ancient Way, and once τετρακοσίους ἡγεμόνας ἔχων, ἐκείθισεν ἐπὶ δίεσθαι ἀργυρῶν καὶ κλισίῶν, ἀλυσσὶς πεπεσθόσας ἰμῶντος, entertaining 400 Commanders, he placed them upon Silver Seats, covered with Purple Cloth, as we learn from *Duris* in the same Author. And in the most luxurious and effeminate Ages, Children were sometimes not permitted to lie down, but had Seats at the end of their Fathers Beds. It was the Custom for the Children of Princes, and the Rest of the Nobility of that Age, to sit at their Meals in the sight of their Relations, in the Time of *Tacitus* (f). Whence *Suetonius* describing the Behaviour of *Augustus* towards his Grand-children, says, that *neque cenavit una, nisi in imo lecto adfiderent*, they always sat at the End of the Bed when they supped with him (g). And the same Author reports, that the Emperor *Claudius* always supped with his Children, and some of the Noble Boys and Maids, who, according to ancient Custom, sat at the bottom of the Bed (h). The same Place was commonly assigned to Men of meaner Condition, when they were entertained with others of better Quality. Whence in *Plutarch* (i) the Rest of the Guests lie down, only *Æſop* is placed upon a Seat next to *Solon*. And *Donatus* (k) reports, that *Terence* being ordered to repeat some Part of his Comedies to *Cæcilius*, went to him at the time of Supper, and being in mean Apparel, was placed upon a Seat near the Bed; but after he had recited a few Verses, was invited to lie down to Supper.

The Manner of lying at Meat was thus; the Table was placed in the Middle, round which stood the Beds, covered with Cloth or

(a) Lib. XX cap. ii. (b) In *Æneid.* viii. (c) Libro de *Joseph.* p. 555. Edit. *Francos.* (d) *Stich.* Act. V. Sc. iv. v. 22. (e) Lib. I. cap. xiv. (f) *Annal.* Lib. XIII. (g) *Augusti* cap. lxxiv. (h) *Claudii* cap. xxxii. (i) *Symposio Sapientum.* (k) *Terentii Vita.*

Tapestry, according to the Quality of the Master of the House; upon these they lay, inclining the superiour Part of their Bodies upon their Left Arms, the lower Part being stretched out at length, or a little bent; their Heads were raised up, and their Backs sometimes supported with Pillows. If several Persons lay upon the same Bed, then the first lay on the uppermost Part, with his Legs stretched out behind the second Person's Back; the second's Head lay below the Navel or Bosom of the former, his Feet being placed behind the third's Back; and in like manner the third, fourth, fifth, and the Rest; for though it was accounted mean and sordid at *Rome* to place more than three or four upon one Bed, yet, as we are informed by *Cicero* (a), *Græci quini stipati in lectulis, sæpe plures fuere*, the *Greeks* used to crowd five, and many times a greater Number into the same Bed. Persons beloved commonly lay in the Bosoms of those who loved them; thus the beloved Disciple in the Gospel lies in the Bosom of our blessed Saviour at the Celebration of the Passover (b). There is another Example of the like Practice in *Juvenal* (c);

Cæna sedet, gremio jacuit nova nupta mariti.

At the Beginning of the Entertainment it was customary to lie flat upon their Bellies, that so their Right-hand might with more ease reach to the Table; but afterwards, when their Appetites began to decrease, they reclined upon their Sides; in which Sense we are to understand the Words of *Plutarch* (d), *ἕκαστον ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν ὅτι σῶμα προσώκειν, ἀπεκλίποντα πρὸς πλὴν τεύεσθαι, ὅτε γὰρ ὁ μεταχρηματίζειν ὅτι ἐξῆς ἐκ πλάτους πρὸς κατὰ κλινον*, or, as it should be read, *κατὰ κλινον*, that at the Beginning every one put his Mouth forward, looking towards the Table; but afterwards changed the Posture of his Inclination from Depth to Breadth. And *Horace* alludes to the same Custom in the following Verses (e);

*Nec satis est cara pisces avertere mensa,
Ignarum quibus est jus aptius, Et quibus assis
Languidus in cubitum sese convivæ reponet.*

It was customary from the heroical Ages downwards for the Guests to be ranked according to their Quality. It is evident, that in *Homer*, as *Eustathius* (f) hath observed, *ἐν συμποσίοις ἀκροὶ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀκροῦ*, the chief Persons had the uppermost Seats at Entertainments. And afterwards at publick Entertainments there was *ὀνομακλήτωρ*, *Nomenclator*, a Person appointed to call every Guest by Name to his proper Place. But to determine in what Order they sat, and which were accounted the chief Places, is more difficult. It seems probable, that the Heroes sat in long Ranks, and that the chief Persons were placed at the head of each Rank on both sides

(a) *Orat. in Pisonem.* (b) *Joan. Evang. XIII. xxiii* (c) *Sat. II. v. 120.* (d) *Sympos. lib. V. quæst. VI.* (e) *Lib. II. Sat. IV. v. 37.* (f) *In Iliad. VI. v. 498.*

378 Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece. Chap. XX.

of the Table, which is the Meaning of the Word *ἄνω*, uppermost, in the fore-mentioned Passage of *Eustathius*. Thus in the ninth *Iliad* (a), where *Achilles* entertains *Agamemnon's* Ambassadors, he places himself uppermost in one Rank, and *Ulysses*, as the principal Ambassador, in the other ;

----- ἀνὰ κρῖα νῆμρ Ἀχιλλεύς,
 Αὐτὸς δ' ἀντίθ' Ἴζην Ὀδυσσεύθ' ἀείνω,
 Τόλχ' αὖ ἱκίετο.

Neptune, though coming last to an Entertainment of the Gods, yet

Εἴτ' ἄρ' ἐν μέσσοισιν. -----

sat in the Middle, that Place being reserved, as a Right belonging to him. *Jupiter* was at the Head of one Rank, next to him on the same Side sat *Minerva*, his Daughter, who on a certain time gave place to *Thetis*, probably as being a Stranger (b).

Η δ' ἄρα παρ' Αἰὶ πατρὶ καθεζέτο, εἴξ' δ' Ἀθήνη.

Juno led the opposite Rank, and being Wife and Sister to *Jupiter*, neither gave place to *Thetis* nor any other (c). The most honourable Places in Beds at Entertainments were not the same in all Nations. In *Persia* the middle Place was the chief, and always assigned to the King, or the chief Guest ; in *Greece* the first or nearest to the Table ; and amongst the *Heracleotæ*, and the *Greeks* who lived about the *Euxine* Sea, the first Place of the middle Bed was the most honourable. On the contrary, at *Rome* the last, or uppermost Place of the middle, was preferred before any other (d). But they who affected a more free and easy Way of Living, were not solicitous about Places. An Example hereof we have in *Timon* (e), who having invited Men of all Qualities, Citizens, Strangers, Friends and Relations, to a splendid Entertainment, desired every Man to lie down in that Place which pleased him best ; nevertheless Men of proud Tempers, even on such Occasions, like the *Jews* on that Account reproved by our blessed Saviour, affected to have the chief Places ; so it happend at *Timon's* Entertainment, where many of the Guests having taken their Places, one in very fine Apparel, and attended with a numerous Retinue, came to the Door of the Room, viewed all the Company, then presently retired ; and being followed by several of those who were present, and desired to return, replied, *there was no fit Place left for him*. Some disposed their Guests in such an Order as they thought most apt to promote good Fellowship, placing Men of the same Years, of the same Pro-

(a) V. 217. (b) *Iliad*. d. v. 100. (c) Conf. *Plutarchus* Sympot. lib. I. quæst. I. (d) Conf. *Plutarchus* lib. cit. quæst. III. (e) Idem ejusdem libri quæst. II.

fection, or Temper, next one another; or tempering the Variety of Humours, by placing Men of angry Dispositions nearest the Meek and Gentle, those of silent Tempers nearest the Talkative; but in things of this nature there was no certain Rule, every Man followed his own Fancy; and 'tis propounded as a Problem in *Plutarch* (a), whether was best, to assign every Man his Place, or leave the Guests to take the Places which happened to them? I shall only add under this Head, that it is said to have been a very ancient Custom at *Lacedæmon* for the eldest Person to go before the rest to the Beds at the Common-hall, unless the King gave the Precedence to another, by calling him first. Thus *Eustathius* (b).

Let us in the next place proceed to the Table. Now the Table was accounted *ἱερὸν χρεῖμα*, δι' ἧς ὁ θεὸς παῖδι φίλιον πρὸς ξένους, a very sacred thing, by means of which Honour was paid to the God of *Friendship* and *Hospitality* (c). This God was *Jupiter*, who from the Protection of Guests and Friends, received the Titles of ξένιον and φίλιον. *Hercules* also had some Care of this Affair, whence he is called *τραπεζιόν*, and *ἐπιτραπέζιος*. Neither were the rest of the Gods thought to be wholly unconcerned. It was customary to place the Statues of the Gods upon the Table; whence *Arnobius* (d) derides the Gentiles, *quod sacras faciant mensas salinarum appositu & simulacbris deorum*, for consecrating their Tables, by placing on them Salts, and Images of their Gods. They also, as will farther appear afterwards, offered Libations to the Gods upon their Tables; whence *Cleodemus* in *Plutarch* calls it *φίλιον θεῶν βωμόν* καὶ ξενίον, the Altar of the Gods of *Friendship* and *Hospitality*. And according to the Saying of *Thales*, "As the Destruction
" of the Earth would occasion Disorder and Confusion in all Parts
" of the Universe, so the Table being taken away, the whole
" House would presently be dissolved, the holy Fire, the Hearth,
" and Entertainment, which are the chief Endearments of Life,
" or rather Life itself, would all be destroyed." Thus *Plutarch* (e). Hence we may learn why so much Veneration was paid to the Tables, that to dishonour them by any dishonest or indecent Behaviour, was thought a very great Crime. Hence that Saying of *Juvenal* (f);

Hic verbis nullus pudor, aut reverentia mensæ.

And Complaints against such as perfidiously violated the Regard due to the Hospital-Tables are very frequent in the Poets. Thus *Cassandra* in *Lycophron* (g) complains of *Paris*, who stole away *Helena* the Wife of *Menelaus*, by whom he had been courteously entertained:

ΕΤΛΗΣ θεῶν ἀλοιτὸς ἐκέναι δίκην,
ἀδξας τραπέζην, κἀνακυντώσας δίκην.

(a) Libro citato. (b) *Eustathius* in *Iliad*. c. p. 186. (c) *Synesius* Ep. LVII. (d) Lib. II. contra gentes. (e) *Convivio septem sapientum*. (f) Sat. II. v. 110. (g) Ver. 136.

In the heroical Ages the Tables were made of Wood, polished after the best manner of those Times, and the Feet were sometimes painted with variety of Colours. Hence the following Epithets of Tables in *Homer*, ξύδιν', ἐύξευθ', καυόπιζα, &c. The Form was round, if we may believe *Myrleanus* in *Athenæus* (a), who reports, that the ancient *Greeks* made their Tables and several other Things sphærical, in imitation of the World, which they believed to be of that Figure. But *Eustatbius*, who is rather to be followed, observes from several Passages in *Homer*, μήπω κυκλοτερὴς ἦν τὰς τραπέζας, ἀλλὰ πτερυγίας εἰς μήκωσιν, that the Tables were not then round, but extended in Length; which Figure is more agreeable to what hath been before observed, concerning the manner of their sitting in long Ranks. The Tables in those Days were not covered with Linnen, but only carefully cleansed with wet Spunges. Of this Custom there are several Examples in *Homer*, as that in the first Book of his *Odyssey* (b);

Οἱ δ' αὖτε σπόγγοισι πολυτρήτοις τραπέζας
Νίξον καὶ ὀρεπίθωντο, ἰδὲ κρέα πολλὰ δαπνύντο.

The same thing is done in the twentieth Book of the same Poem (c), to forbear the mention of other Instances. And later Authors speak of the like Practice. Thus *Arrian* (d), ἔθεν τὰς τραπέζας, σπόγγοισιν, take away the Tables, cleanse them with Spunges. And *Martial*,

Hæc tibi sorte datur tergendis spongia mensis.

In later Ages the Tables of Men of inferiour Quality were commonly supported by three Feet, and made of plain and ordinary Wood; but those which belonged to Men of better Condition were composed of more costly Materials. The most curious Sorts of Woods were sought, and many times fetched from foreign Countries for this Use. They were also adorned with Plates of Silver, or other Metals, and supported by one or more Feet curiously wrought, and called after the Name of some of the ancient Heroes, *Atlantes*, *Telamones*, &c. The most common Support of these Tables was an Ivory Foot cast in the Form of a Lion, a Leopard, or some other Animal. Some have thought that in *Homer* every Guest had a distinct Table by himself; whence *Athenæus* (e) reports, τὸ μονοφαγεῖν αὐτὸν χρὴσθαι τῆς παλαιῆς ἦν, that the Ancients used to eat by themselves; but as that is not sufficiently proved by the Instances which are produced for that End, so in the following Ages it was certainly accounted more unfociable and inhuman to eat in that manner, as we are informed by the same Author (f); which was nevertheless practised

(a) Lib. XI. cap. XII. (b) Ver. 112. (c) Ver. 150. (d) Lib. VII. cap. XXVI. (e) Lib. I. cap. VIII. (f) Lib. I. cap. VIII & X;
by

Chap. XX. Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece. 381

by some of the barbarous Nations, and in particular, as *Tacitus* reports, by the *Germans*.

Τράπεζα in Greek, and *mensa* in Latin, are ambiguous Words, and signify not only the Tables, but also τὰ πρὶν ἐπ' αὐτῶν πρῶτον, the Meat placed upon them, to use the Words of *Julius Pollux* (a). Hence by πρῶτον, δεύτερον, τρίτον τράπεζαι, and in Latin by *primæ, secundæ, tertiæ mensæ*, are understood the first, second, and third Courses of Meat; which Ambiguity of Signification is by some thought to have been occasioned by the Custom then in use, of bringing in and taking away the Tables and the Meat upon them together; which Opinion is confirmed by the following Passage of *Alexis* in *Athenæus* (b),

Ὡς ὃ πρὶν τράπεζαν ἀνδράπυς δὴ
 φέροντας εἶσι, ποικίλων παροψίδων
 κόμῃ βρύει -----

There were therefore three distinct Parts of the Supper, which was their chief Meal.

1. Δείπνον προήμενον, *antecæniūm, cænæ præfatio*, sometimes termed προέπομα, which, as the Names import, was rather a Preparation to, than any Part of the Supper, and consisted of Herbs of the sharpest Taste, in particular at *Athens*, of Coleworts, Eggs, Oysters, εἰνόμελι, a Mixture of Honey, and as it is probable, of the sharpest Wines, and other Things which were thought to create an Appetite.

2. Δείπνον, *cæna*, the Supper, which was sometimes called κεφαλὴ δείπνου, in Latin, *caput cænæ*; in this Sense the following Passage of *Martial* is by some understood;

----- *mullus tibi quatuor emptus*
Librarum cænæ pompa, caputque fuit.

This Course was always more plentifully furnished out than the former; whence was that Saying of *Dromeas* the Parasite, who being asked whether the Suppers at *Chalcis* or those at *Athens* were more splendid? replied, "that the Preface of the Supper at *Chalcis* " was to be preferred before the whole Entertainment at *Athens*;" meaning by the Preface of the Supper, the several Sorts of Shell-fish, and other Provision, which was consumed before the Supper, as we are informed by *Athenæus* (c).

3. Δολίχα τράπεζα, the second Course, which consisted of Sweet-meats of all kinds, which they called τραγήματα, τραγημαπομόν, μαπύας, τραγάλια, ὀπιδόρπισμα, ὀπιδόρπισματα, ὀπιδόρηματα, ὀπιδείπνα, μεταδόρημα, &c. Also by the *Dorians*, who called Entertainments αἶκλα, and σωμαίικλαι, they were termed ἐπαίικλαι (d). This Course was furnished with the utmost Splen-

(a) Lib. VI. cap. xii. (b) Lib. IX. principio cap. ii. (c) Lib. IV. cap. iv. (d) Conf. *Athenæus* Lib. IV. cap. viii.

382 *Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece. Chap. XX.*

dor, especially in Ages addicted to Luxury : whence it was sometimes, by way of Eminence, called *τεράπεζα*, the Course, as we are informed by *Athenæus* (a), who has left Descriptions of several of these Courses. But in this Sort of Provision the *Grecians* were very much excelled by the *Persians*, who used to say, τὸν Ἕλληνας σιτημῶν πεινῶντας παύειν, ὅπῃ σφισιν ὀπὸ δείπνου παρεο-
ρίσται ἐδὲν λόγῳ ἀξιον, εἰ δὲ π παρερίστω ἐδύναντο εἰ παύονται, that the *Grecians* leave off eating while they were hungry, because nothing of any value is ever set before them after Supper, and yet if any thing is produced, they still eat on (b).

Sometimes the three fore-mentioned Provisions were called *πρώτη*, *δευτέρα*, *τρίτη τεράπεζα*, the first, second, third Course, the *προοίμιον δείπνου* being reckoned a Part of the Supper, and making the first Course; and where there was a great Variety of Dishes, that every one of the Guests might be able to chuse what pleased him best, τὸ ἔσθῃ ἢν ἐστιάτορ κατακλιθεὶς παρε-
δίδωται γαστριμαργίας π κτείναν ἀναγεραν ἢ παρεσκευασμένων, ἐφ' ὃ εἰδέναι ὅ, π μέλλοι ὕψον φέρειν ὁ μάγειρος, a Paper was delivered to the Master of the Feast containing a Catalogue of all the Dishes which the Cook had provided, and this was communicated by him to the Guests as occasion required; but it must not be imagined that the *Grecian* Suppers always consisted of such a Variety of Dishes or Courses; whatever might be the Custom at the Tables of Princes, and others of the first Quality, the rest were contented with meaner Provision for their ordinary Diet; only upon the Festivals of the Gods, or upon other special Occasions, they allowed themselves more freedom (c); and the heroical Ages rarely had more than one Course.

The Ancients had so great a Sense of the Divine Providence, that they thought it unlawful to eat till they had first offered a Part of their Provision, as a Sort of First-fruits, to the Gods; which Custom was so religiously observed in the heroical Ages, that *Achilles*, though disturbed by *Agamemnon's* Ambassadors at Midnight, would not eat till an Oblation was offered.

----- Θυοίη ὃ δῶσαι ἀνάγκη.

Πάτροκλον ὃν ἱταῖον, ὃ δ' ἐν πυρὶ βάλλας θυηλάς.

And *Ulysses* in another place of *Homer*, reports, that in *Polyphemus's* Den himself and his fellow-Soldiers were not unmindful of this Duty.

Εἰδάδε πῦρ καίοντες ἐξέσμεν, ἠδὲ κ' αὖτις

Τροφὴν αἰνέμεν φέροντες. -----

In the Entertainments of *Plato* and *Xenophon* we find Oblations made; and, to forbear the mention of more Examples, the Neglect of this Duty was accounted a very great Impiety, which none but

(a) Lib. XIV. cap. xi. (b) *Herodotus* lib. I. cap. cxxxiii. *Athenæus* lib. IV. cap. x. (c) Conf. *Athenæus* lib. XV. initio cap. x.

Chap. XX. Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece. 383

Epicurus, and others who worshipped no Gods at all, would be guilty of; these, with several other Observations on the same Subject, we find in *Athenæus* (a). The first of these Oblations was always made to *Vesta*, the chief of the Household Gods; afterwards they worshipped some of the other Gods; and last of all, offered a Libation to *Vesta*, as we are informed by *Homer* (b):

----- ἡ γὰρ ἄτερ σε
 Ἑλλαπίνῃ θνητοῖσιν, ἵν' εἰ περὶ τῇ πυρρῇ τῇ
 Ἑστὶν ἀρχομένη σπένδῃ μαλινδία δῖον.

The Reason why this Goddess had this Honour paid her was, either because she being Protectress of the House, was, in *Cicero's* Language (c), *rerum custos intimarum*, Keeper of Things most concealed from common View; or, according to *Phurnutius*, because she being the same with the Earth in the Esteem of the People, was the common Principle out of which all Bodies are produced, and into which they are again resolved; or lastly, according to the Account of *Aristocritus* in the Scholiast of *Aristophanes* (d), this Privilege was conferred by *Jupiter*, for the Service done by *Vesta* in his War against the Giants: hence came the Proverb used by *Plato* (e) and others, ἀφ' Ἑστίας ἀρχομαι, to begin with *Vesta*; whereby was intimated, that our Domestick Concernments ought to be our first and chief Care.

During the Entertainment all the Guests were apparelled in White, or some other cheerful Colour; and to use *Cicero's* Words (f), *Quis unquam cœnavit atratus?* What Person ever was found to sup in Black? That Colour was left to Times of Mourning. It was also customary to deck themselves with Flowers, or Garlands composed of Flowers, which were provided by the Master of the Feast, and brought in before the second Course, or, as some are of Opinion, at the Beginning of the Entertainment (g). They not only adorned their Heads, Necks, and Breasts, but often bestrewed the Beds whereon they lay, and all Parts of the Room; but the Head was chiefly regarded, as appears from the following Verses of *Ovid* (h), wherein he celebrates this Custom:

Ebrius innexis philyra conviva capillis
Saltat, & imprudens uritur arte meri.
Ebrius ad durum formosæ limen amicæ
Cantat, habent unctæ mollia ferta comæ.
Nulla coronata peraguntur seria fronte,
Nec liquidæ juncto flore bibuntur aquæ.
Donec eras mistus nullis, Acheloe, racemis,
Gratia sumendæ non erat ulla rosæ.

(a) Lib. IV. cap. xxvii. (b) Hymno in *Vestam* & *Mercurium*.
 (c) Lib. II. de natura deorum. (d) *Vespis* p. 490. (e) *Euthyphrone*. (f) In *Vatinium*. (g) Conf. *Athenæus* lib. XXV. cap. x.
 (h) *Fastorum* l. v.

Bacchus amat flores, Baccho placuisse coronam
Ex Ariadneō fidere nosse potes.

Garlands are by some thought to have been an Invention of *Prometheus*, who first prescribed the Use of them, that Men should by that Emblem of his Bonds, commemorate the Punishment which he had suffered for his Kindness to them. To this Opinion the following Verses of *Æschylus*, which are cited by *Athenæus* (a), seem to allude :

Τῷ δ' ἔτι καὶ στέφανον, ἀρχαῖον εἶδος
Δισμῶδ' ἀρεῖται ἐκ Περσηϊδῆος λόγῳ.

In another place (b) the same Author relates out of *Draco the Corycean*, that *Janus* invented Garlands, Ships, Boats, and the Art of coining Money ; and thence it was customary in several Cities of *Greece*, and also of *Italy* and *Sicily*, for the Coin to bear on one Side the Image of two-faced *Janus*, and on the Reverse a Boat, a Ship, or a Garland. *Pliny* will have the first Garlands to have been used by *Bacchus*, and composed of Ivy (c). And in later Ages they commonly made use of Ivy and *Amethystus*, as Preservatives against Drunkenness, whence the latter of them has its Name from the privative Particle *α* and μέθη (d). *Festus* affirms, *Antiquissimum genus fuisse coronarum laneum*, that the most ancient Garlands were made of Wool ; with one of this Sort the Enchantress in *Theocritus* (e) adorns her Cup.

Στέφανον τὰν καλίσταν φοινικίαν οἶδ' ἀδάτω.

Whether Garlands were commonly used at the Time of the *Trojan War*, is not certain. *Athenæus* hath observed that they are used by none of *Homer's* Heroes, yet that the Poet himself has several Allusions to them, some of which are the following ;

And, Νῆσον ἦν πῆρα πόλιν ἀπέριετο ἱερὰν αἶψα,
πάντη γὰρ στέφανον πολέμοιο δαδόν.

Whence he concludes that Garlands were unknown in the heroical Ages, but came into use before *Homer's* Time (f).

The Flowers and Greens whereof Garlands were composed were various. In the primitive Times they made no Entertainments but upon the Festivals of the Gods, and then the Garlands, Hymns, and Songs, were such as the Gods were thought to delight in, as we

(a) Lib. XV. cap. v. (b) Ejusdem libri cap. xiii. (c) Lib. XVI. cap. i. (d) *Plutarchus* Sympof. lib. III. quæst. I. (e) *Idyll.* II. v. 2. (f) *Athenæus* lib. I. cap. XV.

Chap. XX. Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece. 385

learn from *Athenæus* (a). And in later Ages; upon the publick Festival of any God, they seem to have used the particular Herb or Flower which was sacred to him; but at other times all Sorts were made use of, as the Season would allow, or they were thought most conducive to Pleasure, Refreshment (b), or Health. Some were very curious in the Choice of their Garlands, thinking them to have a very great Influence upon Mens Bodies; whence *Mnestheus* and *Callimachus*, two Greek Physicians, wrote Books concerning Garlands, as we are informed by *Pliny* (c). I shall add nothing farther upon this Head, only that the Rose being dedicated by *Cupid* to *Harpocrates* the God of Silence, to engage him to conceal the lewd Actions of *Venus*, was an Emblem of Silence; whence to present, or hold it up to any Person in discourse, served instead of an Admonition, that it was time for him to hold his Peace; and in Entertaining Rooms it was customary to place a Rose above the Table, to signify that what was there spoken should be kept private. This Practice is described in the following Epigram:

*Est rosa flos Veneris, cujus quo facta laterent,
Harpocrati, Matris dona, dicavit Amor.
Inde rosam mensis hospes suspendit amicis,
Conviva ut sub ea dicta, tacenda sciat.*

From the Garlands let us proceed to Ointments and Perfumes. The ancient *Greeks*, as *Athenæus* hath observed (d), anointed their Heads with some common and ordinary Sort of Ointment, thinking by that means to keep themselves cool and temperate, and to prevent Fevers, and other mischievous Consequences of the too plentiful Use of Wine; but afterwards, as it is usual for Men to improve the Things which are used of mere Necessity, by the Addition of others which serve for Pleasure and Luxury, they came to use precious Ointments and Perfumes. These, as also the Distribution of Garlands, and second Courses at Entertainments, with all the Arts of Luxury and Effeminacy, were first introduced into *Greece* by the *Ionians*, who by conversing with the *Asiatics*, were taught to lay aside the primitive Plainness of their Manners sooner than any of the *Greeks*; whence *Ionicus risus* and *Ionicus motus* became proverbial Expressions for profuse Laughter and unseemly Motions (e). The chief Part to which Ointments were applied, was the Head; but other Parts of the Body had sometimes their Share both of Ointments and Garlands, and particularly *ἐστρωσαν τὰ στήθη, καὶ ἐμόρσυν, ὅτι αὐτῶν ἡ καρδία*, the Breast was adorned with Garlands and anointed, as being the Seat of the Heart, which they thought was refreshed by these Applications as well as the Brain (f). And the Room wherein the Entertainment was made, was

(a) Lib. V. cap. iv. (b) Conf. *Athenæus* lib. III. cap. xxi. lib. xv. cap. v. (c) Lib. XXI. cap. iii. (d) Lib. XV. cap. xiii. ex *Myronidæ* libro de coronis & unguentis. (e) *Valerius Maximus*, lib. II. initio cap. vi. (f) Conf. *Athenæus* lib. XV. cap. v.

sometimes perfumed by burning Myrrh or Frankincense, or with other Odours. These Customs are briefly described in the following Verses of *Archestratus* in *Athenæus* (a) :

Αἰεὶ ὃ σπράνοισι χάρα παρὰ δαυτὶ πυκνίζε
 Παντοδαποῖς, οἷς δὲ γαίης πέδον ἔλκειον ἀνδρῶν
 Καὶ σακτοῖσι μέρεσι ἀγαθοῖς χαίτων διεκπέδον
 Καὶ σμύρνας, λίβανόν τε πυρὶ μαλακῶν δὴν τίφρα
 Βάλλε πανημέριον, Συρίης δὲ δάμακον καρπὸν.

The Officers and Attendants at Entertainments were these which follow.

In the first place *συμποσίρχος*, sometimes called *συμποσίς* ὑπε-
μελῶν, *τραπέζοκός*, *τραπέζοποιος*, ὁ δὴ τῆς τραπέζης, ἀρχιτέκτωνος,
 and also *ἐλέαρχος*, Ἑρ. was chief Manager of the Entertainment.
 This Office was sometimes performed by the Person at whose
 Charge the Entertainment was provided, sometimes by another
 named by him ; sometimes, especially in Entertainments provided
 at the common Expence, he was elected by Lots, or by the Suffra-
 ges of the Guests.

Next, and sometimes the same with the former, was the *Βασιλεύς*,
 otherwise termed *τραπηνοῖς*, *ταξίαρχος*, Ἑρ. and in Latin, *Rex*,
Modimperator, Ἑρ. the King, whose Business it was to determine
 the Laws of good Fellowship, and to observe whether every Man
 drank his Proportion, whence he was also called *ὀφθαλμὸς*, *oculus*,
 the Eye ; he was commonly appointed by Lots ; to which Custom
 there are several Allusions in *Horace* ;

————— *quem Venus arbitrum*
Dicet bibendi (b) ?

And again (c) :

Et domus exilis Plutonia ; quo simul mearis,
Nec regna vini sortiēre talis,
Nec tenerum Lycidam mirabere.

The Guests were obliged to be in all things conformable to the Com-
 mands of the *Βασιλεύς* ; whence *Cicero* (d) upbraids a certain Per-
 son, that *qui nunquam populi Romani legibus paruiſſet, iis legibus quæ*
in poculis ponebantur, obtemperabat ; he who had never submitted to
 the Laws of the Roman People, should yield Obedience to the
 Laws of Drinking. And *Arrian* (e) reports, that the King be-
 ing created by Lots, commands in this manner : Do you drink, do
 you fill the Glass, do you go, do you come. The chief *Migistrates*
 were not exempted from yielding Obedience, if the Lots gave ano-
 ther the Pre-eminence ; whence *Agésilæus*, King of *Lacedæmon*, be-
 ing present at an Entertainment, was not declared *Rex* till the Lots

(a) Lib. III. cap. xxii. (b) Lib. II. Od. vii. v. 25. (c) Lib. I.
 Od. iv. v. 17. (d) Orat. in *Verrem*. (e) In *Epietum*.

Chap. XX. Of the Miscellaneous Customs of Greece. 387

had favoured him, as we are informed by *Plutarch* (a), who reports in the same place, that being asked by the Cup-bearer How much Wine every Guest should drink, he made this Reply: "If there is plenty of Wine, let every Man have what he calls for; if not, let every Man have an equal Share."

Δαίεσς, *diribitor*, was so termed *ἐπὶ τῇ δαίεσσι*, from dividing and distributing to every Guest his Portion; whence Entertainments were also called *δαίτες*. In the primitive Times the Master of the Feast carved for all his Guests, Thus in *Homer* (b), when *Agamemnon's* Ambassadors were entertained at *Achilles's* Table;

----- ἀτὰρ κρέα νείμεθ' Ἀχιλλεύς.

Which Verse is repeated in the last *Iliad* (c). More Examples would be needless, it being the Practice of those Ages for Men of the highest Quality to descend to very mean Employments. And in later Times the same Office was executed by some of the chief Men at *Sparta*, as appears from the Example of *Lysander*, who was deputed to it by *Agefilas* (d). This Custom of distributing to every Guest his Portion, was by some derived from the Ages wherein the *Greeks* left off their ancient way of living upon Acorns, and learned the Use of Corn, which being at the first very scarce, gave occasion to continual Quarrels, whence *ἀνωμαλία*, which originally signified *τὰς ἀτάς ἐν ταῖς δαίταις*, the Disorders committed at Feasts, came to be a general Name for all Sorts of injurious and wicked Behaviour. To prevent these Disorders, it was agreed that a Person should be named to distribute to every Man his Portion, whence, as some are of opinion, the Phrase of *δαίς ἴση*, equal Entertainment, so frequently occurs in *Homer* (e). Such to whom a particular Respect was due, were helped to the best Parts, and very often to a larger Share than the rest of the Guests. Thus *Eumæus* in *Homer's Odyssey*, gives the *ῥῶτον*, *Chine*, which they esteemed the chief Part. to *Ulysses*. The same is given by *Agamemnon* to *Ajax*, as a Reward for his Service in the War (f). *Sarpëdon*, one of the *Lycian* Kings, in the same Poet is honoured,

Ἐδρῇ γ', κρέουσίν τε, ἰδὲ πλείους δειπάσσειν (e).

with the first Seat, the best Share of Meat, and full Cups. In another place *Diomedes*, *κρέα τε καὶ πλείους δειπάσει δαίεσσι*, is entertained with the best Share of Meat and full Cups. It appears from *Herodotus*, that the Kings of *Sparta* had *διπλὴν παύρα*, a double Portion of every Dish. And in the sacred Writings, the Mess of *Benjamin*, the beloved Brother of *Joseph*, was twice as large as any

(a) Conf. *Plutarchus* Sympof. Lib. II. Quæst. ult. (b) *Iliad*. l. v. 217. (c) Ver. 626. (d) *Athenæus* lib. I. cap. x. (e) *Iliad*. v. (f) *Iliad*. μ'. ver. 311.

of the other Messes (a). They who received this Honour, ἰδω-
 ρῆντο δὲ τὸν ἑῷ αὐτῶν μοίρας οἷς ἐβέλοντο, ὡς Οὐδυσσεὺς νότῃ δατομετα-
 μῶν, ἔ αὐτῇ παρέδεντο, τῷ Δημοδόκῳ (b), had the Privilege of gra-
 tifying whomsoever they pleased with a Part of their Portion, as
 was done by *Ulysses*, who carved a Part of the *Chine*, which was
 set before him, to *Demodocus*. Afterwards when *Greece* learned
 the Arts of Luxury, the primitive Way of dividing to every Man
 his Portion was laid aside, ὡς ἀκοινώνητο· καὶ ἀνελεύθερο, as covetous
 and illiberal, and the Guests were allowed to carve for themselves
 in the manner which pleased them best; nevertheless the ancient
 Custom was retained a long time at the Entertainments after Sa-
 crifices, and by some who preferred the primitive Temperance and
 Frugality before the modern profuse Way of living; and it is ob-
 served, that whilst every Man had his Portion allotted, the Enter-
 tainments were managed with great Decency, and fewer Disorders
 were committed, as we are informed by *Plutarch*, where he dis-
 courses on this Question, “Whether the ancient *Greeks*, who allot-
 “ted every Man his Portion, or the modern, who set their Provi-
 “sion in common before al the Guests, were more to be commend-
 “ed (c).”

From the Distribution of Meat, let us proceed to the Persons em-
 ployed to distribute Drink; these were commonly termed οἰνοχόαι,
 and about the *Hellepont* ἐπερχοῦ (d). In the heroical Entertain-
 ments the κήρυκες, Heralds, commonly performed this Office. Thus
 in *Homer* (e),

Κῆρυξ δ' αὐτοῖσιν δάμ' ἐπώχετο οἰνοχόειν.

In *Athenæus* (f), *Mercury*, the Herald of the Gods, is said to be
 introduced by *Alcæus* and *Sappho*, filling the Goblets at the celestial
 Entertainments; and to mention no more Examples, it is very well
 known, and hath been elsewhere observed, that the κήρυκες were
 deputed πῶσαις ὑπομετακῶς ἐπιτελεῖν πράξεις, to all Sorts of Minis-
 trations. It was customary for Boys or young Men to fill the Cups.
 Thus we find in *Homer* (g),

Κῆρυξ δ' κρητῆρας ἐπετέλλαιτο ποτοῖο.

And to use the Words of *Eustathius* (h), εἰσὶν οἱ παλαιὸι παρθέων
 ἔργον τὸ οἰνοχόειν, “ancient Authors affirm that the Wine used
 “to be filled about by Virgins.” Which is agreeable to the Man-
 ners of those Times, wherein the Guests were attended by Virgins,
 without any Suspicion of Lust or immodesty; whence the Daugh-
 ter of *Cocalus*, King of *Sicily*, is said to have washed *Minos*, King
 of *Crete*; and the same is done by other Virgins and Women, in
 several Parts of *Homer*, as hath been observed by *Athenæus* (i);

(a) Conf. *Athenæus* lib. I. cap. xi. *Eustathius* comment. in *Home-
 rum* p. 557. Edit. *Basil.* (b) *Athenæus* loco cit. (c) *Sympos.* lib.
 II. Quæst. ult. (d) *Athenæus* lib. X. cap. vii. (e) *Odyss.* i. v. 142.
 (f) Loco citato. (g) *Odyss.* ii. v. 149. (h) In *Iliad.* γ'. p. 333.
 (i) Lib. I. cap. viii.

and so common it was in the primitive Times for young Persons of both Sexes to be employed in the fore-mentioned, and all other Ministrations, that as *Hesychius* (a) and *Eustathius* (b) inform us, δῦλοι, Servants, came to be termed by the Names of παῖδες καὶ παιδίσκαι, Boys and Girls, διὰ τὸ τ' παιδικῆς ἡλικίας ὑποκρινέσθαι, because Persons of that Age were commonly employed to serve; neither was this done only by Children of mean Fortune or Birth, but ἀνοχόντων παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις οἱ δὴ βέλτεροι παῖδες, ὡς ὁ τὸ Μενελάου υἱός, but in the primitive Times those of the highest Quality filled out Wine, as we find done by *Menelaus's* Son, in the following Verse of *Homer*;

Ἄνοχός δ' υἱὸς Μενελάου κυδαλίμοιο (c).

The same Custom was in later and more refined Ages still retained at the Entertainments in the Temples, where many of the ancient Ways of Behaviour were kept up a long time after they had been laid aside in other Places; especially at the publick Sacrifices of the *Æolians* it was observed, that οἱ βέλτεροι παῖδων, the Boys of the chiefest Quality should perform this Office; which was also the Practice at *Rome*, where they used πάντα τῶν Ἀιολέων μιμεῖσθαι, αἷς καὶ κατὰ τῶν νόμων τ' φωνῆς, in all things to imitate the *Æolians*, even to the very Tone of their Voice, as we learn from *Athenæus* (d); whence, it may be, that Author came to be of opinion, that the Custom of employing young Persons of liberal Birth and Education to fill the Wine, was derived from the Sacrifices of the Gods, at which δῦλοι οὐδεὶς ἢ διακονῶν, no Slave was permitted to minister (e); but it is rather to be ascribed to the Plainness and Simplicity of the ancient *Greeks*, and other Nations; whence it came that the Sons and Daughters of Kings, and others of the first Quality, were employed in keeping Flocks, and almost all other Services, as hath been elsewhere observed. Another Reason why young Persons served at Entertainments rather than those in Years, was, because by their Beauty and Sprightliness they were thought more apt to exhilarate the Guests, whose Eyes were to be entertained as well as their other Senses; on this account the most comely Persons were deputed to this Ministrations even in the primitive Times. Amongst the Gods

----- πότνια Ἥβη
Νέκταρ ἄνοχός (f) -----

fair *Hebe*, the Goddess of Youth, and Daughter of *Juno*, filled about Nectar (f). And *Ganymedes*, the most beautiful of mortal Race, was translated by the Gods into Heaven, to serve at *Jupiter's* Table.

(a) V. παῖδες. (b) Loco citato. (c) *Athenæus* lib. x. cap. vii.
(d) Loco citato. (e) Lib. V. cap. iv. (f) *Iliad.* δ'. v. 2.

----- ἀντίθετον Γανυμήδους,
 Ος δὴ κάλλιστον ᾔχετο Διὸς ἄνθρωπων
 Τὸν καὶ ἀντρείφαντο θεοὶ δι' οἶνον ἔδουσιν,
 Κλέμεθ' εἶνεκα οἶνο, ἐν ἀθανάτοισι μέλειν (a).

Whence we may learn, that in the most remote Times, which were thought the Age of the Gods, as those which followed were the Age of Heroes, this Practice was observed. And hence by the Names of Places which are said to be in use amongst the Gods, are to be understood the first and most ancient Names, as we learn from the *Scholiast* upon *Homer*, in whom there are several Examples to this purpose, but I shall mention only that which follows (b), where the Poet tells us, that a certain Place in *Troas* was, by the Gods, that is most anciently, called *Myrina's Tomb*, but by Men, that is, in later Times, *Batiea*.

Τὴν ἥτοι ἄνδρες Βατίειαν κεκλήσκουσιν
 Αθανάτοι δὲ τε σῆμα πολυσκάρβουνο Μυρίνης.

That at the time of the *Trojan War* it was customary for young Persons of beautiful Countenances, and well dressed, to serve at Entertainments, is plain from the Answer of *Eumæus* to *Ulysses*, who then appearing in the Habit and Form of an old Beggar, intended to serve the young Gentlemen who made their Addresses to *Penelope* (c):

Οὗτοι τοῖσι δὲ εἰσὶν ὑποδρηστῆρες ἐκείνων,
 Ἀλλὰ νέοι χλαῖνας οὗ εἰσβύου ἢ δὲ χλαῖνας,
 Αἰεὶ δὲ λιπαροὶ κεφαλὰς καὶ καλὰ ποδῶσπα,
 Οἳ σφιν ὑποδράσων.

And in modern Ages, when the Arts of Luxury had more Esteem, it was usual to give vast Prices for beautiful Youths; which Custom is found fault with in the following Passage of *Juvenal*, where he speaks to an indigent Client who is entertained at his Patron's Table (d):

— tu Gætulum Ganymedem
 Respice, cum saties: nescit tot millibus emptus
 Pauperibus servire puer; sed forma, sed ætas
 Digna supercilio; quando ad te pervenit ille?
 Quando vocatus adest, calidæ gelidæque minister?
 Quippe indignatur veteri parere clienti.

But the Customs which concern this Part of the Entertainment, are most elegantly and finely described by *Philo the Jew* (e), who tells

(a) *Iliad*. v. v. 232. (b) *Iliad*. ε'. v. 813. (c) *Odyss.* β. v. 327.
 (d) *Satir.* v. ver. 60. (e) *Libro de vita contemplativa.*

us, that it was usual to procure most beautiful Slaves to attend at Entertainments, not so much for any Service they were to do, as to gratify the Eyes of the Beholders ; of these the younger Boys (οἰνοχοῖται) fill the Wine, those of riper Age (ὕδροφοροι) serve up the Water, being washed, trimmed, and painted, with their Hair curled in various Forms, with several other remarkable Observations relating to this Custom.

The Cups and drinking Vessels come next to be considered ; and in *Homer* every one of the Guests seems to have had a distinct Cup, out of which he drank when he pleased ; hence the following Words of *Agamemnon* to *Idomeneus* (a),

----- σὸν ὃ πλέον δίπας αἶψά
Εἴηχ' ὥσπερ ἐμοί, πίνεν ὅτε θυμὸς ἀνάγῃ.

On which account the heroical Cups were very capacious, as *Athenæus* hath proved by several Examples, and particularly that of *Nestor's* Cup, which was so weighty, that a young Man had scarce Strength to carry it (b) ; nevertheless the same Author there observes, that “ though Men of great Estates and Quality in his Time “ used large Cups, yet that was not anciently the Practice of Greece, “ but lately learned from the barbarous Nations, who being ignorant of Arts and Humanity, indulge themselves in the immoderate Use of Drink, and all Sorts of Dainties ; whereas it does not “ appear, says he, from the Testimony of any of those who lived before our Times, that a Cup of a very large Size was ever made “ in any Part of Greece, except those which belonged to the Heroes.” However the Cups which they used after Supper were larger than those they drank in at Supper ; this appears from the following Passage of *Virgil* (c) :

*Postquam prima quies epulis, mensæque remotæ,
Grateras magnos statuunt, & vina coronant.*

In the Houses of wealthy Men there was commonly a large κυλινδρον Cupboard, furnished with Cups of all Sorts and Sizes, rather for Ostentation than Use. The Cups used by the ancient Greeks were very plain, and agreeable to the rest of their Furniture, being usually composed of Wood or Earth. Afterwards when they began to imitate the Pride and Vanity of the *Asiatics*, their Cups were made of Silver, Gold, and other costly Materials, curiously wrought, inlaid with precious Stones, and otherways adorned ; but the primitive Cups seem to have been composed of the Horns of Animals, which Persons of Quality tipped with Gold or Silver ; these are mentioned by *Pindar*, *Æschylus*, *Xenophon*, and several other Authors ; they were also used by some in later Ages, and particularly by *Philip* the *Macedonian* ; hence, as some are of opinion, *Bacchus* had

(a) *Iliad*. N. v. 262. (b) *Lib. XI. cap. ii.* (c) *Æneid. I. v. 727.*
C c 4 the

the Sirname of *Taurus*, as worshipped by the *Cyziconians* in the Shape of a Bull, and painted with Horns in several other Countries; and some think the Words *κεῖληρες*, Cups, and *μεγάσαι*, to mix Wine with Water, are derived from *κέρατα*, Horns; these, and many other Observations concerning this Argument, may be found in *Athenæus* (a) and *Eustathius* (b).

The Cups were compassed about with Garlands, and filled up to the Brim. Both these Customs are mentioned in the following Passage of *Virgil* (c);

*Tum pater Anchises magnum cratera corona
Induit.* —————

And the latter in this Verse of *Homer*, which occurs in the first *Iliad* (d), and is repeated in other places:

Κεῖρι ὃ κρητῆρας ἐπέεψατο ποτοῖο.

For *ἐπέεψατο*, according to the old *Scholiast*, signifies *ἐπλήρωσεν* *ἄχει σιφάνης*, ὃ ὄρε τέλει, they filled up to the Brim; and *σέφειν*, commonly *πλήρωσιν* *πνα σημαίνε*, signifies a Sort of Fulness; whence they always did *σέφειν κρητῆρας*, when Libations were offered to the God, ὅτι ἐδὲν κολοῖδὸν ποροσφίεργον πορὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ τέλεια καὶ ὅλα, τὸ ὃ πλήρες τέλειόν ὄρε, because we offer nothing imperfect to the Gods, but only Things whole and entire, and that which is full is entire, saith *Athenæus* (e) from *Aristotle*; and as we are informed by the same Author (f), the Cups, *σπεύρον*, are crowned with Drink, that is, they are filled above the Brim, so as the Drink riseth in the manner of a Crown, for good Luck's sake.

In the heroical Times, as hath been observed concerning the unequal Portions of Meat, οἱ κεῖρι διακονέμενοι, τοῖς μὲν ἀπμοτέτοις εἰς πλήρες παρέχον τὸ πολέμιον, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις ἕξ ἴσα διένειμιν, the young Men who ministred, always presented full Cups to Men of great Quality, and distributed Wine to the Rest by equal Proportions, as we are informed by *Athenæus* (g). Thus *Agamemnon* entertains *Idomeneus* King of *Crete* (h);

Εἶπεο γάρ τ' ἄλλαι κερηκομεάντες Ἀχαιῶν
Δαιτὸν πίνασιν, σὸν ὃ πλεῖον δέπας αἰεὶ
Εἴηχ' ὥσπερ ἐμοὶ, πίνειν ὅτε θυμὸς ἀνάγῃ.

Hector in another place reproacheth *Diomedes*, when he fled from him, with the Enjoyment of this Honour (i);

(a) Lib. XI. cap. vii. (b) Comment. in *Iliad*. v. p. 883. *Iliad*. γ. p. 319. *Iliad*. θ. p. 591. edit. *Basil.* (c) *Æneid*. iii. v. 525. (d) v. 470. (e) Lib. XV. cap. v. (f) Lib. I. cap. xi. (g) Lib. V. cap. iv. (h) *Iliad*. δ. v. 261. (i) *Iliad*. δ. v. 161.

Τυδείδῃ, πρὶ μὲρ σε τίον Δαναοὶ τεχύνωλοι
 Ἑδρῇ τε, κρείσσιν τε, ἰδὲ πλείοις δειπίασι,
 Νυῷ δ' σ' ἀπιμήσεπ. {-----

This Respect is also said to be paid by the *Lycians*, to *Sarpedon* and *Glaucus* Kings of *Lycia*, in the same Words (a). Another Respect was paid to the most honourable Guests, by drinking first to them; for it was customary for the Master of the Feast to drink to his Guests in order, according to their Quality, as we learn from *Plutarch* (b). The Manner of doing this was, by drinking part of the Cup, and sending the Remainder to the Person whom they named, which they termed *προπίνειν* but this was only the modern way, for anciently they drank *μᾶζον* & *σκύφον*, the whole Cup, and not a Part of it, as was usual in *Athenæus's* Time; to do which, as that Author thinks, ought rather to be termed *περικυπεῖν*, than by the old Name *προπίνειν* (c). The Form of Salutation was various; sometimes they who drank to another, used to say, *χαῖρε*, as in that Example *χαῖρε Ἀχιλλεῦ*, I send you this Honey mingled with Milk; as we learn from the *Scholiast* upon *Pindar* (d). Sometimes the Person who sent the Cup saluted his Friend in this form, *προπίνω σε καλῶς* the other replied, *λαμβάνω ὅπῃ σε ἰδέας*. and this being a Testimony of Friendship to drink in this manner to another, was sometimes termed *προπίνειν φιλοτιμίαν*. Thus *Ælian* explains *φιλοτιμία* to be *δεξιότης διὰ τ' φιλίας*, a Salutation on the account of Friendship; and *φιλοτιμίαν προπίνειν* to be *ἵνικα τις ἐν ἀείσῳ ὀπὸ τ' δεθείσης αὐτῇ φίλῃς πᾶν μέρϑ, τὸ λοιπὸν παρέχῃ φίλῃ, καὶ τὴν φίλῃν παραχρήσῃ*, when any Person at Dinner drinks Part of a Cup, and gives the rest to his Friend. The Person who received the Cup was said *ἀνπροπίνειν*, *ἀνπροπίνειν ὁμοία* it being required by the Rules of good Fellowship to drink off whatever remained in the Cup, or if the Cup was drunk off, to take another of the same bigness. An Example whereof we find in *Athenæus* (e), where *Alexander* having begun a very large Vessel to *Proteas* a *Macedonian*, he drank it off, and presented his Service to *Alexander* in another of the same Dimensions.

This Propination was carried about towards the Right-hand, where the superiour Quality of some of the Guests did not oblige them to alter that Method; hence it was termed *δεξιότης*, whence *δεξιόσυνος* in *Homer* is interpreted *προπίνων δεξιόσυνος*. Thus in the first *Iliad* at an Assembly of the Gods,

----- χρυσείοις δειπίασι
 Δειδέχεται Ἀλλήλους -----

That is, according to *Athenæus*, *ἰδεξίσιν τε προπίνω: τις ἐαυτοῖς ταῖς δεξιῶς*. The same Explication is given by him upon that Verse of the ninth *Iliad*, where *Ulysses* drinks to *Achilles*:

(a) *Iliad*. μ'. (b) *Sympos. Lib. I. Quæst. II.* (c) *Lib. V. cap. IV.* (d) *Nemeonic.* (e) *Lib. X. cap. ix.*

Πλησάμενος δ' οἶνον δέπας δειδκτ' Ἀχιλλῆα.

That is, saith he, ἐδεξάτο, ὃ ὅτι προέπινεν αὐτῷ, τῇ δεξιᾷ δεδκτ' τοῦ ποτήριου, he drank to *Achilles*, delivering the Cup with his Right-hand. The same is observed by *Eustathius* (a), who is beholden to *Athenæus* for almost all the Observations which he has made on this Argument. But there is express mention of drinking toward the Right-hand in the following Passage of *Homer* (b), where *Vulcan* fills Wine to the Gods :

----- θεῶν ἐδεξία πᾶν
 Δινοχόη -----

That is, he filled, as the old *Scholiast* explains it, ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιῶν μαρῶν, beginning from the Right-hand. Another Example of this Custom is produced from *Critia's* Epigram upon *Anacreon* :

Πᾶς διαπομπὴν προπόσεις εἰς δεξιὸν ἄμα.

And a third, to mention no more, is cited by *Athenæus* (c) out of the Ἀγροικοὶ of *Anaxandrides*. The doing this therefore was commonly termed ἐδεξία πίνειν (d); but it was sometimes called ἐκ κίλφο πίνειν, and the Action ἐγκυκλοποσία, because the Cup was conveyed round about the Table, beginning from the uppermost Seat. To which Custom we find the following Allusion in *Plautus* (e) :

----- age, puere,
A summo septenis cyathis committe hos ludos.

Yet the Method of drinking was not the same in all Places. The *Chians* and *Thasians* drank out of large Cups towards the Right, the *Athenians* out of small Cups to the Right; the *Thessalian* drinks large Cups to whom he preaseth, without observing any certain Method. At *Lacedæmon* every Man has a distinct Cup, which a Servant fills up as soon as any Person has drunk, as we are informed by *Athenæus* (f).

It was customary to drink to Persons absent. First the Gods were remembered, then their Friends, and at every Name one or more Cups of Wine, unmixed with Water, was drunk off. This is termed by *Cicero*, *Græco more bibere* (g), to drink after the Greek Manner; which some interpret of drinking *grandibus poculis* & *meracis potionibus*, Draughts of unmixed Wine out of large Cups, as *Asconius Pedianus* (h) observes: whereas it was the *Græcus mos*, ut *Græci dicunt*, συμπεῖν κωδιζομένης, *cum merum cyathis libant*, salutantes primo Deos, deinde amicos nominatim, Grecian Method to drink

(a) *Iliad*. v. p. 557. (b) *Iliad*. v. 597. (c) *Lib*. XI. cap. III.
 (d) *Conf. Pollux lib*. II. cap. IV. (e) *Persa Act*. V. Sc. I. (f) *Lib*.
 VI. cap. III. (g) *Orat*. III. in *Verrem*. (h) *Comment. in locum*
Ciceronis Wine

Chap. XX. Of the Miscellaneous Customs of Greece. 395

Wine out of small Cups, saluting first the Gods, and then their Friends by Name; *nam toties merum bibebant quoties deos & caros suos nominabant*, for it was their Custom to drink unmixed Wine as often as they named the Gods or their Friends; they did also *ἐπιχεῖν τῇ γῇ*, pour forth some of the Wine upon the Earth as often as they mentioned any Person's Name, as hath been observed by the *Scholiast* upon the following Verses of *Theocritus* (a):

Ἡδὴ δ' ἐπιχέουσι, ἥδε δ' ἐπιχεῖν δακρυον
Ὀνόμα' ἡδὲλ' ἐνθάδε, ἥδε δ' ὀνόμα' ἐνθάδε εἰπέειν.

Which being the Manner of offering Libations, as hath been elsewhere observed, it seems to have been a Form of Adoration when any of the Gods were named, and of Prayer for their Friends, when they mentioned them; amongst their Friends they most commonly named their Mistresses. Examples of this Custom are very common. Thus in *Tibullus*:

*Sed bene Messalam sua quisque ad pocula dicat,
Nomen & absentis singula verba sonent.*

And in *Horace* (b):

— dicat Opuntiae
Frater Megillae, quo beatus
Vulnere, qua pereat sagitta.

Sometimes the Number of Cups equalled that of the Letters in their Mistresses Name. Thus we find in *Martial* (c);

Naevia sex cyathis, septem Justina bibatur.

There were also several other ways of numbering the Cups to be drunk off at once; thus three were taken off because the *Graces* were of that Number; and nine, according to the Number of the *Muses*; the former of these Customs is mentioned by *Petronius*, who relates, that a certain Person *excusare cepit moram, quod amica se non dimisisset, tribus nisi potionibus e lege exsiccatis*, made this Excuse for his Delay, that his Mistress would not dismiss him till he had drunk three Cups, as the Law requires; both of them are contained in the following Riddle of *Ausonius* (d):

*Ter bibe, vel toties ternos: sic mystica lex est,
Vel tria potanti, vel ter tria multiplicanti,
Imparibus novies ternis contexere cubum.*

(a) *Idyll. xiv. v. 18.* (b) *Lib. i. Od. xxvii.* (c) *Lib. i. Epigr. lxxii.*
(d) *Grypho ternarii numeri v. i.*

And more clearly in this Passage of *Horace* (a);

*Da Lunæ propere novæ,
Da noctis mediæ, da, puer, auguris
Murenæ. Tribus, aut novem
Miscentur cyathis pocula commodis.
Qui Musas amat impares,
Ternos ter cyathos attonitus petet
Vates. Tres prohibet supra
Rixarum metuens tangere Gratia,
Nudis juncta sororibus.*

The *Greeks* thus expressed this Custom, *Η τρεῖς, ἢ τρεῖς τεῖρα*, either three, or three times three. There was another Saying, which forbade the drinking of four Cups, that being no lawful Number, *Η τεῖρα πέντε, ἢ μὴ τεῖρα*. Yet they did not always observe the Number Three, as appears from the following Epigram, which commands to fill ten Cups to *Dirodice's* Health, as well as nine to *Euphrante's* (b);

*Εὐχὴ Διροδίκης καὶ δέκα δίδε, τ' ὃ ποθεῖν
Εὐφράντης ἑνα πέντε δίδε καὶ δέκα.*

Sometimes they contended who should drink most. *Alexander the Macedonian* is reported to have drunk a Cup containing two *Congii*, which contained more than our Pottle, tho' less than our Gallon, to *Proteas*, who commending the King's Ability pledg'd him, then called for another Cup of the same Dimensions, and drank it off to him. The King, as the Laws of good Fellowship required, pledged *Proteas* in the same Cup, but being immediately overcome, fell back upon his Pillow, letting the Cup fall out of his hands, and by that means was brought into the Disease whereof he shortly after died, as we are informed by *Athenæus* (c). There is also mention in ancient Authors of Prizes awarded to the Conquerors; which Custom was ingeniously inverted by *Anacharsis the Scythian* Philosopher, who being entertained by *Periander*, one of the seven Sages, and King of *Corinth*, demanded the Prize for being first drunk, that, as he said, being the End which all aim at in drinking, as Racers press forward toward the Goal. 'Tis reported by *Timæus*, that *Dionysius the Sicilian*, at an Entertainment, promised a Crown of Gold to the Person who should first drink a Cup of a *Congius*, and that *Xenocrates the Philosopher* obtained the Prize. And at the Funeral of *Calanus*, the *Indian* Philosopher, there were not only Exercises, and musical Contentions, but also drinking Matches, wherein the Prize which *Alexander* promised to the first Conqueror, was a Talent; that to the second, thirty *μνᾶ*; that to the third, ten *μνᾶ*. One *Promachus* obtained the first Prize, having drunk four *Congii*

(a) Lib. iii. Od. xix. (b) Antholog. lib. vii. (c) Lib. x. cap. ix.

of unmixed Wine ; thirty of the Combatants died on the Place, and in a short time after six more expired in their Tents, as *Athenæus* (a) and *Ælian* (b) have informed us in the very same Words. When any Person drank off a large Cup *ἀμυσί*, that is, *ἀπὸ μὲν ἀναπαύεσθαι*, without Intermission, or taking his Breath, the Company used to applaud him in this form, *Ζήσεις*, long may you live (c). At *Athens* there were three publick Officers who attended at Entertainments, *ὃς ἐφείεον εἰ κατ' ἴσον πίνουσιν οἱ σιώντες*, and observed whether every Person drank his Portion ; they were called from their Business *οἰνόπαι*, and sometimes by a metaphorical Name *Οφθαλμοί*, Eyes, as hath been elsewhere observed (d). They who refused to drink, were in most places obliged to depart by that celebrated Law of good Fellowship, *ἢ πίθι, ἢ ἄπιθι*, Drink, or be gone. To which *Cicero* has this Allusion (e). “ To me, saith he, “ it seems but reasonable in the Affairs of Life to observe the same “ Law which the *Greeks* keep at their Entertainments. Either let “ them drink, say they, or depart.” Very right, for one should either partake of the Pleasure of drinking and being merry, or leave the Company.

Hence it appears how much the *Greeks* were addicted to drinking ; neither were the *Romans* more free from that Vice ; *Seneca* himself thought it allowable to drink, even to Drunkenness, to ease the Mind of any great and tormenting Cares. We are told by *Plutarch* and others, that *Cato* of *Utica* sometimes spent whole Nights in drinking. And concerning the elder *Cato*, as also *Corvinus* the Stoical Philosopher, to mention no more Examples, we have the following Testimony of *Horace* (f) ;

*Descende, Corvino jubente,
Promere languidiora vina.
Non ille, quanquam Socraticis madet
Sermonibus, te negliget horridus.
Narratur & prisca Catonis
Sape mero caluisse virtus.*

Yet others found fault with the immoderate Use of Wine. Some Lawgivers enacted Laws against it, and others prohibited all Comotations where more Wine was used than what was necessary for Health. Some of the *Grecian* Sages allowed no more than three Cups, one for Health, a second for Cheerfulness, and a third for Sleep. Thus in the following Verses of *Eubulus*, which are cited by *Athenæus* (g) ;

*Τρεῖς γὰρ μόνες καλῆς ἐγχεαννύω
Τοῖς εὖ φρονέειν ἢ μὲν ὑγίαιεν ἔνα.
Ὁν πρῶτον ἐκπίνουσιν ἢ ὃ δῶκεται*

(a) Lib. x. cap. x. (b) Var. Hist. Lib. ii. cap. xli. (c) *Suidas* voc. *Αμυσί μέν*, & v. *Ζήσεις*. (d) Conf. *Athæneus* lib. ix. cap. vi. & vii. (e) *Tusc. Quæst.* lib. v. (f) Lib. iii. Od. xxi. (g) *Initio* lib. ii.

Ἐρωτῶ, ἡδονῆς τι. ἢ τρίτον δὲ ὕπνῳ.
 Οὐν εἰσιόντες οἱ σοφοὶ κακλήμφοι
 Οἷμα δὲ βαδίζουσιν· ὁ δὲ τέταρτος καὶ πῶς
 Ἡμέτεροι ὄρνῃ, ἀλλ' ὕβριος, ἔστι.

Panyasis allowed no more than the second Cup, the first to the *Graces*, *Hours*, and *Bacchus*, the second to *Venus* and *Bacchus*; they who proceeded to the third Cup, according to that Author, dedicated it to Lust and Strife. *Lycurgus* the *Spartan* Lawgiver, prohibited τὰς ἐκ ἀναγκαιῶς πόσεις, αἱ σφάλας μὲν σώματα, σφάλας δὲ γνώμας, ἢ ἐφῆκεν ὅποτε διψῶν ἕκαστος πίνειν, unnecessary drinking, which debilitates both the Body and Mind, and ordered that no Man should drink for any other purpose than to satisfy his Thirst, as we learn from *Xenophon* (a). And to lay on the *Spartans* a Necessity of Keeping themselves within the Bounds of Sobriety, the same Lawgiver enacted farther, that all Men should return from Entertainments without a Torch to shew them the way; whence the Propinations and Methods of drinking which other Nations observed, were unheard of at *Sparta*; hence the following Passage of *Critias* (b), wherein he commends the temperate way of living in that City.

Καὶ τὸ δὲ ἐν Σπάρτῃ, μελέτημα τε κείμηνον ὄρε
 Πίνειν τὴν αὐτὴν οἶνον ὅσον καλῶς
 Μῦθος ἀποδιδράσκει πρὸς πόσει ὀνομασί λείοντα,
 Μῦθος δὲ διζιτεροῦν χεῖρα κακλῶν διόσσε,
 Καὶ πρὸς πόσει ὀρεῖται ὀπιδέξια, ἢ πρὸς καλῶν
 Ἐξονομακλήδην ὅτι πρὸς πῶν ἐδέλφ.

At *Athens* an *Archon* convicted of being drunk, was put to death by the Laws of *Solon* (c), as hath been elsewhere remarked; and others addicted to Computations, and Lovers of Company, were punished by the Senate of *Areopagus* for consuming the Time in Idleness and Profuseness, which they ought rather to have employed in making themselves useful to the Commonwealth, as we are told by *Phanodemus* and *Philochorus* in *Athenæus*. Lastly, to mention only one Example more, the Island of *Mitylene* abounding with Wine, in order to restrain the Inhabitants from the immoderate Use of it, *Pittacus*, their Lawgiver, one of the seven Sages, νόμος ἔθηκε πρὸς μεθύσει, ἐν ἀμάρτη, διπλῶν ἢ τὴν ζυμίαν, enacted, that whoever committed a Crime being drunk, should suffer double Punishment (d).

There are some particular and solemn Cups mentioned in ancient Authors, which are next to be described; such were

Ἀγαθῶν Δαίμωνος κρατήρ, the Cup of good Genius, by whom was understood *Bacchus*, the Inventor of Wine, in memory of which Benefit a Cup full of unmixed Wine was carried round the Table, which all the Guests tasted, at the same time raising an Ejaculation

(d) Libro de Repub. Lacedæm. (b) In elegiis. (c) Laertius Solone. (d) Laertius Pittaco.

Chap. XX. Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece. 399

to the God, that he would preserve them from committing any Indecency through the immoderate Use of that Liquor; hence *ὀλιγοποῦντες*, Persons who drink very little, are in *Hesychius* termed *ἀγαθοδαίμονες*. Whether this Cup was brought in before the Table on which they supped was taken away, or afterwards, is not agreed; that it was sometimes brought in before the taking away of the Table, seems probable from what is related of *Dionysius* the *Sicilian*, who being entertained in the Temple of *Æsculapius* in *Syracuse* at a Table of Gold, as soon as he had tasted the Cup of good Genius, commanded the Table to be carried off.

Κεκτήρ Διὸς σωτῆρος, the Cup of *Jupiter* the Saviour, which was mixed with Water, and dedicated to *Jupiter*, President of the Air, which is the most humid Element, in Memory of the Invention of tempering Wine with Water.

Κεκτήρ Τυχεῖας, the Cup of Health, is by some added, which, as also that of *Jupiter*, is termed *μυταμπτεῖς*, or *ματάμπτεον*, as being drunk after the Washing of their Hands, the Entertainment being ended; and the same Names are for the same reason by some given to the Cup of good Genius (a).

Κεκτήρ Ερμῆς, the Cup of *Mercury*, to whom a Libation was offered before they went to bed, when they gave over drinking, as will be related afterwards (b).

Others report the Order of the solemn Cups in a different manner. *Suidas* has numbred them thus (c); *Τρεῖς κεκτήρες ἵσταται ἐν τῷ δείπνῳ, α. Ερμῆ, β. χερείου, γ. Διὸς σωτῆρος*, three Cups were brought in at Supper, the first dedicated to *Mercury*, the second to *Charisius*, which is a Sirname given to *Jupiter*, from *χάρις*, Favour and Grace, he being the God by whose Influence Men obtain the Favour and Affection of one another; wherein it is probable respect was had to the Invention of tempering Wine with Water, as hath been before observed; the third to *Jupiter* the Saviour.

Others mention one Cup of Wine mixed with Water dedicated to *Olympian Jupiter*, a second to the Heroes, a third and last to *Jupiter* the Saviour, so called on this Occasion, to intimate, that the third Cup might safely be taken, without any Disorder of Mind or Body; this Cup was called *τρίαινα*, either because it was the last, which is one Sense of that Word, or from the Perfection of the Number *Three*, which having a Beginning, Middle, and End, was reputed the first compleat Number, whence it was commonly applied to divine Things, and particularly to Human Souls, which, according to the *Platonick* Philosophy, consisted of this Number; neither must it be omitted, that the first and last Cups were sacred to *Jupiter*, who is the supreme Deity, the Beginning and the End of all Things; the middle Cup to the Heroes, who were thought to be of a middle Nature between Gods and Men. These Customs are alluded to by *Pindar* in 14 Verses together, and more largely

(a) Conf. *Athenæus* lib. ii. cap. ii. lib. xi. cap. xi. lib. xv. cap. v. & xiv. *Pollux*, *Suidas*, &c. (b) Vid. *Pollux*. (c) Voce *κεκτήεις*. described

described by the *Greek Scholiast* upon that Passage (a). This may be farther observed, that most Authors, however variously describing them in other respects, do agree in fixing the sacred Cups to the Number Three; hence that Saying in the *Mytis* of *Antiphanes*, cited by *Athenæus* (b);

Μίχα γὰρ τρεῖν ποταί πρὸν ἑὸν Θέοις.

The Entertainment being ended, before they went to other Diversions used at such Times, a Libation of Wine with a Prayer was offered, and an Hymn sung to the Gods. Thus we are told by *Xenophon*, that when at the Entertainment by him described (c), “the Tables were taken away, and they had offered a Libation, and sung an Hymn to the Gods, a certain Man of *Syracuse* brought in a skillful Minstrel, &c.” *Virgil* describes the Libation in such a manner, as it should seem to have been poured out of the Cup of good Genius, which is another Argument that this Cup was not filled till the Tables were taken away, which indeed seems to have been the Time of drinking all the three solemn Cups. The Poet’s Words contain a very particular Account of this whole Ceremony (d):

*Postquam prima quies epulis, mensæque remotæ,
Crateras magnos statuunt, & vina coronant.
Fit strepitus tectis, votemque per ampla volutant
Atria: dependent lychni laquearibus aureis
Incensi, & noctem flammis funalia vincunt.
Hic Regina gravem gemmis auroque poposcit,
Implevitque mero pateram, quam Belus, & omnes
A Belo soliti. Tum facta silentia tectis:
“Jupiter (hospitibus nam te dare jura loquuntur)
“Hunc lætum Tyriisque diem, Trojaque profectis
“Esse velis, nostrosque hujus meminisse minores:
“Adsit lætitiæ Bacchus dator, & bona Juno.
“Et vos, o Tyrii, cætum celebrate faventes.
Dixit: & in mensa laticum libavit honorem:
Primaque, libato, summo tenus attigit ore.
Tum Bitiæ dedit decrepitans: ille impiger hausit,
Post alii proceres.*

This Ceremony being ended, the Company was entertained with other Diversions, with Discourses upon various Arguments, with reading Authors suitable to the Tempers and Inclinations of those who were present, which was also very often done in time of Supper, with Musick of all Sorts, with Jugglers, as we find in the Description of *Socrates*’s Entertainment by *Plato* and *Xenophon*, with Mimicks, Buffoons, or whatever beside could be thought of for the exciting of Mirth and Cheerfulness.

(a) *Isthmionic* principio Od. VI. (b) Lib. X. cap. xi. (c) *Convivio* p. 874. edit. Francfurt. (d) Sub finem *Æneid.* I.

Chap. XX. Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece. 401

From the most ancient Times, Musick and Dancing were the Diversions at Entertainments. Thus *Homer* (a),

Μολπή τ' ὄρχεός τε, τὰ γὰρ τ' ἀναθήμεναι δαίτας.

Phemius and *Demodocus*, two celebrated Singers, are introduced at Entertainments by the same Poet. And at an Entertainment of the Gods, *Apollo* is introduced playing upon the Harp, whilst the Muses sing alternately (b). Dancing was also in use among the Gods. hence *Apollo* has the Title of ὄρχης, the Dancer, in *Pindar*; the same God in *Homer's* Hymn plays upon his Harp, and at the same time dances;

Καλὰ κ' ὑπὲρ βίβας. -----

And to mention only one Instance more, *Jupiter* himself is said to dance in the following Verse, which some ascribe to *Eumelus*, others to *Arctinus* the Corinthian;

Μέσσεισιν δ' ὄρχετο πατὴρ ἀνδρῶντι, θεῶντι.

Hence *Athenæus* concludes, that in those Ages they accounted ὄρχην ἔνδοξον κ' σεφόν, Dancing a Thing becoming Persons of Honour and Wisdom (c). At *Rome* the Custom was quite otherwise, for there, to use the Words of *Cicero* (d), *Nemo fere saltat sobrius, nisi forte insanit; neque in solitudine, neque in convivio honesto. Intempestivi convivii, amœni loci, multarum deliciarum comes est extrema, saltatio.* No Man dances unless he is either drunk or mad, either in private or at a modest and decent Entertainment; Dancing is the very last Effect of Luxury and Wantonness. And *Cornelius Nepos* (e) having related that *Epaminondas* well understood the Art of Dancing, of playing upon the Harp and Flute, with other Liberal Sciences, adds, "Though in the Opinion of the Romans these were trivial Things, and not worthy to be mentioned, yet in Greece they were thought very commendable." The same Observation is also made by that Author in his Preface to the Lives of the illustrious Commanders. And these Arts had so great Credit among the Grecians, that, to use some of *Cicero's* Words (f), "they thought the Arts of Singing and Playing upon musical Instruments a most considerable Part of Learning; whence 'tis told of *Epaminondas*, who in my Judgement was the chief of all the Greeks, that he played very well upon the Flute. And some Time before, *Themistocles*, upon refusing the Harp at an Entertainment, passed for one unlearned and ill-bred. Hence Greece came to flourish with skilful Musicians, all Persons learned the Art of Musick, and they who were ignorant of it were thought unaccomplished with Learning." Nevertheless wanton and effeminate Dances were thought to be indecent in Men of Wisdom and Character; whence *Hippoclitides* the

(a) *Odyss.* α' v. 152. (b) *Iliad.* α' v. 603. (c) Lib. I. cap. xix.
(d) *Orat. pro Muræn.* (e) *Epaminonda.* (f) *Tusc. Quæst. lib. I.*
Vol. II. D d Athenian

Athenian, having been designed by *Cliftbenes*, King of *Argos*, for his Daughter's Husband, and preferred before all the young Noblemen of *Greece*, was rejected for his light and unbecoming Dances and Gestures, as we are informed by *Herodotus* (a). The *Ionians* delighted in wanton Dances and Songs more than the rest of the *Greeks*, their Manners being more corrupted than those of any other Nation in *Greece*; their Way of Singing was very different from the ancient, and their Harmony more loose and wanton, as we are told by *Theophrastus* (b); and wanton Gestures were proverbially termed *Ionici motus*, *Ionian Motions*. Thus *Horace* reproving the Manners of his own Age (c);

Motus doceri gaudet Ionicos
Matura virgo —————

In the primitive Ages the Entertainments were seldom made but on the Festivals of the Gods, as hath elsewhere been observed, and the Songs were commonly Hymns in Praise of the Gods, the singing of which was accounted a Part of divine Worship; soft and wanton Songs were then unknown: Hence *Athenæus* was of Opinion that Musick was not brought into Use at Entertainments for the sake of any mean and vulgar Pleasure, but to compose the Passions of the Soul, and to better Mens Manners (d). And from the Descriptions of Entertainments which we find in *Homer*, it appears that the Songs used about the Time of the *Trojan War*, consisted chiefly of Hymns, wherein the Actions of the Gods and Heroes were celebrated; but in later Ages it was so uncommon to sing sacred Hymns at Entertainments, that *Aristotle* was accused by *Demophilus* for singing a *Pæan* every Day at his Meals, as an Act of very great Impiety (e).

The most remarkable Songs at Entertainments were those termed *σκόλια*, with the Accent upon the first Syllable, whereby it is distinguished from the Adjective *σκολιός*, which is accented upon the last Syllable, as we are informed by *Eusebrius* (f); whence in the present Editions of *Athenæus*, which often call these Songs *σκολιά*, they who will acquiesce in the Judgment of that Critick, must read *σκόλια*. These *Scolia* consisted for the most part of short Verses, whence *σκόλιον* is interpreted *μικρὸν τε ὀλιγοσύνον*, a certain Sonnet consisting of short Verses, and derived from *σκολιόν*, crooked, difficult, and obscure, which will be *ῥαδίον, κατ' ἀντίθεσιν*, easy, by the Figure *Antiphrasis*, as we are told by the Scholiast on *Aristophanes* (g). Others observe, that *Scolia* cannot be derived from *σκολιός*, signifying difficult or obscure, because these Songs were commonly light and chearful; but there being three Sorts of Songs at Entertainments, of which the first was sung by the whole Company joining in a Choir, the second by all the Company in their turns, the third by some few who were best skilled in Musick; this last was

(a) Lib. VI. cap. xxviii. (b) Conf. *Athenæus* lib. XIV. cap. v.
(c) Lib. III. Od. vi. (d) Conf. *Athenæus* lib. XIV. cap. vi. (e) *Athenæus* lib. XV. initio cap. xvi. (f) In *Odyss.* h. p. 276. (g) In *Ranas* p. 273. Item in *Vespas*, p. 519. termed

termed σκολιον, from the Adjective σκολιδον, signifying crooked, as being sung out of course, and not by every Man in his own place, like the two former (a). The Custom was thus : After the Company had all sung in a Chorus, or one after another, a musical Instrument, most commonly a Harp or Lute, was carried round to every Person, that such as understood Musick might entertain the Company. They who would not or could not play upon the Instrument, were presented with a Branch of Laurel or Myrtle, to which, held in their Hands, they sung, this was termed πρὸς δάφνον, or πρὸς μυρρίνην ᾄδειν, to sing towards the Laurel or the Myrtle; this Account is given by *Hesychius* in the following Words, Μυρρίνης κλάδον ἢ δάφνης παρὰ ποτον μυρρίνης ἢ σάωνθες δίδοναι τοῖς κατακειμένοις ἐν διαδοχῇς ἑαὶ τὴν ᾄσιν ἀντὶ τῆς βρωσίτης. Which Passage ought rather to be read thus : Μυρρίνης κλάδον, μυρρίνης κλάδον ἢ δάφνης παρὰ ποτον ἢ σάωνθες δίδοναι, &c. This Branch was also termed αἶσαν, or αἶσαν, παρὰ τὸ ᾄσαι τὸ δεξιόμενον, because the Person who received it was obliged to sing, as we are informed by *Plutarch* (b), who more agreeably to the former Account, and perhaps to the Truth, observes that the σκολία were not sung by all who could not play upon the musical Instrument, which is *Hesychius's* Notion of these Songs, but only by those who were Masters of Musick, whence he derives the Name from σκολία, difficult to sing one of these Songs, being what could not be done by any but good Proficients in the Art of Musick. He farther adds, that some were of opinion that the Branch of Myrtle was not delivered to the Company in a direct Order, but carried from Bed to Bed, so as when the first Person in the uppermost Bed had done singing, he delivered it to the first in the second Bed, from whom it was transmitted to the first of the third Bed : that the seconds in each Bed delivered it to one another in the same manner, and so forward, till it had past through the whole Company ; and that on this account the Songs were termed σκολία, from σκολιδος, as it signifies crooked, by reason of the several Windings in carrying about the Branch of Myrtle. The *Scolia* were chiefly used by the *Athenians*, neither were they unknown in other Parts of Greece, where we find several celebrated Writers of *Scolia* to have lived, such were *Anacreon* of Teos, *Alcæus* of Lesbos, *Praxilla* of Sicyon, and others (c). Their Arguments were of various Kinds ; some of them, to use the Words of *Eustathius* (d), were στωπικὰ, τὰ ὁ ἔροπικὰ, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀπιδεικνύμενα, ludicrous and satirical, others amorous, and many of them serious ; those upon serious Arguments sometimes contained παρανεσίν τινα καὶ γνώμην χρησίμην εἰς τὸ βίον, a practical Exhortation or Sentence, as we learn from *Athenæus* (e) ; sometimes they consisted of the Praises and illustrious Actions of great Men ; this latter Sort commonly bore the Persons Names

(a) *Artemon Cassandreu* lib. II. de usu carminum convivialium apud *Athenæum* lib. XV. cap. xiv. *Dicæarchus* lib. de musicis certaminibus apud *Aristophanis Scholiastem* in *Vespas.* p. 519. (b) *Sympos.* lib. I. quæst. ii. (c) Conf. *Athenæus*, lib. XV. cap. xiv. (d) In *Odys.* ἄ. p. 277. (e) *Loco citato.*

404 *Of the Miscellaneous Customs of Greece. Chap. XX.*

whom they celebrated; thus Ἀρμόδιε μίλῳ, the Song of *Harmodius*, according to *Hesychius*, was τὸ ἐπὶ Ἀρμόδιῳ ποιηθὲν σκόλιον ὑπὸ Κανιστρᾶτος. the *Scolium* composed by *Callistratus* upon *Harmodius*, the famed Patriot, who delivered *Athens* from the Tyranny of *Hipparchus*, the Son of *Pisistratus*, whom he killed; the first Verse of this *Scolium* is preserved in *Aristophanes* (a):

Ἄδω ἢ πρῶτῳ Ἀρμόδιε, δέξι ἢ σὺ,
Οὐδείς πώπῃ τ' αἰὲρ ἐγξέειτ' Ἀθηναῖῳ.

Ἀδμήτῃ λόγῳ was a *Scolium* upon *Admetus* King of *Theffaly*; it is mentioned by the same Author:

Ἀδμήτῃ λόγον ὦ ταῖρε μεθάν, τὲς ἀγαθὲς φίλῃ,
Τέτῃ πὶ λέξεις σκόλιον -----

There are many Examples of the ancient *Scolia* preserved in the *Greek* Authors, of which I shall only set down that one which was composed by *Aristotle* upon *Hermias*, Tyrant of *Atarneæ*, which, tho' *Demophilus*, suborned by one *Eurymedon*, affirmed to be a sacred *Pæan*, in order to prove the Philosopher, who daily used this Song, guilty of Impiety, as hath been before related, yet it is from the very Phrase and Diction plainly demonstrated to be nothing more than an ordinary *Scolium*, by *Democritus* in *Athenæus* (b):

Ἀρεὶὰ πολύμοχθε
Γένι βροτῆρα,
Θέσμεα κάλλιστον βίῳ
Σᾶς περὶ παρθένῃ, μορφᾷ
Καὶ θανεῖν ζήλωντις Ἑλλάδι πότμῳ,
Καὶ πόνους τλήναι μελερῆς τῶν
Ἐπὶ φρίνα βάλλεις
Καρπὸν τ' αἰδάναιον,
Χρυσὴ κρείσσῃ ἢ γυναικί,
Μαλακαυγέτοιο θ' ὕπνῳ·
Σεῦ θ' ἔτεκεν ὁ Διὸς Ἡρακλῆς,
Λήδας τε κῆρυι πολλ' ἀνέτλαζ,
Ἐργοῖς σὺν ἀγρόνῃσι διώομεν.
Σοῖε ἢ πύθοις Ἀχιλλεύς,
Αἴας τ' Αἰδαο δόμους ἦλθον,
Σᾶς δ' ἔτεκε φιλικὴ μορφᾷ
Καὶ Ἀταρνίως ἑλροφῶ
Ἡελίῃ χέροσιν ἀυγαῖς.
Τοιγὰρ αἰοίδιμῳ ἔργῳ
Ἀδάναντ' ἐμν ἀνέστη Μῆσση.
Μνημοσύνης θυγαῖρες,
Διὸς ξένῃ σέβας αὔξεται,
Φιλίας τε γίγας βεβαῖας.

Chap. XX. Of the Miscellaneous Customs of Greece. 405

From the Songs let us pass to the Sports and Pastimes which followed Entertainments; this was the ancient Method, as we learn from *Homer's* Description of an Entertainment made by *Alcinous*, King of *Phæacia*, wherein the Entertainment being taken away, and the Musick ended, the Guests are invited to wrestle, leap, run Races, and to other Bodily Exercises (a):

Κίχλυστ' Φαιήκων ἡγήτορες ἠδὲ μέδοντες,
 Ἦδη δὲ δαίτῃς κικλήμεθα θυμὸν εἴσης,
 Φόρμιγ'ός δ', ἢ δαίτῃ σπυγέρεσσι βῆσι θαλερή.
 Νῦν δ' ἴ' ἔξελθώμεθ', καὶ ἀέθλων περιθώμεθ'
 Πάμπαν, ἔσσι.

Whence *Eustathius* observes, ὅτι ἐκ τούτου τοῖς ἥρωσι ἀναπαύεσθαι μετὰ βροχῇ καὶ τῶν ὑστέρων ὅτι σιτίαν πέψῃ (b), that the Heroes did not rest after Meals, for the better Concoction of their Meat, as became customary in later Ages; on which Pretence the later *Greeks* laying aside the violent Exercises which were anciently used, diverted themselves with such Sports and Recreations as required less Toil and Labour. The several Sorts of Sports and Games which were practised by the *Greeks*, have been accurately described by the learned *Meursius*, and from him again by *Bulengerus*; they are too numerous to be recounted in this Place; however the κόπτεσθαι, which was more peculiar to Entertainments, and is on that account described by *Pollux*, and takes up several Pages in *Athenæus*, must not be omitted. This Pastime was first invented in *Sicily* whence it was communicated to most other Parts of *Greece*, especially to *Athens*, where it obtained very great Repute. The Form was thus: A Piece of Wood being erected, another was placed upon the top of it, with two Dishes hanging down from each Extremity in the manner of Scales; beneath each Dish was placed a Vessel full of Water, wherein stood a Statue composed for the most Part of Brass, and called μένις. They who did κοτταβίζειν, play at the *Cottabus*, stood at some distance holding a Cup of Water or Wine, which they endeavoured to throw into one of the Dishes, that the Dishes by that Weight might be knocked against the Head of the Statue under it. The Person who threw in such a manner as to spill least of his Water, and to knock the Dish with the greatest force upon the Statue, was Conqueror, and thought to reign in his Mistress's Affections; which was the thing to be learnt by this Pastime. The Sound made by the Projection, was by an *Onomatopœia*, termed λάταξ, the Wine projected λατάρη, and sometimes λάταξ. The Action, as also the Cup out of which the Wine was projected, was ἀγκύλη, because πρὶν δεξιᾷ χειρὶ ἀγκύλην, κωλύσθαι αὐτὴν ὥς εἴη τριπωδίσματα, στανυρόμενοι ὥς ἐσὶ ἐν τῷ κελῶν, they turned round their Right-hand with a Sort of Dexterity or Art, upon which they very much valued themselves, Hence we find mention of κότταβοι ἀγκυκλιῖ in *Æschylus*. The

(a) *Odyss.* ἡ. v. 97. (b) Page 295.
 D d 3

Vessels were named κόπαι, or κοπάδες; the Prizes κοπάσια, ἀπαλαί, and also κόπαι, which were Sweetmeats, Kisses, or what else the Company agreed upon. The Play itself, to distinguish it from others of the same Name, was termed κόπαι κατακτες. And so much addicted they were to this Pastime, that they had not only Vessels made for it with the utmost Art and Care, but round Houses built in such a manner, that the *Cottabus* being placed exactly in the Middle, the Gamesters might stand at equal distances on all sides.

There was another Sort of *Cottabus*, wherein a Vessel was placed full of Water, with empty Vials swimming upon it; into this they projected Wine out of Cups, and he that had the fortune to drown the greatest Number of the Vials, obtained the Prize.

There was also another Sort of *Cottabus*, wherein they projected Dice.

Lastly, another Sort of *Cottabus* is mentioned, which was a Contention who should sit up awake the longest; the Prize was commonly a Cake made of Honey and Sesame, or Wheat, as we learn from *Pollux* and the *Greek Scholiast* (a) upon *Aristophanes*, and thence termed σισαμῆς, or πυραμῆς; the latter seems to have been most common, whence it is mentioned alone by *Artemidorus*, ἢ ὁ πυραμῆς παρὰ τοῖς παλαιῶς ὀννύμῳ; the πυραμῆς was anciently the Prize (b), whence that Word became a general Name for any other Prize; thus it is used by *Aristophanes* (c):

Τὲ γὰρ τεχνάζειν ἡμέτερον ὁ πυραμῆς.

And in another place (d):

Ἡ δ' ἀναιδέϊα παρέλθης, ἡμέτερον ὁ πυραμῆς.

And these are the most usual Forms of this Pastime (e).

It was also held necessary to entertain the Guests with suitable Discourses, as well as with Sports and Pastimes. In the Opinion of the ancient Greeks, to use the Words of *Athenæus* (f), “it was more requisite and becoming to gratify the Company by agreeable Conversation, than with Variety of Dishes.” And in the heroic Ages it was customary to consult about Affairs of the greatest moment at Entertainments, as hath been observed by *Plutarch* (g); hence *Nestor* in *Homer* (b) persuades *Agamemnon* to invite the *Grecian* Commanders to an Entertainment, in order to deliberate concerning the Management of the War:

Δαῖτα δ' αὖτε γέροντες, ἔοικε τοῖς, ἔπει δαιτίς.

* * * *

(a) *Equitibus*. (b) *Lib. I. cap. lxxiv.* (c) *Theophrastus* p. 770. (d) *Equitibus* p. 303. (e) *Conf. Athenæus lib. X, XI. & præcipue xv. haud procul ab initio. Pollux lib. vi. cap. xix. Aristophanis Schol. in Pacem. Eustathius in Iliad. c'. Johannes Tzetzes Chiliad. vi. hist. lxxxv. & Lexicographi Græci.* (f) *Lib. x. cap. v.* (g) *Sympos. lib. vii. c. ix.* (h) *Iliad. ix. v. 79.*

Πολλὴν δὲ ἀγρομέλειον, καὶ πείσσει δὲ καὶ αἰετῶν
Βελὸν βαλόντι.

It was believed that at such times Mens Invention were more quick and fruitful, according to the Saying of *Aristophanes* (a) :

Οἷος γὰρ εἶσθαι ἂν πὶ ἀρχακώτερον

where the *Greek Scholiast* discourseth very largely on this Argument. It was also the Custom in *Persia* to consult at Entertainments, as we find done at that of *Agamemnon*, as we learn from *Athenæus* (b) ; and to use the Words of *Ammianus Marcellinus* (c), the *Persians* used to deliberate *inter epulas de apparatu bellico & seriis rebus apud eosdem*, *Graiorum more veterum*, concerning warlike Preparations, and other serious Affairs at Banquets, after the manner of the ancient *Greeks* ; nay, if *Strabo* may be believed (d), they used to consult about Affairs of the highest Importance over their Wine, and what was there determined was held more firm and inviolable than their sober Resolutions. But *Herodotus's* Account is more particular, that those Things which they resolved on (νήφοντες) when they were sober, were canvassed over again when they had drunk freely ; and the Things which they determined (μεθύσασθαι) in their Drink, were examined again in their sober Hours (e). Not unlike this is what *Tacitus* (f) reports of the *Germans*, that their Consultations about the Reconciliation of Enemies, the contracting Affinities, Appointment of Princes, and all other Affairs, whether Military or Civil, were for the most part held at Entertainments. The Way of the *Sysitia* in *Crete* was thus, according to *Dosiadas* (g) : Supper being ended, they first deliberated about Civil Affairs ; then the Discourse is turned to War, at which time they repeat the Praises of illustrious Persons, ἀρετὰς ἀνδρῶν καὶ νίκας εἰ ἀνδραγάδας, thereby to excite the young Men to Courage and Bravery. The *Lacedæmonian* Youth frequented the *Sysitia* ὡς διδασκαλεῖα σωφροσύνης, as the Schools of Temperance and Prudence, where they heard Discourses of Publick Affairs, and conversed with the most liberal and best accomplished Masters, as we are informed by *Plutarch* (h). The same Author has elsewhere observed (i), that the *Cretan* ἀνδρεῖς, and the *Spartan* παῖδες, that is, their publick Places of Entertainment, βασιλειῶν ἀπορήτων καὶ συνεδρίων αἰετῶν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πλείους εἶχον, were instead of Councils, where the chief Men of the Commonwealth met to consult about the most secret Affairs ; and he adds, ἔσπερον οἶκον, καὶ τὸ ἐνθάδε πρὸς ἀνδρῶν καὶ θεσμοθέτων, that the *Prytaneum* and *Thesmothesium*, or publick Halls in this City, that is, in *Chæronea*, which was *Plutarch's* native Town, seem to have been put to the same Use. The same Custom seems to have obtained in several other Cities, and particularly at *Athens*, where the Supreme Council supped every Day to-

(a) *Equitibus* p. 293. (b) *Lib. v. cap. iv.* (c) *Lib. xviii. cap. v.* (d) *Geograph. lib. xv. p. 734.* Conf. *Plutarchus Sympos. lib. vii. quæst. ix.* *Eusebius in Iliad. i. p. 631. &c.* (e) *Lib. i. cap. cxxxiii.* (f) *De moribus Germanorum.* (g) *Rerum Creticarum lib. iv.* (h) *Lycurgo.* (i) *Sympos. lib. vii. quæst. ix.*

gether in the *Prytaneum*, as hath been elsewhere related; and to use the Words of *Eustathius* (a), “the chief Magistrates at *Rhodos* were obliged by an exprefs Law, every Day to entertain the principal Men of that City at a publick Table, in order to deliberate what should be done the Day following.” Hence, as *Plutarch* was of opinion (b), *Bacchus* had the Sirname of *Εὐβουλός*, prudent Counsellor; and the Night was called *ἄρπυια*, as being the Time of wise and prudent Counsels: And as the same Author observes, “not unlike these is that Assembly of most wise and excellent Persons in *Plato*, where Things of the greatest Concern are discussed.” As they who were concerned in publick Business used to discourse of publick Affairs, so the Conversation of Philosophers was commonly upon some Argument of Philosophy; Grammarians disputed upon critical Subjects, and others conversed in their several Ways, in so much that every Art and Science was cultivated and improved on these Occasions; whence *Eustathius* had good Reason for his Remark, “that the *Greeks* did not drink to Excess at their publick Entertainments, but only to keep up their Conversation about serious Affairs.” Examples of the Discourse at Entertainments may be found in *Plato* and *Xenophon*, also (had they been yet extant) in *Aristotle*, *Speusippus*, *Epicurus*, *Hieronymus*, *Dio* the Academick, who wrote *Δόγματι παρὰ πότον γυναικῶν*, Books of Table Discourses, as we are informed by *Plutarch* (c) who imitates the forementioned Authors in his Treatise upon the same Argument.

Nevertheless it was also customary by turns to unbend their Minds, and divert them from serious Affairs, by Discourses upon ludicrous Arguments; whence *συμπόσιον*, the Greek Name of an Entertainment, is defined by *Plutarch* (d), *κοινή αἰσθησις καὶ παιδική, λόγον καὶ πρᾶξιν*. a Mixture of Seriousness and Mirth, of Discourses and Actions. At the forementioned *Syssitia* of the *Lacedæmonians*, where the most grave and important Subjects were treated on, they also *παίζον ἰδιῶν, καὶ σπᾶν, ἀνὰ βωμολοχίας, καὶ σκαπτοῖσι μὴ δουρῶν*, used to sport, and to jest, though without any of that Scurrility and Reflection which is apt to give Offence (e). And from the Table Discourses of *Plutarch* and others, it appears to have been the ancient Custom to contrive their Discourses in such a manner as would both entertain and instruct the Company; nevertheless in the Time of *Plutarch* they rarely discoursed upon any serious Argument at publick Entertainments; whence a Discourse being begun at *Nicostratus*’s House concerning a Subject which was to be discussed in the popular Assembly at *Athens*, some of the Company, who had never heard of the ancient Greek Custom, affirmed that it was an Imitation of the *Perſians* (f). And this Question is propounded in the same Author (g), whether it were allowable to discourse Philosophy over their Cups? Some delighted to tell Stories, and to repeat ancient Fables on

(d) In *Iliad*. i. p. 631. (b) Loco citato. (c) *Sympoſ. principio*. (d) *Sympoſ. lib. vii. quæſt. vi.* (e) Conf. *Plutarchus Lycurgo, & Sympoſ. lib. ii. quæſt. i.* (f) *Plutarchus Sympoſ. lib. vii. quæſt. ix.* (g) *Sympoſiac. principio.*

these Occasions; others chose to read some diverting Discourse, *ῥῶτον εἰπεῖν*, or to hear a Poem repeated, which was very common amongst Men of Letters; but no Diversion was more usual than that of propounding and answering difficult Questions. Such of these as were wholly designed for Amusement, were termed *αἰνιγματῶν*, but those which farther contained something serious and instructive, were called *γέροι*, which Word, as we are informed by *Pollux* (a), in its primary Acceptation signifies a Fishing-Net; hence, to use the Words of *Clearchus* (b), “the *Griphi* contained Philosophical Disquisitions, wherein the Ancients used to give a Specimen of their Learning, insomuch that this Pastime *ῥήματα γινώσκαι* & “*ἰσχύει πρὸς παιδείαν εὐκλείην*”, became a Proof of every Person’s “Proficiency in Learning.” The Person who solved the Question propounded was honoured with a Reward; he who was not so fortunate, underwent a certain Punishment; the Rewards were *στεφανὸν* & *δρημία*, a Garland, and the Applause of the Company, as we learn from the same Author; the Punishment was, to drink, without taking breath, a Cup of Wine mixed with Salt, as *Athenæus* (c) has proved out of the *Ganymedes* of *Antiphanes*; the Reward, according to *Pollux* (d), was a Dish of Meat; the Penalty, a salt Cup. Others report, that a Cup of Wine was the Prize, which was adjudged to the Person who solved the Riddle; or in case no Man could solve it, to the Person by whom it was propounded (e). The Account of *Hesychius* differs somewhat from all which have been hitherto mentioned; he tells that *γέρον* is *συμποτικὴ ζήτησις αἰνιγματώδης*, & *πρόστιμον τὸ μὴ λύσασθαι τὸ γέρον*, *ἐκπεῖν τὸ συγκείμενον*, ἢ *ποι* ἀκρωτὶν, ἢ ὕδαρ, “an ænigmatical Question on at Computations, which whoever fails of solving, is obliged to drink that which is set before him, whether it be unmix- ed Wine or Water;” and there is no doubt but the Rewards and Penalties were varied, according to the Dispositions of the Company. The common Name of these, and all other Questions used on the like Occasions, was *κλίμεια ζήτηματα*. *Theodectes* the Sophist termed them *μνημόνια ζήτηματα*, because he had got a Set of them by heart, which was usually done by such as frequented publick Entertainments (f). That the Custom of propounding Riddles was very ancient, and derived from the Eastern Nations into Greece, appears from the Story of *Sampson* in the Book of *Judges*, who propounded a Riddle to the *Philistines* at his Nuptial Feast. Neither were these Questions confined to entertainments, but in the primitive Times were proposed on other Occasions, by those who desired to make Proof of one another’s Wisdom and Learning. Hence there is mention of the Queen of *Sheba*’s (g) Question to King So-

(a) Lib. vi. cap. xix. (b) Libro primo de paræmiis apud *Athenæum* lib. x. cap. ult. (c) Loco citato. (d) *Onomast.* lib. vi. cap. xix. (e) *Etymologici* Auctor, & *Phavorinus* v. *γέρον*. *Eusebius Iliad.* x. p. 735. (f) Conf. *Pollux*. (g) Conf. *Reg.* lib. iii. cap. x. *Josephus* adv. *Apionem* lib. i. *Herodotus*. Scriptor Convivii septem sapientum inter opera *Plutarchi*. Auctor vitæ *Æsopi*, &c,

Isomon, of those which passed between *Hiram* and *Solomon*, and several others, which are too long to be recounted in this place.

Sometimes the Entertainer made Presents to all his Guests. *Lyfimachus* of *Babylon* having entertained *Himerus*, the Tyrant of the *Babylonians* and *Seleucians*, with 300 other Guests, gave every Man a Silver Cup of 4 Pounds Weight (a). When *Alexander* made his Marriage Feast at *Susa* in *Persia*, he payed the Debts of all his Soldiers out of his own Exchequer, and presented every one of his Guests, who were not fewer than 9000, with golden Cups (b). From these Instances it appears that Cups were commonly presented on these Occasions. This was done, because it was customary for the Company before they parted to pour forth Wine, as a Libation to *Mercury*, who was accounted the President of the Night, and believed to send Sleep and pleasing Dreams, whence he is called in *Homer* (c) *ἡμετέρης ὀπιοπιῆος*, and *ἡγνῆτος ὀνειρέων*. To the same God they also sacrificed the Tongues of the Animals which had been killed for the Entertainment. The Reason of which Rite was by some thought to be, that *Mercury* being the President of Eloquence, was chiefly delighted with that Member; others rather think that by this Sacrifice he was invoked as a Witness of the Discourse which had passed. Some are of opinion that by burning the Tongues at the Conclusion of the Meeting, was intimated, that whatever had been there discoursed, should be kept secret. Several other Conjectures concerning the Original of this Custom, which are too long to enumerate, have been made by learned Men (d). It was chiefly observed by the *Athenians*, *Ionians*, and *Megarensians*. And some will have it to have been begun by one of the Kings of *Megara*, who having the Tongue of a Lion, which had wasted his Country, brought to him by *Pelops*, sacrificed it at the End of an Entertainment. It was certainly very ancient; whence *Apollonius* makes it to be observed by the *Argonauts* (e):

Οὐδ' ὅππῃδ' ἐν μάλιστα κτεράμενοι δὴ λοιδάε,
 Ἥ δέ τις ὅτι, τίς δ' ὅπ' γλάσσησι χέροντο
 Λιδυμέων, ὅπως δ' ἀνὰ κρήνας ἐμνύοντο.

And it is practised by the Heroes in *Homer*:

Γλάσας δ' ἐν πυρὶ βάλλον, ἀνιστάρμενοι δ' ἐπὶ λείβοι.

As the ancient *Greeks* offered Libations chiefly to *Mercury*, so the *Greeks* of later Times made theirs to *Jupiter*, surnamed τέλειος, *Perfect* (f); yet several other Gods often shared in these Offerings; particularly at Entertainments which followed any solemn Sacrifice, it was customary to remember the God to whom they had before sacrificed; hence at a Sacrifice offered to *Neptune* in *Homer* (g), *Minerva*, who was present under the assumed Form of *Mentor*, ad-

(a) *Athenæus* lib. xi. cap. iii. (b) *Plutarchus Alexandro* p. 703.
 (c) Hymno in *Mercurium*. (d) *Apollonii Scholiastes* in *Argon.* i. v. 516. *Eustathius* in *Odyss.* γ'. p. 131. (e) *Argon.* lib. I. v. 516.
 (f) *Athenæus* lib. i. principio cap. xiv. (g) *Odyss.* γ'.

Chap. XX. Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece. 417

viseth the Company to sacrifice the Tongues, and to pour forth Libations of Wine to *Neptune*, and the rest of the Gods, before they departed.

Ἀλλ' ἄγε, πάντες μὲν γλώσσας, κεράσας δ' αἶνον,
 Ὀρεξ Ποσειδάωνι, καὶ ἄλλοις ἀθανάτοισι
 Σπείσαντες, καί τοιο μεδώμεθα πῶο γδ ἄρη."

It was held unlawful to stay too long at Entertainments which followed Sacrifices, as *Athenæus* hath observed from the following Words of *Minerva* in the same Poet (a);

Ἦδη γδ παῖς εἶχες ἐπὶ ζοφόν, εἰς ἔσπερον
 Ἀνδρῶν θεῶν ἐν δαίτῃ διακονέμεν, ἀλλὰ νέεσθαι.

The same Author reports, that till his Time the Company was obliged at some sacrificial Entertainments to depart before Sun-set (b); but at the common Entertainments, where more Liberty was allowed, the Company very often stayed till the Morning approached; this we find done by *Socrates* and his Friends in *Plato's* Entertainment, and before that, in the heroical Times, by *Penelope's* Suitors, and by the *Phœnicians* in *Homer*, as also by *Dido* and *Æneas* in *Virgil*. It was also customary to contend who should keep awake longest, and the Prize assigned to the Victor was most commonly a Sort of Cakes called *πυγμαῖς* (c), which Word came hence to be a general Name for the Prize of any Victory, as hath been already observed.

C H A P. XXI.

Of the Manner of entertaining Strangers.

THE Keeping of publick Inns, for the Reception of Strangers, was assigned by *Plato* (d) to Foreigners, or the meanest Sort of Citizens, as an illiberal and mean Employment. The ancient *Greeks* had no publick Inns, which were an Invention of later Ages. In the primitive Times Men lived at Home, neither caring to cultivate Friendship with Foreigners, nor to improve themselves and their Estates by Commerce with them. Neither was it safe to travel without a strong Guard, the Sea and Land being both exceedingly infested with Robbers, who not only spoiled all whom they caught of their valuable Goods, but treated their Persons with the utmost Cruelty, as appears from the Stories of *Procrustes*, *Sines*, *Sciron*, *Periphetes*, and many others. To live upon the Plunder of others was then by many thought a very honourable way of subsisting, and

(a) Loco citato. (b) *Athenæus* lib. V. cap. iv. (c) *Artemidorus*, lib. I. cap. lxxiv. *Aristophanis Scholiastes* ad *Equites*. (d) De Leg. lib. XI, they

they placed a Sort of Glory in overcoming and spoiling their Neighbours, believing the Rules of Humanity and Justice to be observed by none but such as were destitute of Power (a). Hence it seems to have come, that amongst the ancient *Greeks* Strangers and Enemies were both signified by the same Name ξένος, all Strangers being then accounted Enemies. And the *Persians*, who for several Ages waged continual Wars with *Greece*, are particularly signified by that Word (b). The *Lacedæmonians* are said to have termed the barbarous Nations, whom the *Greeks* took for their common Enemies, by the Name ξένοι (c). And amongst the primitive *Latins* the Name *hostis*, which was afterwards appropriated to Enemies, signified Strangers (d).

The Sea was freed from Pirates by *Minos* King of *Crete*, who with a strong Fleet for a long Time maintained the Dominion of all the Seas thereabouts. The Land Robbers were destroyed by *Hercules*, *Theseus*, and other primitive Heroes; from which Times *Xenophon* (e) reports, that till his own Age, ξένος εἶς ἐν ἀνδρῶν, no Man was injurious to Strangers. And in the earliest Ages, all who were not entirely void of Humanity, are said to have entertained all Strangers with Respect; it was then the Custom to supply them with Victuals and other Necessaries before they enquired their Names, or asked them any other Questions. Thus *Telemachus* and his Company are treated by *Menelaus*, who thus bespeaks them upon their Arrival at *Sparta* (f);

Σίτῃς δὲ ἀπιδότω, καὶ χεῖρεσσιν αὐτὰρ ἱππῆλα
 Δείπῃσι πασσυμένεσσι, εἰρησόμεθ' οἷσινεσσι ἐσθλόν
 Ἀνδρῶν. -----

In the same manner *Telemachus* is entertained by *Nestor* (g), *Ulysses* by *Eumæus* (h), and *Minerva*, under the Form of *Mentor*, by *Telemachus* (i). *Menelaus* entertained *Paris* the *Trojan* ten Days before he enquired who he was or whence he came; and it is said to have been ἀρχαῖον ἔθος an ancient Custom to forbear such Enquiries till the tenth Day, if the Stranger seemed willing to stay till that time, as we learn from *Eustathius's* Comment on the Passage of *Homer*, where the King of *Lycia* is introduced demanding of *Bellerophon* his recommendatory Letter from *Prætus*, upon the 10th Day after he had come to his House (k).

(a) *Plutarchus Theseo, Thucydides Historiæ principio.* (b) *Hesychius* voce ξένος. (c) *Herodotus Calliope* cap. X. *Pollux*, lib. I. cap. x. (d) *Varro* principio lib. IV. de L. L. *Cicero* de Offic. lib. I. cap. xii. *Ambrosius* Offic. lib. I. cap. xxix. Conf. *Commentarius* noster in *Lycophron. Cassandra* v. 464. (e) *Απομνημ.* lib. II. (f) *Odyss.* γ'. v. 69. (h) *Odyss.* ξ'. v. 45. (i) *Odyss.* δ'. v. 170. (k) *Iliad.* VI. v. 174. p. 491. Edit. *Basil.*

Εὐνήμαρ ξένιασε, καὶ ἐνία βῆς ἐπέλασεν
 Ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ δικάστη ἐφάνη ῥοδὸδράκλυστος ἦως,
 Καὶ τότε μὲν ἱρέεινε καὶ ἦτε σῆμα ἰδίδου,
 Οὔτε ῥά οἱ γαμβροῖο παρὰ Περίτου φέροιο.

In later Ages *Cretan* Hospitality was very much celebrated. In the *συσσίτια*, publick Halls of *Crete*, there were constantly two Apartments, one was termed *κοιμητήριον*, wherein Strangers were lodged, the other was *ἀνδρείον*, being the Place of eating, where all the *Cretans* supped together; in the uppermost part of this Room there was a constant Table set apart for Strangers, called *τραπέζα ξενία*, *ξενικὴ*, or *Δίῳ ξενίᾳ*. Others will have two Tables appointed for this Use (a). And in the Distribution of Victuals, the Strangers were always served before the King, or any of the *Cretan* Nation; and some of them were permitted to bear very considerable Offices in the State (b).

The rest of the *Greeks*, and especially the *Athenians*, were generally courteous to Strangers, except the *Lacedæmonians*, who are ill spoken of for want of Hospitality; hence they are described by *Tzetzēs* (c) as most opposite to the *Athenians* in their Behaviour to Strangers.

Τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις νόμος ἦν εἰσδέχεσθαι τοὺς ξένους,
 Οὐδὲν καὶ ἀνομιάζοντο φιλόξενοι τοῖς πᾶσιν
 Τοῖς Λάκκοις ὃ νόμος, τοὺς ξένους ἀπὸ λαλῆναι.

For the same Reason they are called by *Aristophanes* (d) *διεσπρόξενοι*, and by others *ξενικάδ*, from their imposing upon Strangers, and driving them away; which is the more to be wondered, because *Lycurgus* chiefly followed the Laws and Manners of *Crete* in the Regulations which he made at *Sparta*. Nevertheless it is very certain that very good Care was taken of Strangers at *Sparta*. It was one Part of the Royal Office to make Provision for them, as we learn from *Herodotus*; and *M. Antoninus* (e) affirms, that Strangers had a convenient Place assigned in the Shade, whereas the *Lacedæmonians* themselves lay down without Distinction of Places. But the Opinion of their rough and uncivil Usage of Strangers, seems to have prevailed chiefly on these Accounts.

First, Because Foreigners, when they lived upon the *Spartan* Diet, which was extremely coarse, thought themselves ill entertained; hence a Citizen of *Sybaris* happening to be treated after the *Spartan* Fashion, professed that he no longer wondered how it came to pass that the *Spartans* despised Dangers more than other Nations, since they were allowed no Pleasure for which they could desire to live (f).

(a) *Athenæus* lib. IV. cap. ix. (b) *Heraclides* de Repub. (c) *Chiliad*. VII. hist. cxxx. (d) *Pacc*. (e) Lib. XI. ad seipsum. (f) *Athenæus* lib. IV. cap. vi.

414 *Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece. Chap. XXI.*

Secondly, Because Strangers had Admittance into *Sparta* only on *αἰετῶν ἡμέραι* certain Days (a). This was a Provision against the promiscuous and frequent Concourse of other Nations, which they avoided as much as possibly they could, either as *Archidamus* in *Libanius* (b) reports, to prevent Foreigners from observing the Faults and Miscarriages of *Sparta*, which *Pericles* in *Thucydides* (c) seems also to reproach them with, or rather fearing that the Manners of their Citizens would be corrupted by a too free and unlimited Conversation with other Nations; which Account of this Appointment is assigned by *Xenophon* (d), *Plutarch* (e), and others; for the same Reason an Edict was once put forth at *Rome*, whereby Strangers, *usu urbis prohibiti*, were forbidden the Use of that City (f). And the *Lacedæmonians* were not allowed to travel into foreign Countries, lest they should introduce foreign Customs and Vices at *Sparta* (g). That these and the like Orders were not enacted without sufficient Cause, appears from *Lysander* and *Agefilaus*, the former of which returning home from *Athens*, and the latter from *Asia*, contributed very much to the general Corruption of Manners, which in a short time after destroyed the ancient *Lacedæmonian* Discipline and Way of Living.

To return to the *Grecian* Hospitality. In order to excite the People to treat Strangers with Kindness and Respect, the ancient Poets and Lawgivers possessed them with an Opinion that all Strangers were under the peculiar Care of certain Gods, who revenged all the Injuries done to them; in the Number of these Gods were reckoned *Minerva*, *Apollo*, *Venus*, *Castor*, and *Pollux*, and chiefly *Jupiter*, who had hence the Surname of *Ξείνῳ*, hospitable; which was also sometimes given to other Gods, who were believed to protect Strangers; hence *Ulysses* endeavours to mitigate *Polyphemus* with this Reason, that *Jupiter* was the Patron and Avenger of Strangers (h):

Ἀλλ' αἰδέσθω, φίλος ἐγώ, θεὸς ἰκέτ' δέ τοι εἰμὶ
 Ζεὺς δ' ὀπιπλήτωρ ἱκετῶν τε ξείνων τε
 Ξείνῳ, ὃς ξείνοισιν ἀμὶ αἰδοῖσιν ἵσταται,

And *Eumæus* is moved by the same Reason to entertain the same Heroe, as himself professeth (i):

Ξῆν', ὃ μὲν δέμῳ ἐστ', ἐδ' εἰ καλῶν σθέν' ἔλθοι,
 Ξῆνον ἀπὸ μῆτορος ποδὶ γὰρ Διὸς εἶσιν ἅπαντες
 Ξείνῳ τε, πατρὶ τε -----

(a) *Aristophanis Scholiastes* in *Pace*, *Suidas*. (b) *Declam.* XXIV. (c) *Lib.* II. in *Orat. funebri.* (d) *De Repub. Lacedæm.* (e) *Lycurgo*, *Institutis Laconicis.* (f) *Cicero* de *Offic.* lib. III. cap. xi. (g) *Plutarch*, locis citat. & *Apophthegmat.* *Nicolaus* de *moribus gentium* apud *Stobæum*, *Valerius Maximus* lib. II. cap. vi. *Harpocration* voce *κλειῶν*, &c. (h) *Homer Odyss.* IX. v. 269. (i) *Odyss.* ε'. v. 55. For

Chap. XXI. Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece. 415

For the same End the Gods were feigned to travel in the Habit of Strangers. Thus *Jupiter* speaks of himself in *Ovid* (a) ;

Et Deus humana lustrō sub imagine terras.

In another Passage of that Author the same God, accompanied by *Mercury*, is said to have been denied Reception by 1000 Houses, which for that Offence he turned, with the adjoining Country, into a Lake (b). *Lycaon* was said to be transformed into a Wolf for his injurious Treatment of *Jupiter*. And to mention only one Example more, when *Antinous* in *Homer* (c) treats *Ulysses*, who there appears like a Stranger, injuriously, he is put in mind that the Gods used to visit the Cities of Men in the Habit and Form of Strangers.

Ἀγνὸν, εἴ μὴ καὶ ἑβαλες δούσηνον ἀλήτην,
οὐλόμην, εἰ δὲ πᾶσι περὶ παρὰ θεῶν ὄντα
καὶ τι θεοὶ ξείνοισιν οἰκότες ἀλλοδαποῖσι,
πάντοτε τελέοντες, ὑπερφύσει πολλὰς,
ἀνδράπων ἔχεν τε καὶ δνομένην ἐφορῶντες.

The Rites of entertaining Strangers being the same with those of receiving Guests at Entertainments, which have been described in one of the preceeding Chapters, need not be farther explained in this place ; only this must be observed, that Salt was commonly set before Strangers, before they tasted the Victuals provided for them ; whereby was intimated, that as Salt does consist of aqueous and terrene Particles mixed and united together, or as it is a Concretē of several aqueous Parts, so the Stranger and the Person by whom he was entertained, should from the Time of their tasting Salt together maintain a constant Union of Love and Friendship. Others tell us, that Salt being apt to preserve Flesh from Corruption, signified, that the Friendship which was then begun, should be firm and lasting. And some, to mention no more different Opinions concerning this Matter, think, that a Regard was had to the purifying Quality of Salt, which was commonly used in Lustrations, and that it intimated that Friendship ought to be free from all Design and Artifice, Jealousy and Suspicion (d). It may be the Ground of this Custom was only this, that Salt was constantly used at all Entertainments both of the Gods and Men, whence a particular Sanctity was believed to be lodged in it ; it is hence called *θεῖον ἅλς*, divine Salt, by *Homer* ; *ἱερὸν ἅλς*, holy Salt, by others ; and *salinorum appositū*, by the placing of Salt on the Tables, a Sort of Holiness was thought to be derived to them (e). Indeed all Things, which any way conduced to promote Love and Concord, especially in those early Times, when Men lived by Spoil and Rapine, were

(a) *Metam.* lib. I. v. 213. (b) *Metam.* VIII. v. 626. (c) *Odyss.* 8. v. 489. (d) *Conf. Eustathius in Iliad.* 2. p. 100. *Lycophronis Scholiastes* in v. 135, 137. (e) *Arnobius contra Gentes* lib. II.

416 *Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece. Chap. XXI.*

held to be sacred; hence the Table was thought to be endowed with an inherent Holiness as well as the Salt. τὸ οὖο τεράπιζον, to have eaten at the same Table, was esteemed an inviolable Obligation to Friendship; and ἀλα καὶ τεράπιζαν παραβαίνειν, to transgress the Salt and the Table, that is, to break the Laws of Hospitality, and to enjure one by whom any Person had been entertained, was accounted one of the blackest Crimes; hence that exaggerating Interrogation of *Demosthenes* (a), Πῶς ἄλλοι; πῶς τεράπιζαι; ταῦτα γὰρ τεράπιζοντες παροῦν. "Where is the Salt? Where the Hospital Tables? For in despite of these he has been the Author of these Troubles." And the Crime of *Paris* in stealing *Helena* is aggravated by *Cassandra* (b) upon this Consideration, that he had contemned the Salt, and overturned the hospital Table:

----- εἰ δὲ ἂν ξένους
Συώδωρον Αἰγαίου ἀγνότην πάρον,
Εἴ τις θύων ἀλοιπὴς ἐκείνην δίκην,
Λάξας τεράπιζον, κήνακώσας δέ μιν.

And τὸ ὁμόεσθον, to converse under the same Roof, was thought to be some Sort of Engagement to Love and Courtesy, as we learn from the Comment of *Eustathius* on that Passage of *Homer*, where *Ajax* endeavours to pacify *Achilles* by this Motive, that they were in the same House, and under the same Roof (c):

----- σὺ δ' Ἴλαον ἐνδίο θυμόν,
Αἰδέσσαι ὃ μέλαθρον, ὡσεύφει δὲ τοι ἱσμῶ.

The Alliance which was contracted by Hospitality was termed *πρωξενία*, it was held very sacred, and ὥς περ σὺν ἑσθλῶν θεῶν ἀρετῶν τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἦν, was rather more inviolably observed by the Ancients than the Ties of Kindred and Consanguinity. *Ten- cer* in *Homer* endeavoured to deprive *Priamus* of his Kingdom, though he was the Son of *Hesione*, the Sister of *Priamus*; whereas *Glaucus* and *Diomedes* laid down their Arms in the Heat of Battel, out of a pious Regard to the hospital Alliance, which had been entered into by their Progenitors *Oneus* and *Bellerophon*, as *Eustathius* (d) observes. Hence it appears farther that the Alliances of Hospitality were derived by Parents to their Children; neither were they contracted only by private and single Men, but by these with whole Families and Cities. Hence *Megillus* in *Plato* (e) affirmed himself to be *πρωξενος*, allyed by Hospitality to the City of *Athens*. *Nicias* the *Athenian* is by *Plutarch* called *πρωξενος* τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, allyed by Hospitality to the *Lacedæmonians*. *Cimon* the Son of *Miltiades*, by means of the same Alliance, became instrumental towards establishing a Peace between the Cities of *Athens* and *Sparta* (f).

(a) Orat. de falsa Legat. (b) *Lycophron*, v. 134. (c) *Iliad*. IX. v. 635. p. 691. Edit. *Basil.* (d) In *Iliad*. VI. p. 496. (e) *Lib. I.* de legib. p. 780. edit. *Francofurt.* (f) *Corin. Nepos*, *Cimone*.

Chap. XXI. Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece. 417

And to mention only one Instance more, *Halyattes*, King of *Lydia*, made a Covenant with the *Myrians*, ἐπ' ᾧ τε ξείνους ἀλλήλοις ἔδωκεν, whereby they were obliged to take one another for Guests and Allies (a).

Hence it was customary for Men thus allyed to give one another σύμβολα, certain Tokens, the producing whereof was a Recognition of the Covenant of Hospitality; hence *Jason* in *Euripides* (b) promiseth *Medea*, when she departed from him, to send the Symbols of Hospitality, which should procure for her a kind Reception in foreign Countries.

Ξείνοις τε πέμπειν, σύμβολ', οἳ δ' ἄρα στί σ' εἶναι.

These were mutual Presents and Gifts, called ξένια, or δῶκεν ξένια, which κειμήλια τῆς παλαιότητος ἀπέιδαντο εἰς ἀνάμνησιν παλαιῆς φιλίας τοῖς ὁπιομένοις were repositied by the ancient Greeks amongst their Treasures, to keep up the Memory of their Friendships to succeeding Generations, as we are informed by the Comment of *Eustathius* on that Passage of *Homer* (c), where *Diomedes* recounts to *Glaucus* the Gifts which their Ancestors, *Oeneus* and *Bellerophon*, had presented to one another.

Ἡ ῥα νῦ μοι ξείνῳ παλαιοῖον ἐστὶ παλαιός,
Οἶνός γ' ὅ ποτε δῖον ἀμύμονα Βιλλεργόνην
Ξένιον ἐν μεγάροισιν εἰκασιν ἤματ' ἐρύξας.
Οἳ δ' ἢ καὶ ἀλλήλοισι πόρον ξενίῃα καλὰ,
Οἶνός μ' ἔωσ' ἔπειτα δίδεκε φαίνεσθαι φαιδόν,
Βιλλεργόνες δ' ἡ χρύσειον δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον,
Καὶ μὲν ἐγὼν κατέλειπον ἰὼν ἐν δώμασ' ἐμοῖσι.

The latter Greeks used to break ἀσέγαλον a Dye in two Parts, one of which the Guest carried away, the other remained with the Entertainer (d). The same Custom was used at *Rome*, where each Part of the Dye was termed *tessera hospitalis*; this plainly appears from the following Passage of *Plautus* (e).

AG. *Siquidem Antidimarchi quæris adoptatitium,*
Ego sum ipsus, quem tu quæris. POE. *Hei! quid ego audio!*

AG. *Antidamæ gnatum me esse.* POE. *Si ita est, tesseram*
Conferre si vis hospitalem, eccam, attuli.

AG. *Agedum huc ostende: est par probe: nam habeo domum.*

POE. *O mi hospes, salve multum: nam mihi tuus pater,*
Pater tuus ergo hospes, Antidamas fuit:
Hæc mihi hospitalis tessera cum illo fuit.

Upon these *tesserae* their Names, or some other Character of distinction, as also the Image of *Jupiter hospitalis*, were commonly en-

(a) *Herodotus Clio.* (b) *Medea*, v. 613. (c) *Iliad*. VI. (d) *Euripidis Scholiastes in Medæ* v. 613. ex *Helladio*, & *Eubuli Xutho.* (e) *Pænul. Act. V. Sc. II.* v. 85.

graven; hence the following Verse of the fore-mentioned Comedian (a), wherein the same thing, viz. the *Tessera*, with *Jupiter* engraved upon it, seems to be expressed by two separate Names, which is a Mode of Speech very common in the Poets.

Deum hospitalem ac tesseram mecum fero.

When they renounced their hospital Alliance, it was customary to break in pieces the hospital *Tessera*; hence *tesseram frangere* signifies to violate the Laws of Hospitality. Thus it is used by the same Author (b):

*Abi, quære ubi tuo iusjurando satis sit subsidii:
Hic apud nos jam, Alcesimarche, confregisti tesseram.*

They who entertained private Strangers were termed ἰδιωκοῦς ἐννοί. they who received Ambassadors, and other Foreigners who came on any publick Account, were called κοῦροι. but the same Name is often taken for Men who entertained their own private Friends of other Nations. If the Person, who received the Foreigners who came under a publick Character, did it voluntarily, he was called ἰδιωκοῦς ἐννοί, in which Sense *Pitbias* is called by *Thucydides* (c) ἰδιωκοῦς ἐννοί Ἀθηναίων, the voluntary Entertainer of the Athenians; but more commonly the κοῦροι were appointed to that Office, either by the Suffrages of the People, which was the usual Way of chusing them in popular Governments, or by Designation of the King, which was the Method in monarchical Countries; thus at *Sparta* the Kings appointed τὸν ἐν ἰδίᾳ ἐκαστοῦ τοῦ ἀσπῶν, whomsoever of the Citizens they pleased to be *Proxeni*, as we learn from *Herodotus* (d); neither did the Office of *Proxeni* consist only in providing Lodging and Entertainment for the fore-mentioned Strangers, but it was also their Duty to conduct them to the King, or the popular Assembly, to provide for them convenient Places in the Theatre, and to serve and assist them on all other Occasions; hence καλεῖται πρῶτος, ἢ καλεῖται αἴτιος, whoever was the Procurer of any Good or Evil to another Person was termed κοῦρος: the Author of another Man's Ruin and Misery was called κοῦρος ἀπωλείας, or κοῦρος ὁδοῦ, the Author of his Safety and Felicity, κοῦρος σωτηρίας, or κοῦρος ὑγείας (e).

The Office of *Proxeni* was by the more modern Greeks called πρεσβυς, which Word is used in that Sense in one of *St. Basil's* Epistles. Πρεσβυς are by *Hesychius* interpreted χαρίσματα, δωρήματα, Presents or Gifts; and publick Entertainments are called by *Cicero* in one of his Epistles to *Atticus* (f), *parochiæ publicæ*; unless

(a) Ibid. Sc. I. v. 22. (b) *Cistellaria*. (c) Lib. III. cap. lxx. ubi Conf. *Græcus Scholiastes*. (d) Lib. VI. Conf. *Eustathius* in *Iliad*. γ'. p. 307. *Pollux* lib. V. cap. iv. *Suidas*. (e) *Eustathius* in *Iliad*. δ'. p. 369. (f) Lib. XIII. Epist. ii.

instead

Chap. XXI. Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece. 419

instead of these Words we read, as some learned Men have done, *parochus publicus*; for the Officers were called *παροχοί* and *ἐνοπιοί*: The ancient Romans called them *Copiararii*, but Horace (a) useth the Name of *parochus*, which was current in his Age.

*Proxima Campano ponti quæ villula, tectum
Præbuit; & parochi, quæ debent, ligna, salemque.*

Where under the Names of *Ligna & Sal*, Wood and Salt, all necessary Provisions are comprehended; these were supplied in all the Roman Towns to such as came thither upon any publick Affair by the *Parochi*, who were empowered to levy Taxes on the Inhabitants for this Use (b). In another Place of the same Poet *Parochus* signifies the Master of a Feast.

———— *vertere pallor
Tum parochi faciem nil sic metuentis ut acres
Potores.* ————

Whoever undertook a Journey, first implored the divine Protection. Before their Departure into any foreign Country, it was customary to salute, and as it were to take Leave of the Deities of their own Country, by kissing the Earth. Thus the Trojans in Ovid are said to do (c),

———— *dant oscula terræ
Troades, & patriæ fumantia tecta relinquunt.*

The same Rite of Salutation was commonly practised at their Arrival in any Country. Thus Ulysses in Phæacia (d),

----- *κύσας δὲ ζείδωρον ἄρουραν.*

And Cadmus in Bœotia (e);

*Cadmus agit grates peregrinæque ostula terræ
Figit; & ignotos montes agrosque salutat.*

Hereby they paid Homage, and invoked the Assistance and Protection of *ἐνοπιοὶ θεοὶ*, the Gods who were Patrons of that Country. They worshipped the same Gods during the Time of their Residence in that Place. This was done by the Samaritans, whom the King of Assyria planted in the Country of Israel, as we learn from the sacred History; and by Alexander the Great, whilst he

(a) Lib. I. Sat. V. v. 45. (b) Livius lib. XLII. Cicero lib. I. Epist. XVI. ad Atticum. Acron in Horatii loc. cit. Idem in lib. II. Sat. viii. v. 25. (c) Metam. lib. XIII. v. 420. (d) Odyss. ε'. v. 460. (e) Ovidii Metam. lib. III. v. 24.

420 *Of the Miscellany Customs of Greece. Chap. XXI.*

stayed in *Troas*, as the Writers of his Life and Actions report. Lastly, when they returned Home, they saluted the Gods of their own Country in the same manner, and gave them Thanks for their safe Return. This was done by *Ulysses* in *Homer* at his Return to *Ithaca* (a) ;

Γῆθησιν δὲ ἄρ' ἵππεια πολύτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς
Χαίρων ἢ μαιῇ, κύστε δ' ἑίδωσεν ἄρματα,
Αὐτίκα δ' Νύμφης ἡρώεσσι, χεῖρας ἀναχάν.

The same Rite is practised by *Agamemnon* in *Æschylus* (b), when he returns to *Mycenæ* ; and by *Hercules* in *Euripides* (c), at his Return from the infernal Regions.

(a) *Odyss.* v. v. 354. (b) *Agamemnon* v. 816. (c) *Hercul. Fur-*
rent. v. 523.

F I N I S.

I N D E X



INDEX

TO THE

Second Volume.

A.		
	Page	
A Bdication of Children	352	Apparel of Mourners 195, 196
<i>Achaian</i> Slings	48, 49	Of Soldiers 50, 51
Admiral	143, 144.	Archers 10
of the <i>Lacedemonian</i> Fleet	54, 55	Arches of Triumph 114
Adopted Children	342	<i>Argian</i> Bucklers 34
Adultery, how reputed of, and		<i>Argians</i> sacrificed to <i>Apollo</i> after
punished	302	Mourning 232
<i>Ægeon</i> invented Ships of War	124	<i>Aries</i> the Constellation, whence
<i>Æginensians</i> invented Ships	121	called 123
<i>Ægyptian</i> Trumpet	82	Armies, how divided, 56, &c.
<i>Ætolians</i> used not to declare War		how marshalled 75
65, looked on as Robbers <i>ibid.</i>		Arms, by whom invented 19, 20.
<i>Aghus Castus</i> , an Antidote against		composed of Brass, &c. 20, 21,
Love 261		22. How adorned 22. Always
Alarums founded on various In-		worn by the primitive <i>Greeks</i> ,
struments 79, &c.		and barbarous Nations, 22, 23.
Altars instead of Trophies 114.		Of what Sorts 23, 24, 25, &c.
placed near Graves 237		141. Turned down at Funerals
Anchors 131, 132		103. Dedicated in Temples
Anointing of the Dead 180		109, 110. Burned with Sol-
Antidotes against Love 259, &c.		diers 209
<i>Apollo</i> invented Bows 416.		Armour of Horsemen and Horses
Honour'd at <i>Argos</i> with Sacri-		18
fices after Mourning 232		Arrows 43, &c.
With Offerings of Hair 282		Ashes cast on the Heads of Mour-
Reputed the cause of sudden		ners 201
Death 172, 173		Ashes of the Dead carried Home
		164
		<i>Athenians</i> Sovereigns of <i>Greece</i> 5.
		Most successful at Sea <i>ibid.</i>
		E c 3 Their

INDEX.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>Their Cavalry 16, 17. Archers <i>ibid.</i> Commanders 51, &c. Herald's 67. Marches 70. Ensigns 78. Treatments of the Slain in Battel 102. Punishment of Deserters 115. Provision for the Children of Soldiers slain in War 118, 119. For those of other Patriots 346. Sovereignty of the Seas 142, 145. Their Fleet <i>ibid.</i> Marriages 263. Love of Boys 241, 242. Divorces 297. Punishments for Adultery 302, &c. Midwives 324. Custom in abdicating Children 351. Frugality 361, 362
 <i>Atlas</i> invented Ships 120, 124</p> <p style="text-align: center;">B.</p> <p><i>Balearian</i> Slingers 48
 Ballast of Ships 132
 Banks of Oars in Ships 124, 133
 Banquets not frequented by Mourners 195
 Barley-bran used to excite Love 253
 Bastards how treated 337, &c. Not obliged to maintain Parents 35
 Baths 371, &c.
 Battalia's of several Forms 5, &c.
 Battering-rams 94, 95. How defeated 97
 Battels 74, &c. At Sea 154, &c.
 Beaks of Ships 135, 136
 <i>Bear-star</i>, the Guide of Mariners 144, 145
 Beds at Meals 376, 377
 Belly of Ships 126
 Belts 28, 39
 Betrayers of their Country 165
 How treated after Death 171
 Black worn by Mourners 196
 Blood offered to the Dead 236
 Blood of Doves used in Philtres 251
 Boatwain 146
 <i>Bceotian</i> Helmets 27</p> | <p>Bones of Bodies consumed to Ashes, how distinguished 214. Washed and anointed 215. Reposited in Urns, &c. <i>ibid.</i>
 Bones of Snakes and Toads used to excite Love 250, 251
 Bones snatched from hungry Bitches used in Philtres 252
 Booty in War 10, &c.
 Bosses of Bucklers 33
 Bows 41, &c.
 Boys, how loved 241, &c.
 Brains of Calves used to excite Love 250
 Bran used to excite Love 253
 Brass used instead of Iron 20, &c.
 Breakfast 352
 Breastplates 29, &c.
 <i>Brick</i>, a Form of Battel 5
 Brides, how conducted to their Bridegrooms 286
 Bridges 132
 Bridles 11, 12
 Brigandines, 29, &c.
 Bucklers 32, 33, &c. Carefully preserved 115. Used to place slain Soldiers on 34, 115. To lay Infants on 326, 327.
 Burial, earnestly desired 161, &c. Denied to some Persons 165, &c. Its Time 191, &c. Place 218, &c.
 Burning dead Bodies, why, and when used 207, &c. How performed <i>ibid.</i>
 Bursars of Ships 148</p> <p style="text-align: center;">C.</p> <p>Cables of Ships 135
 Cakes put into Corpses Mouths 186, 187
 Calves Brains excited Love 250
 Camels 19
 Camps 70, &c.
 <i>Carians</i>, the first Mercenaries, 8. Invented Crests for Helmets 25. Invented Handles of Bucklers 32. Their Flutes used at Funerals
 <i>Cartha-</i></p> |
|--|---|

INDEX.

<i>Carthaginians</i> entertained <i>Greek</i>	<i>Colophonian</i> Horsemen	16	
Soldiers	3	Combats of a few Persons used to	
<i>Castor</i> , why said to be hatched		decide Wars	51, 88
out of an Egg	312	Commanders in the <i>Athenian</i> and	
Carvers at Feasts	387	<i>Spartan</i> Armies	51, 52, &c.
Cavalry, how esteemed 10. How		Concubines, how differenced from	
numerous 16, 17. Their Pro-		Wives	273, 274. How repu-
bation <i>ibid.</i> Different sorts <i>ibid.</i>		ted	304, 305, &c.
Armour	<i>ibid.</i>	Conduct of the ancient <i>Greeks</i>	2
<i>Cecrops</i> first instituted Marriage		Consecration of dead Men	240
	263	Cooks	361
<i>Cenotaphia</i>	225	<i>Corinth</i> , a Nursery of Harlots,	
<i>Centaur</i> s, whence so called	14		309, 310
<i>Cerberus</i> , how appeased 186, 187		Corpses, polluted things about	
Chariots, whether used before		them 188, 189. How carried	
single Horses 13. How compo-		forth, 289, &c. How burned	
sed <i>ibid.</i> How managed 14, 15.		207, &c. Interred	215
Made with Scythes 16. Laid		Countertermarches	63, 64
aside	<i>ibid.</i>	Countermines	97
Charms	257, &c.	Creditors had the Bodies of	
<i>Charon</i> 's Wages	18	Debtors	169
Childbirth, with what Ceremo-		Crests of Helmets	25, &c.
nies attended 318. A Pollu-		<i>Cretan</i> Countertermarch 62. They	
tion	35	founded Alarums on Flutes	83
Children of Soldiers slain, how		Crowns presented to the Valiant	118
provided for 119. Those of		Crucified Persons not buried	169
other Patriots	346	Cryers of Armies	56
Children, how buried 170. Of		Cups	295, &c.
what Gods procured 318. How		Cuirassiers	18
managed 326, &c. Exposed		Curses on the Rebuilders of de-	
333, &c. Of different Sorts		molished Cities 97. Of Pa-	
336, &c. Partook of their Pa-		rents very fatal	350
rents good and bad Actions 345,		<i>Cynofarges</i>	336
346, &c. Concerned to vindicate			
their Parents 347. To			
provide for them 348, &c.			
When excused from maintain-			
ing Parents 351. How abdi-			
cated	<i>ibid.</i>		
Cities, anciently without Forti-			
fications 89. How besieged 90,			
91, &c. How defended 99, 97.			
How treated when taken <i>ibid.</i>			
Cittadel of <i>Athens</i> graced with			
Arms of the Valiant	118		
Clubs used instead of Arms	36		
<i>Clytemnestra</i> , why hatched out			
of an Egg	312		
Coats of Mail	29, 30, 31, &c.		
Coffins	215		

	D.	
<i>Dædalus</i> 's Fable interpreted	134	
Daggers	39	
<i>Danaus</i> invented Ships	120	
Dancing	401	
Darts	46	
Daughters expensive 276. Ex-		
posed 333, 334, Shared their		
Parents Estates	341	
Dead Enemies, how treated 97,		
98, &c. 165, 171		
Dead Men, how revered 160,		
161. When admitted into the		
<i>Elysian</i> Fields <i>ibid.</i> Under the		
E e 4		Power

D.

<i>Dædalus</i> 's Fable interpreted	134
Daggers	39
<i>Danaus</i> invented Ships	120
Dancing	401
Darts	46
Daughters expensive	276. Ex-
posed	333, 334. Shared their
Parents Estates	341
Dead Enemies, how treated	97,
	98, &c. 165, 171
Dead Men, how revered	160,
161. When admitted into the	
<i>Elysian</i> Fields <i>ibid.</i> Under the	
Power	

I N D E X.

- Power of infernal Gods 174.
 First consecrated to *Proserpina*
ibid. Had their Eyes closed
 178. Their Limbs compos'd
 179. Their Bodies washed
 180. Anointed 181. Wrapt
 in Garments *ibid.* Laid out
 182, 183. Attended 185. Their
 Mouths filled with Money 186.
 With Cakes *ibid.* Their Hair
 hung on the House-doors 187.
 Commended 227. Honoured
 with Sacrifices 235, 236, &c.
 And other ways 239, 240, &c.
 Retained the Affections they
 had when alive *ibid.* 241
 Death, when sudden, caused by
Apollo or *Diana* 172, 173. Ex-
 pressed by softning Terms 176,
 177
 Debtors Bodies deliver'd to Cre-
 ditors 169
 Declaration of War necessary 65.
 Its Form 169
 Defensive Arms 23. More prized
 than offensive *ibid.*
 Defensive Stratagems against Be-
 siegers 96, 97
 Deserters punished 115, 159
 Dials 366
Diana worshipp'd before Mar-
 riage 279, 280. The cause of
 sudden Death 272, 273. Con-
 cerned in Childbirth, 321, &c.
 Dinner 352, 353
 Dirges at Funerals 205, 223
 Discourses at Entertainments after
 Funerals 230, 231
 Discourse at Feasts 407, 408,
 409
 Divorces 296, &c.
 Dominion of the Seas, by whom
 possess'd 142
 Doves Blood used in Philtres 251
 Dowries 272, &c.
 Dragoons 18
 Drink 357, 363, 364, &c. How
 distributed 388, &c. Manner
 of drinking 292, 293, &c.
 Dying Men, how treated by their
 Friends 175. Prayed to *Mer-*
cury *ibid.*
 E.
 Eating Times 352
 Elephants, when first used in Bat-
 tles 19. When laid aside *ibid.*
Elithyia 319, &c.
Elysian Fields, when open to de-
 parted Souls 16
 Embassadors 64. Their Sacred-
 nefs 65, 66. Their Injuries
 punished *ibid.*
 Enemies, their Approach signi-
 ed by Torches 96. How treat-
 ed after Death 97, 98, &c.
 165, 171
 Engagement at Sea 155, &c.
 Engines in Sieges 91, 92, &c.
 To cast Stones 95, 141. How
 eluded 97
 Ensign, an Officer 57
 Ensigns 78
 Entertainments, their several Sorts
 354, 355, &c. Materials 357,
 &c. Ceremonies before them
 365, &c. Ceremonies at them
 375, &c.
 Entertainments after Funerals
 232
Epicureans allowed Self-murder
 168
Epithalamium 293
Erato instituted Marriage Cere-
 monies 263
Erythræus invented Ships 121
Eucليا worshipp'd before Marri-
 age 279
 Execrations against Rebuilders of
 Cities 97. Of Parents fatal
 350
 Exposition of Infants 333, 334
 Eyes of dead Men closed 178
 F.
 Fables of *Triptolemus*, *Perseus*,
Pegasus, *Europa's* Bull, &c. ex-
 plain'd 122, 123. Of *Dædalus*
 134

INDEX.

134. Of *Castor*, *Pollux*, &c. 312
- Fauchions 40
- Feathers of Scritch-Owls used in Philtres 251
- Fights 75, &c. At Sea 155, 156, &c.
- Fire used in Purification 208
- Fire-Balls 50
- Fish-meat 359, 360
- Flags in Battels 78. In Ships 128, 129
- Flowers laid on Tombs 232, 233, &c. Used at Feasts 383, 384, &c.
- Flour of Meal used to excite Love 253
- Flutes used in sounding Alarums 83. At Funerals 206
- Food of the Ancients 357, 358, &c.
- Fore-deck 127
- Fortifications by Sea 166
- Fragments of Meat laid on Tombs 251
- Friends approaching signified by Torches 105
- Funeral Rites invented by *Pluto* 160. Their Manner 179, &c. Processions 189, 190, &c. Piles 208, &c. Orations 237. Games 237, 238. Lustrations 238, 239 240. Entertainments 230, 231, 232
- Funerals necessary to the Happiness of the Dead 161, 162, &c. Solemnized by Relations 163, 240. Denied to some Persons 165. Who invited to them 192
- Full-Moon favourable to *Sparta* 70. The Time of Marriage 266
- G.
- Games at Feasts 405, &c.
- Games at Funerals 237, 238
- Garments at Feasts 383
- Garlands at Feasts 383, &c.
- Garments of Mourners 195, 196. At Marriages 285
- Gauls* invented Trumpets 82
- Generals of the *Athenian* Army 51, 52, 53. Of the *Spartan* Army 54, 55. Harangued their Soldiers before Battel 70. Fought at the Head of their Armies 27. Disposed of the Booty 107, 108
- Ghosts propitiated by Libations and Sacrifices 235, &c.
- Gods had part of the Spoils taken in War 108, 109, 158. Invoked before Voyages 149. Before Battels 76, 77. Cursed by Men in Afflictions 203, 204. Of Childbirth 319, 320, &c. Of Marriage 279, &c. Of Heralds 67
- Granadoes 50
- Grappling-Irons 141
- Graves 218, 219, &c.
- Greaves 31
- Guards 73, 74
- H.
- Hair of dying Men cut off by *Proserpine* 164, 175. Of dead Men hung on the House-doors 187. Laid on Tombs 234. Of Mourners, how disposed 197, 198, &c. Offered before Marriage 281, &c. Cut off the Victims Heads 236
- Harbours 152, &c.
- Harlots 304, 305
- Harnes for Horses, by whom invented 12. How composed *ibid.*
- Harps used in sounding Alarums 83
- Hatches of Ships 136
- Heirs and Heiresses 339, 340, &c.
- Helena*, why said to be hatched out of an Egg 312
- Hell divided into two Mansions 176
- Helmets

INDEX.

Helmets 23, 24, &c.
Helots 3
 Heralds 66, 67. Of *Athens* 67.
 Of *Sparta*; *ibid.* Sacred 66
Hercules invented Ships 121. His
 Gymnasium 336
 Heroes, how honoured 240
Hind-deck 128
*Hippocentaur*s, whence called 14
Hippomanes used in Love-potions
 248, &c.
 Honey offered to the Dead 257
 Horsemen, how esteemed 10, 11.
 Their Number 11, 16. How
 tried 17. Of how many Sorts
 18
 Horsemanship, by whom inven-
 ted 11
 Horses, how managed 11, 12
 Their Harness, &c. 12, 13.
 When first backed 13, 14.
 How used in Chariots 14, 15.
 How tried 17. How armed
 18
 Hospitality 412, 413, &c.
 Houses polluted by dead Bodies
 118, 189. Purify'd 189, 230.
 How divided into Rooms 310,
 311
 Hurdles used in Sieges 93
Hymn 288, 289

I.

Janus invented Ships 121
Jasmin laid on Tombs 232
Jason invented Ships 121
Javelins 46
 Ignorance of the ancient *Greeks*
 1, 2
 Images used in Incantations 276
 Impaled Persons not buried 169
 Incantations 253, &c.
 Incest 269, 270, &c.
 Infants, how managed 325, 326,
 &c. Exposed 333, 334, &c.
 Infernal Gods invoked in Love-
 Magick 261, &c.
 Inscriptions on Monuments 222
 Intelligence, how conveyed 119,
 120

Interment used in *Greece* 207
Juno honoured with Spoils of
 War 109. Worshipped before
 Marriage 280. Concerned in
 Childbirth 320, 321
Jupiter honoured with Spoils of
 War 109. With Trophies 111,
 &c. With Statues after Vi-
 ctory 114. Worshipped by
 Sailors 151. Before Marriage
 280
Lynx used to excite Love 249, &c.

K.

Keels of Ships 126
 Kings, Generals of Armies 51,
 54, 55. Their Concern for
 their People 51
 Kings of *Athens* deposed *ibid.*

L.

Lacedæmonian Valour and Con-
 duct 3, 4, 5, 50, 51. They
 were averse from Trades 3.
 Commanders of the *Grecian*
 Armies 4, 5. More successful
 at Land than Sea 5. Dege-
 nerate from their Ancestors 6.
 Forbidden to meddle with Na-
 val Affairs 5. Their Cavalry
 16. How apparelled in Bat-
 tles 50, 51. How affected
 with Victory 51. Their Com-
 manders 54, 55. Division of
 Armies 61. Countermarch 63.
 Heralds 67, 68. Never march-
 ed till Full-moon 70. Their
 Camps *ibid.* Manner of Life
 in Camps 72. Watch 63, 74.
 They began Battels with
 Sound of Flutes 83. Pursued
 not flying Enemies 88. Un-
 skillful in managing Sieges 90.
 How buried their Slain 103,
 104, &c. Meddled not with
 Spoils 109. Maintained Equa-
 lity *ibid.* What they conse-
 crated to the Gods *ibid.* What
 Sacrifices

INDEX.

Sacrifices offered after Victory
 111. How punished Runa-
 gates 115, 116. Their man-
 ner of conveying Intelligence
 119. Of honouring the Dead
 233. Of loving Boys 243,
 244. Their Law against old
 Batchelors 263, 264. Against
 Dowries 276. Ceremonies in
 Marriage 295, 296. Divorces
 298. Wives lent *ibid.* They
 had no Adulterers 299. Their
 Women, how educated and
 employed 317, 318. Infants
 exposed 333. Nurses 326.
 Frugality 360, 361. Not kind
 to Strangers 413, 414.
Lacedæmonian Matron's Com-
 mand to her Son 34, 105, 192
 Ladders to scale Walls 91, 92
 Laurel fixed on sick Mens Doors
 172. Used to excite Love
 253.
 Leagues, how made 69. Of how
 many Sorts *ibid.*
Lemnians invented Arms 20
 Levies of Soldiers 6, 7
 Libations to the Dead 235, 236,
Æc.
Libyan Trumpet 83
 Lieutenant 57
 Lightning 168
 Lillies laid on Tombs 232
 Lizard used to excite Love 250
 Love, how expressed 245, 246.
 Discovered 246. Excited 247,
Æc. Allayed 259, 260, *Æc.*
 Of Boys 21, 242, *Æc.*
 Love-potions 247, *Æc.*
 Lovers interred together 216,
 217
Lucina 319, 320, *Æc.* 344, 345,
Æc.
 Lustrations at Funerals 228,
 229, *Æc.*
Lydian Flutes used at Funerals
 206

M.

Macedonians erected no Trophies
 113, 114. Their Helmet 27.
Phalanx 58. Countermarch
 63. Law against Treason 347
Magi of *Persia*, how begotten
 268
 Marches, when made 69, 70.
 Made with Silence 85, 86.
 With Tumult by *Barbarians*
ibid.
 Mariners 138, *Æc.*
 Marriage instituted by *Cecrops*
 263. Strictly enjoined *ibid.*
 264. At what time made *ibid.*
 265, *Æc.* Not made with Re-
 lations 267, *Æc.* Made by Con-
 sent of Friends 170, *Æc.* Its
 Ceremonies 278, *Æc.* Songs
 287, 289.
Mars invented Arms 19. Ho-
 noured with Spoils 109
 Mast 134
 Master, of a Ship 144, 145
 Meals 352, 353
 Meat of the ancient *Greeks* 357,
 358, *Æc.*
 Men, at what Age allowed to
 marry 264, *Æc.*
 Mercenary Troops, how esteemed
 7, 8
Mercury, God of Heralds 97.
 Why invoked by dying Per-
 sons 175. Honoured with Sa-
 crifices after Mourning ended
 232.
Messenian Cavalry 16
 Midwives 324, 325
 Military Glory of the *Greeks* 2,
 3, 4. Rewards and Punish-
 ments 114, 115, *Æc.* 158,
 159.
 Milk offered to the Dead 236
Minerva invented Trumpets 82.
 Honoured with Spoils taken
 in War 109. Invented Ships
 121.
 Mizen-sail 134
 Money

INDEX.

- Money put into Corpses Mouths 186
 Monuments of the Dead 211, 219, &c.
 Moon when full, favourable to
 Sparta 70. Guide to Mariners 145. Kind to married Persons 266. Concerned in Child-birth 321, 322
 Moveable Towers 94. How defeated 97
 Mounts in Sieges 93. How defeated 97
 Mourning, with what Ceremonies performed 194, 195, &c. For dead Soldiers 102, 103
 Musick in failing 146, 147. In Mourning 204, 205, &c. At Feasts 401, &c.
Myconian Poverty 367
 Myrtle laid on Tombs 233
- N.
- Names, when and on what Accounts imposed 330, 331, &c.
 Naval Officers 143, 144, &c. Fights 155, &c.
 Navigation, how and by whom invented 126, 121, &c. Instruments used therein 131, 132, &c.
Neptune concerned in Horseman-ship 11. Invented Ships 121
- O.
- Oars in different Banks 124, 133. How disposed of when out of use 151
 Offensive Arms most prized by barbarous Nations 23
 Officers in the *Athenian* and *Spartan* Armies 51, 52, &c. In Ships 143, &c.
 Ointments, whether used by ancient *Grecians* 180, 372, &c. Laid on Tombs 134
 Ornaments laid aside by Mour-ners 195
- Ovation 111
 Owls in the *Athenian* Ensigns 78
- P.
- Palm Branches used by Women in Labour 324
Pan, the Author of shouting before Battels 84
 Panick Fears *ibid.*
Paphlagonian Trumpet 82
 Parasites 367
 Parents Consent necessary before Marriage 270, &c. Their Curfes fatal 353
 Parsley laid on Tombs 232
 Passengers, where placed in Ships 127
 Pay of Soldiers 7, 8, 9
 Peace, how made 68
Pegasus's Story interpreted 122, 123
Perseus invented Bows 41. His Story interpreted 123
Persian Defeat 2, 3. Counter-march 63, 70. *Magi* begotten of Incest 268. Women, how treated 310. Their Discourse at Feasts 407
 Phalanx 57, 58
 Philtres 247, &c.
Phœnicians invented Ships 131
 Steered by the *leffer Bear* 145, 146
Phrygian Flutes at Funerals 206
Phrynus's Story interpreted 123
 Piles at Funerals 208, &c.
 Pillars erected by Victors 118. Erected upon Graves 221, 222
 Pilot 144, 145
 Plenipotentiary Embassadors 68
Pluto invented Funeral Rites 160
 Pole-axe 40
Pollux's Story interpreted 312
 Pollution contracted from Corpses 188, 189. From Child-birth 335
- Polygamy,

INDEX.

Polygamy, how esteemed 264
 Portions in Marriage 272, &c.
 Primitive Simplicity 1, 2, 232
 Prisoners of War, how treated 97, 106
 Proceſſion at Funerals 189, 190
 &c.
 Prodigals wanted Burial 169
Prometheus invented Ships 121
Proſerpina cut off a Lock of dying
 Perſons Hair 174, 175. Con-
 cerned in Child-birth 322
 Prows of Ships 127
 Purification after Funerals 228,
 229, &c.

R.

Rags uſed in Philtres 251
 Ram to batter Walls 94, 95. How
 defeated 97
 Relicks uſed in Philtres 251
Remora uſed to excite Love 250
 Retreat, how founded 87
 Rewards of Valour 116, 117,
 118, 119, 158, 159
 Rhamn fixed on ſick Perſons
 Doors 172
 Ribbands to adorn Tombs 234
 Ribs of Ships 126
 Riddles 403
 Rivers honoured with Offerings
 of Hair 282, 283
Romans erected Towers after
 Victory 114. Their trium-
 phal Arches 113. Addicted to
 drinking 397, 398
 Ropes of Ships 132, 135
 Roſe at Feaſts 385
 Roſes laid on Tombs 233
 Rowers how placed 127, 128,
 &c. Directed by Muſick 146,
 147
 Rudders 131
 Runagates, how puniſhed 115,
 156,

S.

Sacred Band of Lovers 244
 Sacrifices before Battle 76, 77.
 After Victory 111. To the
 Dead 235, 236
 Sacrilegious Perſons, how treat-
 ed after Death 168, 170
 Saddles not uſed 12, 13
 Sails 134
 Sail-yards 135
 Salt given to Strangers 415. Sa-
 cred *ibid.* Salutatory 374
Samyres invented Ships of War
 124
 Scaling-Ladders 91, 92
 Scimeters 40
 Scritch-Owls Feathers uſed in
 Philtres 251
Scylla's Story interpreted 130
Scythians, their Bows 41, 42.
 Inſtructed the *Greeks* in the
 Uſe of Bows 42. Their way
 of drinking 364, 365
 Sea-fights 154 &c.
 Seas, in whoſe Dominion 142
 Seats 375
 Seats of Rowers 134
Selemnus's Waters cured Love
 262
 Self-murder, how eſteemed of
 167, 168
Semiramis invented Ships of War
 124
 Sepulchres 218, 219, &c. How
 honoured 232, 233, &c.
 Shields 32, 33, &c. Turned
 downwards at Funerals 103
 Shell-Trumpets 79, 80, 81
 Ships, how and by whom invent-
 ed 121, 122, &c. How firſt
 built 123. Of ſeveral Sorts
 123, 124, &c. Their Parts
 125, 126, &c. Names 129.
 Conſecrated to the Gods 131.
 Their Instruments of War
 135, &c. Officers 143, &c.
 Adorned with Garlands 149
 Pulled to Shore 148
 Shipwreck,

I N D E X.

Shipwrack, why feared	162	Stirrups, when first used	12, 13
Shouting before Engagements	84	Stoicks allowed Self-murder	168
Sides of Ships	126	Stones, anciently used for Wea-	
Sieges, how managed 89, &c.		pons 35, 36, 46, 47. Cast out	
At Sea	157	of Engines	95, 96
Signals 77, &c. At Sea-fights		Strange Women for Harlots	307
	155	Strangers, how entertained	411,
Simplicity of primitive Times 1,			412, &c.
	2, 232	Sudden Death caused by <i>Apollo</i>	
Skins of wild Beasts worn by an-		or <i>Diana</i>	172, 173
cient Heroes	27, 28	Sun guided the first Sailors	145
Slain in War how treated 97,		Sun-dials	366
	98, &c.	Supper	352, 353
Slaves carefully interred	164	Swallows used in Philtres	251
Sleep an Emblem of Death 177,		Swipes	132
	178	Swords	38, 39
Slings	48, 49, 95		
Smoke to signify approaching		T.	
Enemies	96	Tables 339, 380. Sacred	415,
Snakes Bones used to excite Love		&c.	
	251	Tackling of Ships	231
Solemnity of Marriage ordered		<i>Tarentine</i> Horsemen	60
by <i>Erato</i>	263	<i>Taurus</i> the Constellation, whence	
Songs of Triumph 119. Of Mar-		called	123
riage 288, 289. At Feasts		Temples adorned with Arms	109
	402, &c.	Made Burying-places	171,
Sorrow, with what Ceremonies			218
expressed	195, 196, &c.	Tenders	185
Soldiers of <i>Greece</i> , how esteemed		<i>Thebans</i> Sovereigns of <i>Greece</i>	5.
3, 4. Paid and levied 6, 7, 8.		Their Ensigns 78. Lovers	268.
When admitted to War	6	Care of Infants	244
When discharged <i>ibid.</i> Their		<i>Theſſalian</i> Cavalry	16
different Sorts 9, 10. Apparel		<i>Thracian</i> way of drinking	366
50. Treatment after Death 97,		Three, a Number in all magical	
98, &c. Punishments and		Actions	257, 258
Rewards 116, 117, &c. 158;		Thunder-struck Persons and Pla-	
159, &c. Children, how pro-		ces, how treated	169, 170
vided for 119. Soldiers in		Time, how measured	366
Ships	140	<i>Thymætes</i> , King of <i>Athens</i> , depo-	
Souls purified by Fire	208	fed	51
Spears 36, &c. At Sea	141	Toads used in Philtres	250
Turned down at Funerals 103.		Tombs, how honoured and a-	
<i>Sphinx</i> in <i>Theban</i> Ensigns	78	dorned 232, 233, &c. Those	
Spoils, how taken and disposed		of Soldiers how beautified 102,	
	106, 107, &c. 158		104, &c.
Statues dedicated to Gods after		Tomb-stones filled with Frag-	
Victory 114 To Victors	118	ments of Meat	231
Sterns 128. Pulled to Shore	148	Topſail	134
Stews tolerated 306, &c. Nu-			
merous in Harbours	153		

Torches

INDEX.

Torches instead of Signals 78.
 Signified the Approach of Enemies or Friends 96, 154. Used in Philtres 256. At Marriages 286, 290, &c.
 Tortoises in Sieges 93
 Towers in Sieges 94.
 Instead of Trophies 114
 Traitors, how used after Death 165, 166, 171
 Treason, how punished in *Macedonia* 347
 Trinket 134
Triptolemus's Story interpreted 122
 Triumphs 111
 Triumphal Arches 113
 Trophies 111, 112, &c.
 Trumpets 81, 82, 83
 Trumpeter 57
 Twins, a Token of Chastity 323
 Tyle, a Form of Battel 59
 Tyrants, how treated after Death 166, 167, 171
Tyrrhenian Trumpet 82
Tyrrhenus invented Trumpets *ibid.*
Tyrtæus's Story 76

V.

Vans used to lay Infants on 327
 Veils used by Women 295, 314
Venus's Temple a Nursery of Harlots 308
Vesta, how honoured at Feasts 383
 Vice-Admiral 144
 Voice very strong required in Warriours 86, 87
 Vows before Battels 69, 76
 Voyages, how begun 148, &c.
Vulcan invented Arms 19, 20

W.

Walls, not anciently used
 War, by what occasioned 1, 2.
 How maintained 7, 8, 9.
 Ended by single Combat 51, 88. How declared 65, 66
 Warlike Conduct of the ancient *Greeks* 2
 Washing the Dead 180
 Washing at Supper 369, &c.
 Watches how ordered 73, 74
 Water placed before Houses where Corpses lay 188
 Offered to the Dead 236
 How drunk 361, 362
 Wax used to excite Love 250, 255
 Weapons. *See* Arms.
 White Garments used to wrap the Dead in 181
 Wills, how and by whom made 344, 345
 Wine offered to the Dead 236
 How drunk 363, &c.
 Winter seasonable for Marriage 266
 Wives, how distinguished from Concubines 273
 When allowed to divorce Husbands 297, &c.
 Lent to Friends 298
 Women, when present at Funerals 102
 When ripe for Marriage 265
 How confined and employed 310, 311, &c.
 Not allowed to study Physick 324, 325
 Polluted in Child-birth 335
 Wool used to excite Love 251
 Word in Battels 77

INDEX.

INDEX

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I N D E X

Dictionum, & Locutionum, & Proverbiorum
Latinorum, quæ in hac *Archæologia* expli-
cantur.

A.		<i>Caput cœnæ</i>	381
		<i>Catina</i>	126
		<i>Catapirates</i>	132
		<i>Celeres</i>	55
		<i>Tenotaphia</i>	225
		<i>Ceruchus, anchonis, & rudens</i>	135
		<i>Cespites</i>	90
		<i>Circumpotatio</i>	230
		<i>Citharæ</i>	83
		<i>Classis præfectus</i>	143
		<i>Claudius</i>	332
		<i>Claustra</i>	152
		<i>Clypei orbis</i>	35
		<i>Cæcus</i>	332
		<i>Cæna</i>	381
		<i>Cænæ caput</i>	ibid
		<i>Cænæ præfatio</i>	ibid
		<i>Cohortes, manipuli, ordines</i>	91
		<i>Colophonem imponere</i>	16
		<i>Collocare cadaver</i>	184
		<i>Conti</i>	132
		<i>Conus</i>	25
		<i>Coriolanus</i>	332
		<i>Cornua</i>	134, 152
		<i>Corona cingere urbem</i>	90
		<i>Corona civica</i>	358
		<i>Coronæ navium</i>	128
		<i>Corymbæ navium</i>	ibid
		<i>Corymbi</i>	ibid
		<i>Costæ navium</i>	126
		<i>Cottabus</i>	405, 406
		<i>Cuneus 59, 126, vel rostrum 59,</i>	155
		<i>Currus falcatus</i>	16
		F f	<i>Cassodes</i>
B.			
		<i>Ballista</i>	96
		<i>Balneum, balnea</i>	372
C.			
		<i>Cæci & Claudii cur dicti</i>	332
		<i>Caius Coriolanus cur dictus Mar- tius</i>	ibid

INDEX.

<i>Custodes navis</i>	147	<i>Hastati, principes & Triarii</i>	75
<i>Cyclades, vel Aetnæ dictæ naves</i>	125	<i>Haustrum</i>	132
<i>Cynofura</i>	145	<i>Helice</i>	146
		<i>Helix</i>	149
D.		<i>Hippagines</i>	123
		<i>Hippomanes</i>	247, 248, 249
<i>Decursio</i>	211	<i>Hortator remigum</i>	146
<i>Delubrum</i>	180	<i>Hofis</i>	412
<i>Denasci</i>	176	<i>Hospitalis tessera</i>	417
<i>Dentes pro ancora</i>	131	I.	
<i>Dimittere uxorem</i>	297		
<i>Divorteri, discedere</i>	ibid	<i>Jentaculum</i>	252
E.		<i>In ancoris stare</i>	153
		<i>Inductio</i>	62
<i>Efferre, exportare cadaver</i>	189	<i>Inhibere remos</i>	150
<i>Elatio cadaveris</i>	ibid	<i>Juga</i>	134
<i>Ensis falcatus</i>	40	<i>Justa</i>	161
<i>Equites Romani</i>	10	<i>Lynx</i>	249
<i>Esculus</i>	358	L.	
<i>Exportare cadaver</i>	189		
<i>Exportatio</i>	ibid	<i>Labra</i>	180
F.		<i>Laconicum</i>	372
		<i>Latera navis</i>	126
<i>Falcatj currus</i>	16	<i>Laterculus</i>	59
<i>Falcatus ensis</i>	40	<i>Latrina</i>	372
<i>Fauces</i>	152	<i>Lavatrina</i>	ibid
<i>Ferrea manus</i>	141	<i>Lectus genialis</i>	289
<i>Foras ferre cadaver</i>	189	<i>Legiones</i>	61
<i>Forceps</i>	155	<i>Lituis</i>	81
<i>Forfex</i>	59	<i>Longæ bastæ</i>	141
<i>Fori & transstra</i>	127	<i>Lorica</i>	29, 221
<i>Fræna lupata</i>	11	<i>Lucina</i>	319, 320, 321
<i>Fratilla</i>	249	<i>Lupata fræna</i>	11
<i>Fuit</i>	177	<i>Lupi frænorum</i>	ibid
<i>Fulmen trifidum</i>	257	<i>Lyra</i>	83
<i>Funes solvere</i>	133	M.	
G.			
		<i>Malus</i>	134
<i>Genialis lectus</i>	289	<i>Manipuli</i>	61
<i>Græco more bibere</i>	393	<i>Manus ferrea</i>	141
<i>Gubernaculum</i>	331	<i>Modimperator</i>	386
H.		<i>Modius</i>	134
		<i>Murrhina</i>	365
<i>Harpagines</i>	141	<i>Muscæ</i>	366, 367
<i>Hastæ longæ</i>	ibid		

N. Nænia

INDEX

N.

<i>Nania</i>	206
<i>Navem subducere</i>	154
<i>Naves apertæ & testæ</i>	136
<i>Naucrariæ</i>	18, 5
<i>Niger</i>	332

O.

<i>Obliqua acies</i>	58
<i>Ocreæ</i>	31
<i>Oculus convivii</i>	386
<i>Opifera</i>	135
<i>Orbis clypei</i>	35
<i>Ordines</i>	61
<i>Ostium</i>	152

P.

<i>Pallium</i>	180
<i>Palmula vel tonsa</i>	133
<i>Papyrus</i>	122
<i>Parochus</i>	418
<i>Parolcones</i>	132
<i>Passerculus</i>	249
<i>Pedaneus subex</i>	12
<i>Pedes</i>	135
<i>Phalanges</i>	36
<i>Phalanx</i>	58
<i>Phaleræ</i>	18
<i>Phormio Terentii, fabula</i>	341
<i>Pictura navis</i>	129
<i>Plicatiles scalæ</i>	92
<i>Plutei</i>	137
<i>Portifculus</i>	146
<i>Postumus unde</i>	332
<i>Præfectus classis</i>	143
<i>Præficæ</i>	204
<i>Principes</i>	75
<i>Proculus unde</i>	332
<i>Propugnacula</i>	137

R.

<i>Recta acies</i>	58
<i>Regulus avis</i>	249
<i>Remi</i>	133
<i>Remora</i>	250

<i>Remos inhibere</i>	150
<i>Remulci</i>	132
<i>Repotia</i>	294
<i>Retinacula</i>	132
<i>Rex convivii</i>	386
<i>Rostrum vel cuneus</i>	155, 159,
<i>navis</i>	135
<i>Rudentes</i>	ibid

S.

<i>Saburra</i>	132
<i>Sacra ancora</i>	ibid
<i>Sacram ancoram solvere, proverb.</i>	ibid
<i>Scalmi</i>	133
<i>Solvere funes</i>	ibid
<i>Solutiles scalæ</i>	92
<i>Sportula</i>	355, è sportula cœnare
	ibid
<i>Stapia</i>	12
<i>Stationes</i>	153
<i>Stellio & Stincus</i>	250
<i>Strophæ vel Struppi</i>	133
<i>Subducere naves</i>	154
<i>Subex Pedaneus</i>	12
<i>Sudatorium</i>	372
<i>Supparum</i>	134
<i>Sylla</i>	332

T.

<i>Testæ naves</i>	136
<i>Temperare vinum</i>	362
<i>Terebræ</i>	92
<i>Tergemina, Proserpinæ epitheton</i>	322
<i>Tessera</i>	92 navis
	126
<i>Testudo militaris</i>	92 arietaria
	95
<i>Thesmothetæ, magistratus Atheniensis,</i>	328, 33
<i>Thoraces bilices, trilices,</i>	29, 31
<i>Tibiæ</i>	206
<i>Toga</i>	181
<i>Tolleno, vel tollena</i>	132
<i>Tonsa</i>	133
<i>Torquilla</i>	249
<i>Transstra</i>	127, 134
<i>Triarii</i>	75
<i>Trifidum fulmen Jovis</i>	257

INDEX.

<i>Triformis Proserpina</i>	322	<i>Venus Juno</i>	281
<i>Tumulus</i>	221	<i>Vigilia noctis</i>	74
<i>Turres</i>	94, 95	<i>Vinea</i>	93
<i>Tutela navis</i>	129	<i>Vixit & fuit</i>	177
		<i>Vocatio</i>	365
		<i>Vocatores</i>	ibid
		<i>Umbo</i>	33
<i>Vela</i>	134	<i>Umbra</i>	366
<i>Venus genitrix</i>	77	<i>Vopiscus unde dictus</i>	332

INDEX



INDEX

Vocum, Locutionum & Proverbiorum *Græcorum*
quæ in hac *Archælogia* explicantur.

A.			
		Pag.	
Α Γαδοὶ βολῶ		86	ἀκρόσπυμα [352, 353
Αγαθοδαμνισαὶ	399		ἀκροτον 352
Ἀγαθὸς δαίμωνος κελεύει	398, 399		ἀκροτοπτεῖν 364
ἄγειν ἐπ' ἀγκυρῶν	153		ἀκροβόλεται 17
ἀγκύλαι	134		ἀκροθίνις 108
ἀγκύλη	46, 405		ἀκρομήραια 134
ἀγκυλητὸς κόπτεσθαι	ibid		ἀκρόνεια, vel νῶν κορυμίδες, corymbi 128
ἀγκυλίσσασθαι	46		ἀκροσύλη 128, 158
ἄγκυρα	131		ἀκρωτήρια 158
ἄδεν πρὸς μὲνιν	403		ἀκρωτηρίαζεν ibid
Ἀδμήτης λόγος	404		ἀκρωτήριον διζὺον φάλαγγος 58
ἀδυσάτοι	119		ἀκτὰς τῆς λιμνῆς 152
ἀδρήματα	295		ἀκωδώνιστος πρὸ ἀπειρας 17, 73
αἰγανία	46		ἀλαλ' 84
αἰγία κόρυς	24		ἀλααγμός ibid
αἰλινοί	205		ἀλειπτήριον 372
αἶκλα	381		ἀλεξιθήρια, σκεπασθήρια, φυλακτήρια, & περὶ ἀλυσσάτα 35
αἰνίγματα	409		ἀλεξίσαντος ῥάμνους 172
αἴσιν σημεῖα	155		ἄλς θῆτος, ἰερός 415
αἴτης	266, 2		ἄλυσσιν τοῖς ἰώρεας 30
αἶχμη	36		ἄλφεισσοίαι, virgines dictæ, 276
ἄκοντα δύειν	356		ἄλφιστα 253
ἄκοντον πύρ	173		ἄλωπεκὴν περικραλῆα 23
ἀκρόπα	134		ἄμβουλα vel σόμβουλα 134
ἀκινάκεις	39		ἄμβροστον ἔλαιον 373
ἄκραι τῆς λιμνῆς	152		ἄμνους virgines 292
ἀκροβόλους πίνειν	364		ἄμωσι 397
			ἄμφιρεῖς φαρέτες 45
			ἄμφιβολοί vel ἀμφίστομοι ἄκραι 127

INDEX.

Αμφιδρόμια	328, 330	ἀποκινύειν ἄνδρα	351
ἀμφιπυρροί τῆς	18	ἀπολείπειν ἄνδρα	297
ἀμφιστομῶ φάλαγξ 58. διφάλαγξ	131	ἀπολύειν γυναικα	ibid
59. ἀγκυρα	132	ἀπομαχθῆναι	369
ἀμφιφαλῶς τρυφάειν	26	ἀπομάζανται	ibid.
ἀναβόλῃς	13	ἀπὸνιμμε	217
ἀνακαλυπτήρια	294, 295	ἀπὸνιψανται	365
ἀναλαμβάνειν εἰς τὸ γυμνῶ	351	ἀποπύμπειν γυναικα	297
ἀναξ	331	ἀποσαλῆιν	153
ἀναστροφῇ	62	ἀποτίθειναι	333
ἀναυμάχοι	159	ἀποτίμωμε 176 postea ἀνιφέρην, vel ὑποβόλον	ibid
ἀνδρείω	357, 413	ἀποτειχισμός	90
ἀνδρῶν, mulieres dictæ,	318	ἀποτομή κίρατος	57
ἀνδρῶν ἀσπίς	35	ἀποφράδις ὑλῆραι	238
ἀνδρῶν, vel ἀνδρονίτις	311	ἀραρῶ, ὁμφαλός, σιωπῇ φάλαγξ	58
ἀντιδίκαι κληρονομίαι	341	ἄραρῶς Apollo	41, 42
ἀντιδῶν, vel πτυχεῖναι πῶν ἡρω-	240	ἀρδανιον, ἀρδανία, γάρα	188
κῶν ἰσοθίων, vel ἰσολυμπίων	240	ἄραρον	ibid
ἀνιπτοι	18	ἀρδῶ φέρειν	191
ἀντιπτοι	172	ἄραρον	352, 353
ἀντιπροπῖναι 393 ὁμοία	ibid	ἀρκεῖα	279
ἀντιστομῶ, φάλαγξ 58. διφάλαγξ	59	ἀρκοί, dictæ virgines	ibid
ἀντιφέρην	276	ἀρματα εἰς πεπυγατομῶν	14
ἀντιλία	126	ἀρμάτειον μίλῶ	287
ἀντλίων, ἀντλον, Lat. hauftrum,	132	ἀρμενα	134, 140
tolleno vel tollena	132	Ἀρμῶν μίλῶ	403
ἀντλῆ, ἴτυς, ἀντλῆ, ἀντλῆ ἀσπί-	32	ἀρνα ἀντλῆ, proverb.	69
δῶ	40	ἀρπαγῆς	141
ἀξίνῃ	205	ἀρπαγῇ ἡμέρας	191
ἀντιδῶν, ἀντλῆ	ibid	ἀρπῶν	134
ἀπαρχαί 36 ἀπάρχεα	294	ἀρχὴ διζιὰ φάλαγξ	58
ἀπαυλῆ, vel ἀπαυλῆ	ibid	ἀρχαυλῆν	144
ἀπληρωτῶν οἶνῶ	365	ἀρχιτεκνῶν	386
ἀποβάθραι, ὁπβάθραι, vel κλίμακες	132	ἀσάμινδοι	372
ἀποβάθραι	151	ἀσάνδιον	128
ἀποβάθραι Jupiter	ibid	ἀσάρις	374
ἀπόγεια, ὁπγεια, πείσμετα, πρυμνή-	132	ἀσπίδων, vel ἀσπίδων	128
στα, retinacula	376	ἀσπίδες, βόται 52 εὐκλυοί, πάντες	35
ἀπογίνεσθαι, denascei	62	ἀσπίς	32
ἀποδῆναι εἰς ὄρν	372	ἀσπιδῶν	115
ἀποδότηριον	333	Ἀσυνάξ	331
ἀποδῆναι δικάτω	330	ἀσύνωλον	356
ἀποδῆναι ἀπὸ ὄρν	62	ἀσύνωλον δῆπνον	354
ἀποδῆναι	351	ἀσφάλισμα πλῆν	132
		ἀσφαλῆα	387
		Ἀπικηρῶς	362

INDEX.

αὐλῆ	311	γάρρον aut γάρρα	35, 93
αὐλοῖ	83, 100	γάρρον	25, 221
αὐτίει	138	γνήθλιαⓈ ἡμίεα	329
αὐτὴ	86	γνήθλιαθ διὰ	320
αὐτοκράτορες	53	γνήσια	239
αὐτοκράτορες πρίσβεις	68	γροβοκεῖν	348
αἰφ' Εξίας ἀρχιδαι	383	γῆστοι, vel ἰθαγῆες	335, 336
αἰσιθέρια ὄργανα	95	γερμματαῖς	148
αἰφλασαι, αἰφροσῶλια, κόρυμβα,	128,	γέρσοθ 46, apud Homerum αἰγανίη,	
	158	ὑαδὸς	ibid
ἄφρακτοι νᾶες	136	Γρυπῆς	332
Αφροδίτη, καλὴ 245 Hec	281	γύαλα θύρακαⓈ	29
Αχαικὸν βέλⓈ	49	γυλαύχαις	51
		γύλιον	ibid
B.		γυαῖκα, ὀπολῶειν, ὀπιπέμπειν	297
ΒάλⓈ	54	γυακῆϊον	316
βάρⓈ, aut πᾶχⓈ φάλαγγⓈ, inter-		γυακονόμοι & γυακικόκομοι	315,
dum πῶχⓈ	58		368
βαλανεῖα	372	γυακῶν, γυακωνίτης, vel γυακωνί-	
βαλανηφάγοι	358	τις	369, 311
βαπτιστήριον	372	γυνὴ & παλλακὴ	273
Βασιλίδης	386	γυνὴ λυσίζωνⓈ	292
Βεζιωνε Lat. vixit & fuit, ibid.	177		
βέλιη 38 περὶ γῶνα	44	Δ.	
βέλⓈ Αχαικὸν	49	Δαίειν γάμον	288
Βελοσάσεις	95	δαῖς 387, εἴση	ibid
βλέφαρα καθαίρειν	578	δαυτεῖς	365
βόεια τῶα	43	δαυτιμόνες	ibid
βόειαι ἀσπίδες	32	δαυτεῖς	387
βοὴ	86	δαπτύλιοι	132
βολὴ ἀγαθὴ	ibid	δανᾶν, δανᾶκη, δανᾶρες	185
βόινⓈ	82	δακὸς	ibid
βόλις, dicta καταπειρητηρίη. & cata-	132	δαδίσματα	393
pirates		δαλινόν	353
		δαλοῖ	115
Γ.		δαπνέειν ὀπὸ σφυρίδⓈ	355
Γαμηλία 281 dicta κρεῖωπε	ibid	δαίπνον 381, 352, 353. ἀστυβόλον	354
γαμήλιοι, θιοῖς 28, 281, εὐχαῖ, περ-		συμφορητῶν, συμβολιμαῖον, ὀπὸ συμ-	
γάμεια, περτέλειαι εὐχαῖ, vel περ-		βολῆς, ἐκ κοινῆς, συναγωγῆμον, τὸ	
τέλειαι	ibid	ὀπὸ σφυρίδⓈ, ὀπιδάσιμον, ὕξ	
γαμηλιῶν	266	ὀπιδόματⓈ, 355. φιλελικόν, φρα-	
γαμικὴ κλίνη	289	τρεκόν, δημοτικόν, δημόσιον	356
γάμον δαίειν	218	δαίπνοκλήτορες	365
γάμⓈ ibid. 289, 264, 280, 554, 356		δαίπνε περσοίμιν 381. παραλὴ	ibid
γάσσα	126, 188	δαῖω σελίνα proverb.	232
		F f 4	δικάδαρχ

INDEX.

Εἰς πνιγὺν

INDEX.

εἰσωνυλῶ, εἰσωνυλῶ	ibid.	ἐνδοσία	ibid	
εἰσποντοὶ παῖδες	342	ἐξαρχοὶ θρήνων	203	
εἰσφορὰ	352	ἐξελγμός, ἔξελισμός, ἔξιλιξις	62.	
ἐκαστοντάρχεια	56	κατὰ λόχους & κατὰ ζυγὰ	63.	
ἐκαστόνταρχος	ibid	Λάκων κατὰ λόχους, ibid.	Μακε-	
ἐκαστόπορος νῆες	124	δων κατὰ λόχους, ibid.	Περσικὸς,	
ἐκαστῷ τοξοφόρῳ, ἐκαστῷ, ἐκαστῇ		Κρητικὸς, & χορεῖῳ κατὰ λόχους,	ibid	
ἐκαστῇ, χρυσότοξῳ, ἀργυρότοξῳ,				
δουραρίτης, Apollinis Epitheta	41	ἐξήμεροι δουραὶ	175	
ἐκκομισθὲν νεκρῶ	189	ἐξοχὰ καὶ νεκρῶς	27	
ἐκκομίζειν	ibid	ἐξώτρυναι	277	
ἐκμαρτεῖν	365	ἐπ' ὀρθὸν καταστῆσαι	62	
ἐκπύμπειν, παρπύμπειν, πορπύμπειν		ἐπαγωγὴ 62. μονόπλευρῳ, δίπλευ-		
	194	ρῳ, τριπλευρῳ, τετραπλευρῳ	ibid	
ἐκπύπτωτος	62	ἐπαρωγὸς αἰδίναν, Lucina	319	
ἐκπύπτειν τῷ γένει	351	ἐπαίεσις	381	
ἐκπύπτει	56	ἐπανακλισις	62	
ἐκπύπτειν, vel ὀρθῶν νεκρῶν	179	ἐπαύλια	274, 294	
ἐκπύπτειν, vel ὑποτίθεται	333	ἐπεγχοῖ	388	
ἐκπύπτειν, ἐκκομίζειν νεκρῶν	189	ἐπείχων τῷ νεῶν	150	
ἐλαμον, ἰσοδὸν 372. ἐλαμόν, ἀμείνων,		ἐπείχεται νεῶς,	123	
τεθωμύμενον	378	ἐπείχεται	132	
ἐλαστοί	365, 366, 386	ἐπείχεται	140	
ἐλαστοί	204	ἐπείχεται	294	
ἐλαστοί	84	ἐπείχεται	132	
ἐλαστοί	366	ἐπείχεται, vel ἐπείχεται προτάξει	112	
ἐλέπολις	95	ἐπείχεται	381	
Ελαστοί	319	ἐπείχεται	355	
ἐλαστοί, ὅτι τῷ δῶδε τῷ βίαι, Pro-		ἐπείχεται	341	
verb.	191	Επειδικαζομένη, vel ἐπειδικαζομένη		
ἐμπατήριον παιάν	76	Apollonii fabula	341	
ἐμπατήριον	94	ἐπειδίκαι κληρονομία	ibid	
ἐμπατόν, rostrum, 59, 135, dictum		ἐπειδίκαι δῶδε 355. τὸ ἔξ ἐπι-	ibid	
ἀλλομα νεῶν	ibid	δῶδε	381	
ἐν κύκλῳ πίνειν	393	ἐπείχεται	134	
ἐναγίζειν	236, 240	ἐπείχεται	293. ἐναγίζει, ibid.	μοι-
ἐναπομάχεται	365	μητική	ibid	
ἐνδεξάπινειν	393	ἐπικαμπής, φάλαγξ, 59. παρτάξις	195	
ἐνδεξίαν	128	ἐπικληροῖ	274, 341	
Ενναύρετον	290	ἐπικληροῖ	365	
ἐνορμύματα	153	ἐπικληροῖ	ibid	
ἐνταξίς, παρίνταξις, vel πορσινταξίς	61	ἐπικληροῖ	60	
ἐνταξίς, vel ἐνταξίς	126	ἐπικληροῖ	191	
ἐνταξίς ἐκδόμης Prov.	70	ἐπικληροῖ	68	
ἐνταξίς, Lat. subducere	154	ἐπικληροῖ	386	
ἐνταξίς	55	ἐπικληροῖ	345	
ἐνταξίς, vel ἐνταξίς	61	ἐπικληροῖ	ἐπικληροῖ	

INDEX.

ἑμιλοχ³⁰⁸

INDEX.

ἡμιλοχία	59	θυρεός	35
ἡμιλοχίτης	ibid	θυροφύλαξ	18
ἡμιολία, vel ἡμίολος	125	θυροφύλαξ	293
ἡμιόλιος δόμων	276	θύρακις, ἀλυσιστοί 30.	λεπιδωπός
ἡνίοχος	16	ibid.	φολιδωπός
ἡνίοχος	15	θύρακις	135
Ἡράκλεια λατρεῖ	370	θύραξ	29
Ἡρατίλεια	280		
Ἡρακίων τιμῶν τιτλούχιναι	240		
Ἡ τὰν, ἢ ὅτῃ τὰν	34, 105, 192		
Θ.			
Θριο θανόντες	106	Ἰάλαμοι	105
θαλάμακις	138	Ἰερεῖς	83
θαλάμικα, vel θαλαμίδαι κώπαι	133	Ἰουκλήρ	ibid
θαλάμοι ἐρέει	127, 138	Ἰερεῖς	ibid
θαλαμίει δὲ θαλάμακις	138	Ἰερεῖς ἄγνωστα 132.	Φάλαγγες
θαλάμους 127, 138, 293. ἰσῶν	315.	Ἰθαρυεῖς	335
θαλάμοι τέτατοι	311	Ἰκρία νήματα	137
θαλαρίζειν	111	Ἰκρίον	135, 226
θαλακτῆροι χαλκῶ	237	Ἰκτιδὴν κέρως	23
θαμείλια τάφου, θρυγνός, γείσων, ἀει-		Ἰλν	60
οικοδομῆ, κρηπίς, δὲ ἐνέπαι	221	Ἰδός, πτερόεις 45.	κομήτης
θαμείλιος πλοῖα	132	Ἰππαζωροί	18
Θωράμια	266	Ἰππαζωροί νῆες	123
Θωροποιία	240	Ἰππαζωνισαί	60
Θυπὶ παῖδες	336, 342	Ἰππαρχία	ibid
θυάριον, ὀπίθημα, ἀθήματα, παρο-		Ἰππαρχος	54
φθηνόκλιμα	295	Ἰππεία	43
θυλακίων σῶματα, Lucina	319	Ἰππείας	10
θυλακία	274	Ἰππείας	274
θυλακίος	354	Ἰππηνόι, καὶ Ἰππαζωροί νῆες	123
Θυλακία παροποιίας	365	Ἰππῆες	55
θυλακίαι, vel θυλακίαις κώπαι	133	Ἰππῆες, Ἰππαρχοί, Ἰππαρχῆς, Ἰπ-	
θυλακίαι	127, 138	ποκῆρες, Neptuni epitheta	11
θυλακίαι	127	Ἰπποκρίτης λόφος	25
θυλακίος	138	Ἰπποδασεία κέρως	ibid
θυλακίος πλόκαμος	282	Ἰπποτοξότης	18
θυλακίαι, θυλακίαι, vel θυλακίαι	349	Ἰπποτοξοί	43
θυλακίαι	205	Ἰσθαίαν, vel Ἰσθυμπίαν τιτλού-	
θυλακίαν ἐξαρχοί, praeficae,	ibid	χέναι	249
θυλακίαι	221	Ἰσθμίου τρέπαιον	113
θυλακίος	375	Ἰσθμίου φάσγανος, ἄρμυα, vela	134
θύειν 249. θυλάτιον	356, 357	Ἰσθμίου	ibid
θυλάτιον	253	Ἰσθμίου, malus	ibid
		Ἰσθμίου θαλάμους 316.	ταλακέρως
		Ἰσθμίου dictus	ibid
		Ἰτιά	32
		Ἰτις	32, 35
		Ἰτις	249, 250
			K καδαι-

INDEX.

K.		κέρμηκε & καμόντες	177
		καλῶς	146, 147
καθιερῆν, σωαρρόπειν, συγκαλείν	178	καλῶς, minorum navium genus	124
ὀφθαλμοί, vel τὰ βλέφαρα	178	καλῶς	225
καλῶ, & καλός, amasiorum epitheta	245	καλῶς	ibid
καλλίνικος	332	καλῶς	134, 141
καλῶν, φιάλα, κρηναί, λάρνακες,	215	καλῶς δριπανηρόν	141
ὀσοθήκη, ὀσοδόχεια, σφῆ, urnæ	295	καλῶς	57
καλῶν, cericibus anchoris, & tūdēns	135	καλῶς, 26, 43, 57. δυνάμει, & ἔρε	58
καλῶν, vel καλῶν	295	καλῶν, κεφαλῆ, δεινὸν ἀπεροτήριον,	58
καλῶν, cericibus anchoris, & tūdēns	135	καλῶν ἀρχῆ, &c.	392
καλῶν, vel καλῶν	132	καλῶν εἶνον	56, 134
καμῶντες	177	καλῶν δόποτον	57
καμῶντες	279	καλῶν, vel ἐμβολῶν κελῶ 94. φάλαγ-	381
καμῶντες	ibid	καλῶν 58. δεινὸν	381
καμῶντες	33	καλῶν 132. καλῶν	ibid
καμῶντες	8	καμῶν καλῶς	245
καμῶντες	198	καμῶν καλῶς	127
καμῶντες	206	καμῶν καλῶς	66, 67, 361, 388
καμῶντες & καμῶντες	8	καμῶν καλῶς	67
καμῶντες λόφον	25	καμῶν καλῶς	149
καμῶντες	206	καμῶν καλῶς	243
καμῶντες	186	καμῶν καλῶς	152
καμῶντες	82	καμῶν καλῶς	126
καμῶντες	135	καμῶν καλῶς	341
καμῶντες	84	καμῶν καλῶς	365
καμῶντες	354	καμῶν καλῶς	ibid
καμῶντες	355	καμῶν καλῶς	ibid
καμῶντες	6	καμῶν καλῶς	91, 132
καμῶντες	26	καμῶν καλῶς	311
καμῶντες	165	καμῶν καλῶς	341
καμῶντες	6	καμῶν καλῶς	289, 290
καμῶντες	178	καμῶν καλῶς	62
καμῶντες	132	καμῶν καλῶς	ibid
καμῶντες	95.	καμῶν καλῶς	375
καμῶντες	ibid	καμῶν καλῶς	31
καμῶντες	153	καμῶν καλῶς	40
καμῶντες	8	καμῶν καλῶς	59
καμῶντες	136	καμῶν καλῶς	ibid
καμῶντες	18	καμῶν καλῶς	126
καμῶντες	136	καμῶν καλῶς	177
καμῶντες	149	καμῶν καλῶς	178, 413
καμῶντες	27	καμῶν καλῶς	178, 413

INDEX.

κοιμήσιν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς 293	τὸ ἐν	κυνάς	399
κοινὸν δέσπον	355	κυωή	24
κολεῖν	39	κυρίζων	289
Κολοφῶνα τίθεναι, Colophonem imponere,		κύριοι	271, 342
proverbium	16	κυρτή, φάλαγξ 59	παράταξις 155
κομᾶν τῷ θεῷ	283	κύτθ	126
κομῆτης ἰδὲ	45	κύων ποιάμει	24
κοιτοί, seu πληκτεῖα νηὶς	132	κάδων	73
κοιτοφόροι	18	κωδωνίζειν pro κειράζειν	17, 73
κοπίς, ensis falcatus	40	δε κωδωνοφορεῖν	ibid
κόρη ἐκκέρει κορσύνῳ	284	κῶπαι	133
κορυνθιάζειν	309	κωπηλάται	138
κόρυμβος νεῶν	128, 158	κωπήρα	124
κορυμβή	40		
κορυμβότης	ibid	Λ.	
κόρυς	23	Λαῖνθ χιτῶν	300
κόρυς ἱπποδάμεια, ἱππυρίς	25	λασιθίων	35
κορσύναι	284	λάμψθ	352
κορσύνῃ	43	λάρνακες	215
κορσύνῳ ἐπιτίθεναι	ibid	λάφυρα	106
κορσυνίδες νεῶν	128	λάτεις, λατῆρη	406
κυριῶτις	281	λειποναῦται	159
κυριδίων λέχθ	289	λειποτάκται	115
κυριδιόθ	283	λέκτρον	184
κύριος	246, 405, 406	λεοντή κόρυς	23, 24
κυριδιάζειν	405	λεπιδωτοὶ θάλακας	30
κυσιδία, κυσιδίδες	406	λεπισμὸς φάλαγθ	58
κράμβη	328	λεσιδῶν, λεσιδιάζειν	309
κράνθ	23	λεσιδῶς	ibid
κράτηρ	392	λέσιον, χαλκῶν, κλειτοπόδιον	126
κράτηρ ἀγαθὸν δαίμονθ	398	λέσχη	333
Διὸς σωτήρθ ibid. Τυτῆας ibid.		λεσκός πόθ	232
Ερμῆ ibid. χαλκίος ibid. τίλειθ ib.		λεχάνη	372
κρηπίς	221	λέχθ κρηδίων	289
κρίθινθ οἶνθ	365	Λήμνεια καλὰ 20 Λήμνεια χεῖρ	ibid.
κρίος, aries	94	Λήμνιον βλάπτειν	ibid
κρύσται	91	λειστοβόλοι, πετροβόλοι, πτεροβόλοι καὶ ὀρ-	
κρύσται πηταί, δε διαλυταί	92	γανα	95
κρυσσουί	215	λίθοι πυροβόλοι	50
κρύβειν τῷ πρύμνῳ	150	λίθιναι	327
κτυπή, vel κτυπήον	293	λενάς, λινός, vei τελέθθ	134
κυανόπτερος δε κυανέμβολος νῆας	127	λενοθήρηξ, Ajaxis Epith.	29
κυανόπιζα τεράπιζα	380	λίνος	205
κυβερνήτης	144	λεῖος θάλαξ	30
κυβερνήτικὸν τίχην	ibid	λεπιδὸς πόδις	374
κύκλον τάπειν	155	λογιστὸς vel γρημμάτις	148
κύκλθ ἀσπίδθ	32	λοξὴ φάλαγξ, obliqua acies	58
κυκλίκεα ζητήματα	409	λεξεία ὅττω νικῆ	188
		λαβῆ	

INDEX

λευτρά Ηρόκλητα 370: θέρμα	ibid.	μυροζύγιος	138
λευτράν, χθώνιον	λευτράν, ὑπνίμιμα	μυροφράλιον	33
	237	μυροναύται	140
λευτράδρα	290	μυρορμία	135
λευτράν	372	μυροκόλν 62. ἰπ' ἔρεν, vel ἀπὸ ἡδ'	
λόφου 25. Καρικὸς ibid.	ἰπποχαί-	πολεμίων ibid.	ἀπ' ἔρεν, vel ἰπ'
της 16. ἰουανθῆς & ὑαμινθινοςφῆς		πολεμίων	ibid
	ibid	μυροδρόμια	381
λοχαγὸν, χερίαρχοι, ἰκατάλαρχοι, δε-		μυροπύρις	309
κάδαρχοι, πεμπόδαρχοι	54	μυροπύριον	ibid
λοχαγός	56	μύτωπον 127. πρῶτ' ζυγός, &c.	
λοχαγῶν 61. πωτηνοσήρης ἐναιμο-		dictum	51, 57
τέρχα	55	μὴ κατὰφρακτοί	18
λόχου 51, 55, 58, dictus σιχῶ		Μηδὶ γυνεῖσθαι ἀπὶ αὐτὸς τεραπί-	
ibid. δεκανία	ibid	ζῆς κατὰπίστοι	231
λῶν πλὴν ζώντι	29, 242	μηδὶν εἰσίστω κακὴν	284
λύπτοι, lupi frænorum	116	μῆκ' φάλαγγ', idem quod μίτω-	
λυσιζώνη Diana	335	πον, πρῶτον, τόμα, παρὰτ' εἰς,	
λυσιζών' γυνὴ	292	πρωτολογία, πρωτοστῆται, πρῶτ'	
λωρμίον	29	ζυγός	58
		μῆκων	285
M.		μυροειδὲς σὺλ'	155
Μάγας	83	μήτηρ	313
μάγαν	91, 95	μαχαναί	91
μαγανικὰ ὄργανα, vel ἀφελήρια ὄργα-		μαχαί ἡμέραι	238
να	95	μολοπάρηος & φοινικεπάρηος νῆες	127
Μαιώτης πλόκ'	42	μήτηρ	28
μακρὰ δόρατα	141	μνήματα 221 μνημεῖα	223
μακραι γῆς	123	μοροτόκ' Diana	322
μακράι	341	μοιχάγεια	301
ματῆλαι	381	μολυβδίδης, aut μολυβδίναι σφαίραι	49
μάχαιρα	39	μονήρεις, &c κίλιπες, naves minores	
μέλιν	276		124
μελίρματα	237	μονόξυλα πλοῖα	121
μελίχτιος, Dii inferi	ibid	μενέπλευρ' ἰπαγῶν, vel παρὰγῶν	
μέλιονα νῆς	130		62
μελίον	36	μόρε	61
μέλιονα	237	μῆσα Καρικῇ	206
μελιτίβτα	186	μοχλοί	148
μέλ', Καζόρον 84 ἀρμύτειον	287.	μῆμη	366, 367
τεμερεκόν	147	Μυκόνιοι	367
μεσάρχης, interdum τελάρχης, vel		μύρον	180, 373
ὀπξεναγός	57	μυρρίνης, μυρρίνιτης οἶν'	365
μεσάρχια à quibusdam τέλ', ab		μυρρίνης	403
aliis ὀπξεναγία dicta	57	μυρρὸς λιμίν'	152
μείρο	ibid		
μισαγκυλόν	36		
μισοδμή, modius	134		

N. Νάναρχοι.

INDEX.

N.		ξίφος	38
Ναύαρχος, praefectus classis	143	ξυλάω	49
ναύλοχος	153	ξύναι & κνήσας	ibid
ναύμαχος δόξα 141. <i>hasta longa di-</i>	ibid	ξύσαι ναύμαχος, & μίκρος	141
απὸ Livio	150	ξύσσορος	18
ναὺν ἐπιχειν	153	O.	
ναύσταθμος	140	Ογκώσας, vel ὑψώσας τάφον	220
ναύς	147	ὀδόντις, dentes ancorae	131
ναυφύλακας	230	Οδυανός	331
ναυρόδευπτος	239	ὀδόντις	ibid
ναύστα	ibid	ὀιδίμων	365
ναύστα, ἄρμα, & γυνίκα	332	ὀικῶν ἡμιπλή 278. ταλασπότης	316
Νεοπόλεμος, unde dictus	153	ὀνόμας	381
ναύστοιχοι, ὀπίστα, ναύστα, &c.	149	ὀϊνῶν μύρρινιτις 365. ἐσμυρρίσμων	ibid.
ναύς κατερύειν εἰς ἄλλα	337	ibid. ἀπληροῦσθαι	ibid.
ναὺς ἡμέρα	206	νῶν ibid. ἐλκός	ibid
ναύστα	ibid	ὀινούχοι	388
ναυυρίζουσα	147	ὀϊστοὶ πτεροί, φερεπύρουξ, ἐπύρουξ	45
νύλαρ, vel τὸ τελεμακὸν μίλ	365	ὀϊχὼς	177
νύλαρ	340	ὀχρόμοι	ibid
νοθεῖα χρημάτων	335, 336	ὀλκός, ὀλκός, καὶ πλοῖα	123
νόστις	126	ὀλκοί	132
νοστής, ἰγκάλια, κοῖτα navis	161	ὀλοφυρμός, λίνος, & αἰλινος	205
νόμισμα, νομίζομαι	73	ὀμοιότρομος ὁφθαλμολογία	59
νομίζουσα ἐφυλακία	286	ὀμφαλοποιμία	325
νομίζουσα, vel νομίζουσα	ibid	ὀμφαλός, & μισομφαλόν, umbo	33
νομίζουσα, παρὰ νομίζουσα	ibid	ὀμφαλός, ὀφθαλμολογία	58
νομίζουσα	295	ὀμφαλός, Creta locus	326
νομίζουσα	289	ὀμφαλός, σε ἐπερματίζου Proverb.	326
Ξ.		ὀνομακλήτωρ	377
Ξανθία	57	ὀξῶ 365. ἐλκός	ibid
Ξανθός	ibid	ὀξυδελεία, καὶ ὀξυδελεία, dicta κατὰ	95
Ξανθός dicta πόρτα	307	πύλη	56
Ξανθός, ξανθὴ τέλει	413	ὀπιοφύλαξ	10
Ξανθός Ζεύς 379, 413. alii dii	414	ὀπλίζου	123
Ξανθός hostis	412	ὀπλίζου	295
Ξανθός	365	ὀπλίζου	78
Ξανθός τέλει	380	ὀπλίζου	59
Ξανθός τέλει	221	ὀπλίζου	37
Ξανθός τέλει	222	ὀπλίζου	38
Ξανθός τέλει	39	ὀπλίζου	60
Ξανθός τέλει	60		

INDEX.

ὄρθια, ἱερομῆκης, aut παρμηκῆς φ- λαγξ, acies recta	58	παρμηκῆς φάλαγξ	59
Ὀρβῶ Bacchus	364	παρμηκείδεια 18, 39 τὸ παρὰ μὲν	
ὄρβιν ικεδόν	179	ξίφου, dictum παρμηκῆιον, vel	
ὄρβιν idem quod ἀποσταλθῆναι	165	παρζώνιον	ibid
	136	παρζειρίδιον, ἰγχειρίδιον, vel μάχαριον	ibid
ὄρμοι, ὕφορμοι, ἐθρμίγματα, σάλοι		παρβυμύριου, παρβυμφοῦ	286
κατάσεις, ibid	153	παρσάμπειν	194
ὄρυξ χελώνη	93	παρσάππασμα	137
Ὀρχησῆς Apollo	401	παρσάππυρίδεια	118
ὄσια	161	παρσάσειμῶ ἱππῶ, δε παρσῶρῶ	15
ὄσοδοχῆα	215	παρσάσημον	128, 129
ὄσοδικα	205	παρσάπητοι	367
ὄσρακον	188, 134	παρσάστα	56
ἐδ' ὁ πυρφόρου ἐσθῆς Proverb	78	παρσάσιμῶν	77, 78
καὶ ἱπανερείης ἐδ' ἐν περιέπνῳ, Pro-		παρσάσιμῶ 57, 58 κυρτὴ 155 ἱπικαμ-	
verb.	232	πῆς	ibid
ἐρε ερεπῆς 56, 62 ἰνῶ	128	παρσάππυριος, vel παρσάππυριος	304
ἐρεπῆς, vel ὀπιθαφύλαξ	56	παρσάππυριος, ὀπιθαφύλαξ, ἱπικαμῆς,	
ἐρεπῆς	127, 130	a recentioribus ἐρεπῆς	277
ἐρεπῆς	389	παρσάππυριος, παρσάππυριος, παρ-	
ἐρεπῆς	25	πῆς	137. παρσάππυριος,
ἐρεπῆς, vel ὀχῆν	33	παρσάππυριος, Lat. plutei, inter-	
ἐρεπῆς	24	ἀντὶ ῥήθρυgnacula	137
		παρσάππυριος	128
Π		παρσάππυριος	62
Παῖν, ἐμπατήρῶ	76	παρσάππυριος, παρσάππυριος	61
	ibid	παρσάππυριος	128
παῖδες θεοὶ, vel εἰσπρατῆς	336, 342	παρσάππυριος	18
παῖς καὶ παρσάππυριος εἶναι, μὴ παρ-		παρσάππυριος	15
παρσάππυριος, Proverb.	276	παρσάππυριος	ibid
παρσάππυριος	294	παρσάππυριος	335, 336
παρσάππυριος	273	παρσάππυριος Minerva cognomen	280
παρσάππυριος	304	παρσάππυριος	312
παρσάππυριος	38	παρσάππυριος	128
παρσάππυριος	ibid	παρσάππυριος, παρσάππυριος	127
παρσάππυριος	356	παρσάππυριος	186
παρσάππυριος	118	παρσάππυριος	1418
παρσάππυριος	137	παρσάππυριος	1418
παρσάππυριος	299	παρσάππυριος	1418
παρσάππυριος 62. ὀχῆν, παρσάππυριος	ibid	παρσάππυριος	1418
παρσάππυριος	127	παρσάππυριος	1418
παρσάππυριος	15	παρσάππυριος	1418
παρσάππυριος	118	παρσάππυριος	1418
παρσάππυριος	189	παρσάππυριος	1418
Παρσάππυριος	5	παρσάππυριος	1418

INDEX.

πυμπαδαρχία	56	πλάγια φάλαγξ	58
πυμπαίς	ibid	πλάισον	60
πεντακοστή αρχία	57	πλάτη, Lat. palmula, vel tonfa	133
πεντακοστή αρχία, vel ξειναγός,	ibid	πλάραι, latera navis	126
πεντακοστομίδιμοι	274, 275	πλευραί φάλαγξ	58
πεντηκονταρχία 56, dicta πενταρχία	ibid	πληκτρα νηός	132
	ibid	πληρώματα	138
πεντηκονταρχία & πενταρχίης	ibid	πλίνθοι, & πλινθία	50, 90
πεντηκοντήρ, πεντηκοντατήρ, vel πεντη-		πλοῖα 123, μονόξυλα 121, διφθερένα,	
κοςήρ	61	vel δερματίνα	122
πεντηκόντορες νᾶες	124	πλοῖς ἀσφάλισμα	132
πεντηκόντορ	144	πλόναμ	282
πεντηκοςῆρες	55	πλόκ	Μαυώτης
πεντηκοςός	61	πόδες, pedes	135
πειτήρες νᾶες	124	ποθηνεῖς ἀσπίδες	35
πεπλαγμένη φάλαγξ	50	πόδι	λευκίς
πεπερμένη	320	πολέμαρχος	52, 53, 55, 61
πεπερμένη νᾶες	136	πολέμιοι φρυκτοί	96
περίδοικον, νεκροδείκνον, τάφος	230	Ρωμαῖκῆς, Demetrii cognomen	95
περιδερμή, decursio	211	πολύδρομος, Andromache quare	276
περικεφαλαία 23, dicta κλιδέη, ταυ-		πορεία & ὁπλοδοχία 123, ὁπλιτάχονος	
ρεῖη, αἰλωπεκία, λεοντέη, αἰγινή,		& στρατιώτες ibid.	ἱππῆρες, ἱπ-
κιωή	23, 24	παγῶροι, & hippagines	ibid
περικεφαλαία νᾶες	128	πύρραξ	33
περικληρίπδες à nonnullis πατρῶοι,		πόσις Σκυθική	365
vulgo ὀπικληρί, aliquando μέναι		πρόσις ὠτοκεῖτες	68
	341	πρόσμοι τέλει	6
περιουσιόμην	221	προαύλια	294
περιπολεῖν	73	προελάματα	35
περίπολοι	ibid	προδίκος	54
περιπασμός	62	προδίδμους, vel προαύλια	311
περιπείσμος	90	προεδρεία	119
περιπόνηα	128	προεκπέν	393
περιφέρεια ἀσπίδος	32	προεμολίς	136
περιφράγματα	137	προεμῶα	273, 377
Περσεφόνη, Proserpina 322, dicta τρι-		προξ, dicta μέλις, ἔδνα, φερνὴ	276
μορφος, triformis, tergemina ibid.		προκαλύμματα	137
tria illius nomina	ibid	προκωποι	139
πέρτερον ξυστόν	222	προμαχοί, προμαχίζεν	87
πτερύγος, πτερύγος ὄργανα	95	προμητιπιδία	18
πινόλιον, gubernaculum	131	προμητιεῖαι, προμητιεῖαι	286
πικτὸς, plicatiles scalæ	92	πρόμοι	87
πικτὶς 83, interdum dicta μάγας		προναπείς	185
	ibid	προναπύον	ibid
πίτυρα	253	προξένος, προξενία	416, 417
		G g	προξενία

INDEX.

περξινήτρια	286		
περοίμων δείπν	381		
περοπίμπειν	194		
περοπίπειν 393, φιλοπεία	ibid		
περοπόδης	135		
περοπομα	381		
περοποσις Θρακική	365		
περοπέξιος	61		
περοπινίδια	18		
περοσφεινήριον	295		
περοσφαιρήριον	287		
περοσφιδί	205		
περοσσωπον φάλαγγ	58		
περοσ μυρίνλω αδειν	403		
περοταξίς 61, ψιλων	ibid		
περοτίλεια, vel περοτίλεια θυγα	280,		
	283		
περοτίλεια, collocare	184		
περοτόνι	135		
περοφυλακίδης νῆες	154		
περομυαν κινεῖν 148, κρέμα	150		
περομω	128		
περομνήτια, retinacula	132		
περορε 172, interdum μέτωπον	ibid		
περορδός, vel περοράτης	145		
περορτιν τεράπειζα	381, 382		
περοτολογία	58		
περοτ	56		
περοτο	56, 58		
περοα & παρεία ναός, vel παρεία	128		
περορα	134		
περορδός ιός	45		
περορυγος θάρακ	29		
περοχίς	130		
περολ	372		
περοκωσις φάλαγγ	60		
περοαι	208		
περοαμῆς	406, 411		
περο ακαπτον	372		
περοργι	59, 94		
περοργος φορη	94		
περορμην	372		
περορδολοι λάδους	50		
περορφο	78		
Πύρι, unde dictus	332		
Πύσσοι, vel Πύρσσοι	154		
Πύρσο	78		
		P.	
		Ραφινίδης	304
		ριφασπίδης	115
		ρομοειδής, vel σφάλλειδής φάλαγγ 59	
		ρύματα, ὀλκοί, vel σπείρη, parolco-	
		nes, remulci	132
			Σ.
		Σαγλυδίν, πόλιν, corona cingere pr-	
		bem	90
		σάλοι	153
		σαλπικτής	65
		Σάλπικξ, Minerva	82
		σαλπικξ Τυρρηνική	ibid
		σανιδόματα	136
		σάφρων ζώνη	292
		σάβια	38
		σαυροτάρ	36
		σειρά, σειραφόρ, παρσειρ	
		ίω	15
		σάλικ δέξω, Proverb.	232
		σάματα	134
		σάμα χείν	220
		σάματα, μημεία, μύματα	223
		σάμα 78, αἶρεν	155
		σάμαφορ	56
		σάμαμον	385
		σάμα χείρ	141
		Σάμακ τεράπειζα	361
		Σάμας, Lemnos	20
		Σάμας, Lemnii dicti	ibid
		σάμαριον	285
		σάμα δίκη	277
		σάμα	133
		σάμα	122
		σάμαςήρια ὀπλα	35
		σάμα	221
		σάμα	366
		σάμα	402, 403, δε.
		σάμα ποι πᾶδες	335
		σάμας πείν	365
		σάμας	ibid
		σάμας πῶσις	ibid
		σάμα	106
		σάμα	119
		σάμας, aut σάμας	58
			σάμας

INDEX.

πᾶν τὸν κύκλον	155	τραπέζα Σικελικὴ 361	ξιστή, ἐύξοτος	380
παρὰντιναρχία	60	κυανόπεζα		380
παρὰν τῆς, vel ἰπποκωνιστή	60	τραπέζα ξινία, ξινική		413
παρὰν τῆς παρὰν φαλαία	24	τραπέζι Ηρακλῆς		379
παροι ξισοί	221	τραπέζο κόμης		386
παρῶ	230	τραπέζο ποῖος		ibid
παρὸν γλῶσσας, ὀγκῶσαι, ὑψῶσαι	220	παρῶ		127
παρῶσι δάλαμοι	311	παρῶ		134
παρὰν μόρον ἱλαῖον	373	παρῶ, παρῶματα νῆος		127
παρῶν	33	ὀφθαλμοί		ibid
παρῶν	57	παρῶ		144
παρῶ	280	παρῶ		149
παρῶ	ibid	παρῶ		124
παρῶ Jupiter	ibid	παρῶ		139
παρῶ κεῖν 399	280	παρῶ		125
παρῶ 57, 69, 280	6	παρῶ		147
παρῶ	60	παρῶ, triformis, tergemina		322
παρῶ	335	παρῶ		62
παρῶ	44	παρῶ		133
παρῶ	62	παρῶ		381, 382
παρῶ	56	παρῶ		318, 319
παρῶ	ibid	παρῶ		26
παρῶ	57	παρῶ		ibid
παρῶ	ibid	παρῶ		ibid
παρῶ	266	παρῶ		113
παρῶ	124, 11	παρῶ		114
παρῶ	8	παρῶ		ibid
παρῶ	ibid	παρῶ		113
παρῶ	144	παρῶ		114
παρῶ	205	παρῶ		ibid
παρῶ	ibid	παρῶ		ibid
παρῶ	140	παρῶ		133
παρῶ	147	παρῶ		349
παρῶ	147	παρῶ		315
παρῶ	58	παρῶ		17
παρῶ	43	παρῶ		92
παρῶ	41	παρῶ		127
παρῶ	ibid	παρῶ		ibid
παρῶ	381	παρῶ		26
παρῶ	ibid	παρῶ		381
παρῶ	381, 382	παρῶ		221
παρῶ	386	παρῶ		82
		παρῶ		T. Ταμιν-

INDEX.

Τ.

Ταμινθινοςαφής λόφου	25
Τρείας κελεύρ	399
Τμήριοι	295, 288
Τμήριον	293
Τμήρες	288
Τσαγκώνια, ἢ ἐρετρί	134
Υπαίθερον	221
Υπακονιστά	18
οἱ ὑπάρχοντες	138
Υάτρεα Lat. opifera	135
Υάτρεα	59
Υάτρεα	ibid
Υάτρεα	312
Υπέρεια, interdum ὑπακώνια, vel ὑποπύμα ἢ ἐρετρί	133, 134
Υπέρεια	56
Υπέρεια νᾶες	125
Υπόβελον	276
Υπόβελον	219
Υπόβελον, ζωσῆρες, ζωμάματα	126
Υπόβελον	134
Υπόβελον	61
Υπόβελον	46
Υπέρεια, vel ὑπέρεια, Proserpina	229
Υπόβελον	153
Υπόβελον	220

Φ.

Φάρι	358
Φασφάρι, ἐρέσεια, Proserpina vel Elithyia	322
Φαλαγγαρχία dicta μέριον, ὑποπύμα κέ- ριον, σπίνον, a veteribus στεγνη- ρία ibid	57
Φαλαγγαρχία & στεγνηρία	57, 58
Φάλαγγες, φαλάγγια 36. Homero μοχλοῖ	148
Φάλαγγον μῆκον, βάθον, πᾶλλον, & πῆκον, λεπυσμός, διχοτομία, ἀεθρον, ὁμφαλός, σωροχί 58. πύκ- νωσις	60

Φάλαγγ 57	ἰερὰ 244	πλάγια 58
ἀμφιστοιμία ibid	ἀντίστοιμία ibid	
πτερυγία ibid	παραμύχια ibid	
λοξή vel obliqua acies ibid	ἰσπαρ- μύχια 59	ὑπερμύχια ibid
ἔκ σφύσσοντος ibid	ξίφοντος 60	
ὀρθία, ἐπερμύχια, vel παραμύχια		58
Φάλαρα, phalaræ		18
Φάλας		126
Φάλα & λόριον		25
Φαρέτη ἀμφιερύχια		45
Φαρίδια		357
Φαρίδια ἄδω		191
Φαρίδια ὄσος		49
Φαρίδια Proserpina		322
Φαρίδια		276
Φέρειον, vel φέρειον		184
Φάλας		215
Φιλάδελφον, Ptolemai cognomen		332
Φιλέτορες		242
Φίλιον Ζώε		379
Φιλοπία		393
Φίλιον		247
Φοινικίζον		302
Φοινικισμός νᾶες		127
Φοινικισμός νᾶες		39
Φοινικισμός νᾶες		192
Φοινικισμός νᾶες		123
Φοινικισμός νᾶες		356
Φρύγανον, φρύγετον, φρύγανον		285
Φρυγία & φρυγία 96	πολέμιοι ibid	
Φίλιον		ibid
Φρυγία		ibid
Φυλακία ἡμερηνά, & νυκτερινά		73
Φυλακία		74
Φυλακία ὄπλη		35
Φύλαρχος		54
Φυλεπία δειπνα		356
Φύλοπος, αὐτὸς βού		86
Φύσκων		352
Φοινικία σύμβολα		77
Φάσωνες		134
Φασφάρι		320

X. March of 1892.

χωμῖ ἡδ' αὐτῆς ἐστὶ, vel θελκῆριος,	237
χορηγῶν ἑξελιγμός	63
χρυσῶν ὅππῃ θέναι κεράνῳ	43
χρυσόποξος Apollo	41
χύτεα	334, 374
χυτεῖσιν, idem quod ἐκτιθεῖσιν	ibid
χυτεῖσμός, idem quod ἐκτιθεῖς	ibid
χύτεον	374
χωμα, agger	93 tumulus 220
χωίνουδεν τείνον	ibid
χωστρεῖς χελάτη	93
Ψ.	
Ψιλαγία	57
ψιλῶ	110
ψιλῶν κορύταξις	61
ψυχασωρία	225
ψυχρότερη παλίμν, Proverb	203
Ω.	
Ωφέ	314
ὦψ, ὦψα, ὦψις	ibid
ὠδόνον ἰπαγωγός, Elythya	dicta 319
ὠρεῖα	239

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